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THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,
AND
NOTES AND QUERIES,
CONCERNING THE
ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY
OF
AMERICA.

VOL. IV. SECOND SERIES.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.
HENRY B. DAWSON.
1868.



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PREFATORY NOTE.

During the year 1868, we were overtaken by sickness and that of a character which kept us from our duties during several weeks. This affliction, added to other causes which preceded it, threw us in arrears, in the publication of the Magazine, for more than six months: and several of our friends kindly offered to relieve us from some portion of the duties which, in addition to the current demands of the hour, were thus thrown upon us. We availed ourself of their offers to edit the closing volume of 1868, while we hopefully carried on the series from January, 1869; and it is now our privilege to close the gap in the publication, to which we have referred, after delays which we could not avoid and surrounded by anxieties which we have not yet overcome. *The series is now completed, as far as it has gone: there is no opening in the line: our subscribers—patient and kind—have now received what, but for the causes referred to, they would have received before New-Year's, 1869.*

There have been delays in the publication of this volume which we would gladly have avoided; but we have been crippled, more than we ought to have been, by the want of money, by the vexation of too many unpaid subscriptions, and by gradually failing health, which is still our unwelcome guest. We should have been glad to have been able to do better: we are grateful to a kind Providence which has enabled us to do so well: without reproaching ourself because of the shortcomings of the Past, we confidently press forward, assuring ourself that strength will be given to us, with the necessary means, sooner or latter, in the Future, to gain the object for which we still toil, painfully—the privilege of seeing THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE in line with its contemporaries: its Editor relieved of some portion of the toil which now wearies him by day and of the anxiety which too often deprives him of his rest by night; and the Magazine, itself, more than it has ever been in the Past, a fearless, vigilant, and uncompromising witness to the Truth of History, carrying shame and confusion into the columns of the well-fed and arrogant falsifiers of the Truth who crowd the Devil's turnpike, and extending to the weary, half-starved, and lonely plodders scattered, here and there over God's high-way, the encouragement and assistance which the World, the Flesh, and the Devil have generally "too much to do" to extend to them. We aim at nothing more than this: we trust that we shall, one day, surely secure what we desire.

Our grateful acknowledgements are due and heartily tendered to Messrs. GILLETT, JONES, WHITMORE, GOODWIN, MYERS, and DEAN, each of whom have edited a number of this volume so well and so acceptably; to our young and talented nephew, ALFRED B. HALL, of this town, who has so admirably engraved the portrait which accompanies the December number; and to those of our subscribers who have so patiently waited for the completion of the volume and, in many instances, cheered us by words of encouragement which have strengthened our weakness and smoothed the rugged road over which we have staggered. To those other "patrons" of the Magazine—male and female—who have railed at the shortcomings which they could have very much modified by paying for what they had received, we tender neither thanks nor condemnation—we leave them to themselves: like the scorpion, they can have no more deadly enemy on earth.

MORRISANIA, N. Y. November, 1870.

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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EDITORS OF VOLUME IV.

- July number.* Rev. E. H. GILLETT, D.D., Professor of Political Economy in the University of the City of New York; Author of *History of the Presbyterian Church in America*, etc.
- August number.* HORATIO GATES JONES, Esq., Vice-president of the Pennsylvania Historical Society; etc.
- September number.* WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, Esq., of Boston; Author of the *American Genealogist*, etc.
- October number.* Captain WILLIAM F. GOODWIN, U.S.A., Concord, N. H.
- November number.* Colonel THEODORUS BAILEY MYERS, of the City of New York.
- December number.* JOHN WARD DEAN, Esq., lately Secretary of the N. E. Historic Genealogical Society, Vice-president of the Prince Society, etc.

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II.—UNPUBLISHED ARTICLES.

THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, July 4, 1776.
 ARMSTRONG, General JOHN.
 ARNOLD, General BENEDICT.
 BUTLER, Colonel PIERCE.
 BELL, Chief-justice SAMUEL D.
 BANGS, Doctor ISAAC.
 CLAY, HENRY.
 CARRINGTON, P. R.
 DEARBORN, General HENRY.
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 MACLURE, WILLIAM.
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 PLUMER, Hon. WILLIAM.
 RUSH, Doctor RICHARD.
 SMITH, General SAMUEL.
 THOMSON, CHARLES.
 THURMAN, JOHN, JR.
 WASHINGTON, General GEORGE.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. IV. SECOND SERIES.]

JULY, 1868.

[No. 1.

[This number of The Historical Magazine has been edited by Rev. E. H. Gillett, D. D., of Harlem, N. Y.

I.—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CAUSE OF CIVIL LIBERTY IN CONNECTICUT, 1639—1818.

ORIGINALLY READ BEFORE THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BUT SUBSEQUENTLY ENLARGED, BY REV. E. H. GILLETT, D. D.

On the fourth day of June, 1639, all the free planters of New Haven "assembled together in a general meeting to consult about settling a civil government according to God, and about the nomination of persons that might be found, by consent of all, fittest in all respects for the foundation work of a church" which was to be gathered. John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton were the Moses and Aaron of that assemblage. Church and State were there identical. One hundred and eleven signatures were affixed to a document which declared that "Church members only shall be free burgesses, and they only shall chuse among themselves magistrates and officers." It was also ordered that all free planters who should thereafter be received, should submit to this fundamental agreement, and testify the same by subscribing their names. Twelve men were appointed who were to select, out of their own number, seven persons who were to be the foundation of the Church, and to admit such as should be approved to its fellowship. The Scripture warrant for this proceeding was—"Wisdom hath builded her house; she hath hewn out her seven pillars."

In studying such a scene—the deliberate, conscientious, prayerful, God-fearing founding of a new Commonwealth in a new world, and under the shadow of primeval forests—it would not be strange if we overlooked the fundamental mistake committed by the Colonists, while regarding the purity of their purpose, and the

sublime end they had in view. Measured simply by a theoretical standard, the ideal which Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport and their compeers endeavored to make real, had never before been so fairly presented before the world. Plato had long ago framed his speculative Republic; More had sketched his *Utopia*; Bacon had given the world his *New Atlantis*; and, perhaps at that very hour, Harrington was scheming some outline of his *Oceana*; but these New Haven colonists, were building in deeds instead of words, and aiming at objects loftier and nobler and purer than heathen genius or mere human imagination had ever conceived. Their materials were among the best that the world had then. Their sagacity was at least level with the average of the best of their time. But in uniting Church and State, they effected an unhallowed combination, and the experience of nearly two centuries was necessary to correct their mistake. State and Church were both victims of the unnatural alliance; and what was begun with purest aims, and invoked in prayer heaven's benediction, bore bitter fruits of intolerance and religious declension.* More than a century of suppuration was required before healthful action was restored to the political system and the scab could be sloughed off.

In the New Haven Colony laws, published in London, in 1656, we read "that none shall be admitted Free-men, or free Burgesses, within this jurisdiction, or any part of it, but such planters as are members of some one or other of the approved churches of New England."† It

* The spirit of the early New Haven legislature may be inferred from the aims and avowed opinions of its authors, and their contemporaries who sympathized with them. "The Church," says Dr. Bacon, "was not to be as in England, subordinate to the civil government—the mere dependent creature of the secular power,—the secular commonwealth here was designed, created, framed, for no other end than to secure the being and the welfare of the Churches. Mr. Hooker did often quote a saying out of Mr. Cartwright, that 'no man fashioneth his house to his hangings, but his hangings to his house.' 'It is better,' adds Mr. Cotton, 'That the Commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of God's house, which is his church, than to accommodate the Church frame to the civil state.'"—Bacon's *Historical Discourse*, 18.

† At New Haven the support of the ministry was transferred to the town in 1677.—Bacon's *Historical Discourse*, 161.

is made the duty of the General Court "first with all care and diligence from time to time, [to] provide for the maintenance of the purity of religion, and suppress the contrary, according to their best light, and directions from the word of God." No company of persons should be allowed to "join in any pretended way of church fellowship," without due notice to, and approbation by the magistrates, and the Elders of the Churches within the Colony. Each Plantation might provide for the minister's maintenance "in a free way without rating," if it saw fit; but if any person should refuse or delay, or set down an unmeet, the Court, or Deputies and Constable were to rate him according to his visible estate; and on delay, the amount was to be recovered as other just debts. Every person, wherever the ministry of the word was established, should attend upon it, on the Lord's-day at least, and if he should absent or withdraw from the same without just and necessary cause, he should, "after due means of conviction used, for every such sinful mis-carriage, forfeit five shillings to the plantation to be levied as other fines."

It is moreover ordered, "that if any Christian within this jurisdiction, shall goe about to subvert or destroy the Christian faith, or religion, by broaching, publishing or maintaining any dangerous error, or heresie, or shall endeavour to draw or seduce others thereunto, every such person, so offending, and continuing obstinate therein, after due means of conviction, shall be fined, banished, or otherwise severely punished, as the Court of magistrates, duly considering the offence, with the aggravating circumstances, and danger like to ensue, shall judge meet."

In the year after these laws were published in London, it was ordered "that no Quaker, Ranter, or other Herritick of that nature, be suffered to come into, nor abide in this jurisdiction, and if any such arise up amonge ourselves, that they be speedily suppressed, and securied, for the better prevention of such dangerous errors." In the following year it was ordered that the importation of "any known Quaker" or other blasphemous heretic, should be punished with a fine of £50. The Quaker himself who should go about to corrupt or seduce others, or disturb or offend, was to be committed to prison, severely whipt, kept to work, and not suffered to converse with others. For his second offence, he should be branded on the hand with the letter H, be committed to prison, and kept to work till he could be sent away at his own charge. For the third offence, he should be branded on the other hand, and dealt with in the same manner; while for the fourth offence, his tongue should

be bored through with a hot iron, and in other respects dealt with as before; while native-born and foreign Quakers were to be treated with equal impartiality. The penalty of concealing or dispersing a Quaker book was five pounds; of concealing a Quaker, twenty shillings for each hour's entertainment, or of defending Quaker opinions or books, forty shillings for the first offence, four pounds for the second, and imprisonment and banishment for the third.*

In the sister Colony of Connecticut, it was provided by the Constitution that all persons who had been received as members of the several towns, by a majority of the inhabitants, and had taken the oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth, should be admitted freemen of the Colony. None could be elected Governor unless he was a member of some regular Church. The Colonists, mostly from Massachusetts at first, were left to the legal precedents with which they were familiar, as no system of legislation was adopted until the body of laws, prepared by Ludlow, was introduced in 1649. A single instance of imprisonment for violation of the Sabbath, is mentioned by Trumbull as having previously occurred.

By the Charter of 1662, New Haven was united with Connecticut. Most reluctantly did she surrender her identity. Davenport and his friends were strenuous in insisting that all government should be in the Church. In Connecticut, all orderly free-holders might be Freemen. As several towns transferred their allegiance from New Haven to Hartford, they of course conformed their civil arrangements to this change of relation, and were enjoined to "pay all taxes due to ministers with all other public charges then due." The parish system was thus extended and confirmed in the former New Haven jurisdiction; † while the right of the Freeman was no longer dependent upon church-membership. On the completion of the

* "They did not understand aright the great principles of universal religious freedom. They came here for their own freedom and peace; and that freedom and peace they thought themselves authorized and bound to defend against all invaders. The Quakers, however, whom they punished, were not a sect rising up on the soil of New England, and claiming simply the right of separate worship and of free discussion. They were invaders who came from Old England to New, for the sole and declared purpose of disturbance and revolution. They came propagating principles which were understood to strike at the foundation not only of the particular religious and civil polity here established, but of all order and of society itself. In their manner of proceeding they outraged peace and order, openly cursing and reviling the faith and worship which the New Englanders had come to the world's end to enjoy in quietness, the magistrates, venerable for wisdom and public spirit, and the ministers whose gifts and faithfulness were esteemed the brightest glory of the land."—BAOON'S *Historical Discourse*, 99.

† "The Churches, for whose liberty and purity the country was planted, had lost in a measure both purity and liberty. They were brought continually more and more under

Union, the royal Commissioners (1665) demanded that all men of competent estates and of civil conversation, though of different judgments, might be admitted to be Freemen, and be eligible to office; and that all persons of civil lives be free to enjoy liberty of conscience, and the worship of God in the way which they think best. The Assembly answered in substance that such provision had already been made. They did not regard the fixed policy of the General Court—not to suffer any Plantation to be made which would not support “an able “orthodox preacher,”—as coming in conflict with the provisions of the Charter or the demands of the Commissioners. The Charter ordained that all the King’s subjects in the Colony should enjoy all the privileges of free and natural subjects within the realm of England. The Cambridge platform, however, as authoritative perhaps in Connecticut as in Massachusetts, decided that a necessary and sufficient maintenance was, by “the law of nature and “nations, the law of Moses, the equity thereof, “and also the rule of common reason,” due to ministers of the word; and that “the magistrate is to see that the ministry be duly provided for.”

Hence early provision was made by law for the support of the ministry. All persons were obliged to contribute to the support of the Church, as well as of the Commonwealth. The ministers’ rates were made and collected like any others. The Quaker laws of Connecticut were almost identical with those of New Haven. The five shilling fine which New Haven had adopted, was imposed also by Connecticut for neglect to attend public worship on the Lord’s-day and days appointed by the civil authority, (*TRUMBULL’S Connecticut*, i, 302.) The town—or Congregational—Churches, though in many cases they ere long came to be called Presbyterian, were adopted and established by law. It was declared that the civil authority “had “power and liberty to see the peace, ordinances “and rules of Christ, observed in every Church, “according to his word.” In the grant of townships, the Legislature took special care that they should not be without a minister and the stated order of Gospel worship. The consent of the General Court, and the approbation of the neighboring Elders were necessary, if any persons would “in anywise embody themselves “into church estate.” No ministry or church

administration might be entertained, or attended by the inhabitants of any Plantation, distinct and separate from, and in opposition to, that which was openly and publicly observed and dispensed, by the approved minister of the place, except the Court and neighboring ministers approved. The penalty for every breach of this act was five pounds.

But several years before New Haven was, by Royal Charter, united with Connecticut, the latter Colony had become involved in ecclesiastical controversy. This controversy originated with the Hartford Church; but the several parties in that Church had their sympathizers in almost every Church in the Colony. A large number of the people generally favored admission to the Church simply on the ground of a moral life and an open profession of Christianity. All baptized persons should be accounted church-members, and be entitled to present their children for baptism. The choice of Pastor moreover should not be limited to the Church. The whole congregation were interested in his call, and should have a voice in it. To deny them this right was considered as a great grievance.

The Civil authority was invoked to call Councils to conciliate the disaffected and restore peace. They failed of their object. The General Court, at length, (1658) ordered an utter cessation of all further prosecution of parties in the Church at Hartford, and desired the Elders of the Colony to meet and devise healing measures; but nothing came of it. The Hartford controversy at length wore itself out; but not until, to use the language of Mather, “from the fire of the altar there issued thunderings, and lightnings, and earthquakes, “through the Colony.”

For the next fifty years, the civil authorities continued their exertions as the “nursing “fathers” of the Church. The General Court, for instance, appointed a Committee of ministers and civilians to dismiss Mr. Stow from his disaffected people at Middletown. As if a sovereign ecclesiastical power resided in them, and they combined the powers of Presbytery and Bishop, they convoked Councils, controlled Churches, and displaced Ministers. They invoked light to guide them from the Elders of the Churches, and deliberated on imposing by Statute upon the Churches the decisions of the heretical Synod of 1662. In 1666, they called a Synod and ordered all the presiding Elders to attend it. In 1667, they attempted to settle divisions in the Windsor Church. In 1669, they divided the Hartford Church into two congregations. In the same year, they directed the two parties in the Stratford Church to call an able Council, to give them advice. In 1680, they recommended the ministers of the Colony

“the absolute power of the civil state.”—BAOON’S *Historical Discourse*, 181. §

“But now the ministers of the gospel being supported “by the towns in their civil capacity, and the government “taking upon itself more and more the care not only of “morals but of religion and religious information, religion “was becoming secularized.”—*Id.* 204.

to catechise the youth of their congregations, and to set up a weekly lecture in each county. In the same year, they required the people of Windsor to abide by the decision of the Council they had chosen.

But the State proved a bad nurse for the Churches. It meddled with everything and settled nothing. Without the advantages of Episcopacy, it was a many-headed civil Bishop. Without the legitimate relations or proper functions of Presbytery, it displaced it by its own nondescript supervision, trammeling ecclesiastical freedom, and establishing a mongrel discipline which was at length distasteful to nearly every party. Left to themselves and their own organizing tendencies, many of the Churches would doubtless have become Presbyterian or consolidated. Others probably would have run into rank Independency; while here and there one, by the force of internal antagonisms, might have illustrated the infinite divisibility of matter. As it was, they were held together in more or less peaceful associated relations, by the power of old habits and the civil authority.

One might have supposed that after such an experience, the State would have been ready to relinquish the tutelage of the Churches. Instead of this, it resolved by means of ecclesiastical machinery, to secure new allies in its work. There was indeed need of them. Everything was in disorder. Councils were called, but only to necessitate new Councils, with no better results. "There was no regular way of introducing candidates to the Churches." "When they had finished their college studies, if they imagined themselves qualified, and could find some friendly gentleman in the ministry to introduce them, they began to preach without an examination or recommendation from any body of ministers or Churches." In one town, perhaps more than one, the invitation to preach was extended to a man not even a member of the Church.

"The state of the Churches was lamentable, with respect to their general order, government and discipline." "Many Churches ran into confusion." "Councils were not sufficient to relieve the aggrieved, and restore peace. As there was no general rule for calling of Councils. Council was called against Council, and opposite results were given upon the same cases." (TRUMBULL'S *Connecticut*, i. 507.)

In these circumstances, "a great majority of the Legislature and Clergy in Connecticut were for the association of ministers and the consociation of Churches." A large Presbyterian element existed among the congregations. Governor Saltonstall, previously settled as a

Pastor at New London, took a deep interest in church affairs, and exerted himself to meet the difficulty. Others warmly co-operated with him, and with such success as to lead to the adoption by the Legislature, in May, 1708, of the Act, requiring the ministers and Churches to meet and form an ecclesiastical Constitution. The result was the authoritative introduction of the Saybrook Platform, drawn up at the place which gave it its name, in September, 1708, by a body consisting of twelve ministers and four lay delegates.

It might naturally be supposed that this measure would be regarded, by "sober dissenters," as a new grievance. But the dominant party endeavored to remove all grounds—so far as they conceived them to exist—for any just complaint. Laws for the relief of dissenters were successively enacted, designed more especially to remove causes of complaint on the part of Episcopalians.*

The platform, as adopted, was variously understood. Some interpreted it in a lax, and some in a strict, sense. But if it did not promote all the objects for which it was designed, it secured, for a time at least, greater harmony and uniformity in the action of the Churches. It created, more definitely than ever before, an ecclesiastical establishment. The General Court ordained that all the Churches "that are or shall be thus united in doctrine, worship and discipline be, and for the future shall be, owned and acknowledged established by law; provided always that nothing herein shall be intended or construed to hinder or prevent any Society or Church, that is or shall be allowed by the law of this Government, who soberly differ or dissent from the united Churches hereby established, from exercising worship and discipline, in their own way, according to their consciences."

Up to the time of the adoption of the Saybrook Platform, the ecclesiastical elements of

* The Act of May, 1708, was as follows :

"An Act for the ease of such as soberly dissent from the way of worship and ministry, established by the laws of this Government.

It is enacted and ordained by the Governor, Council and Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, for the ease of such as soberly dissent from the way of worship and ministry established by the ancient laws of the Government, and still continuing, that if any such persons shall at the County Court of that County they belong to, qualify themselves according to an Act made in the first year of the late King William and Queen Mary, granting liberty of worshipping God, in a way separate from that which is by law established, they shall enjoy the same liberty, without any let, hindrance and molestation whatever.

Provided always, that nothing herein, shall be construed to the prejudice of the rights and privileges of the Churches by law established in this Government, or to the excusing any person from paying any such minister, or town dues, as are now, or shall hereafter be due from them."—*Acts and Laws of Connecticut*, 1715.

the State had been remarkably homogeneous. They revered the same standards. They followed similar usages. They received the same traditions. There was scarcely a shadow of opposition to an Establishment on the mere ground of dissent from congregational doctrine or discipline. But already a change was at hand—invited in part doubtless by the larger measure of toleration extended to “sober dissenters,” on the occasion of the legislative endorsement of the Saybrook Platform.

Dissent was gaining a foothold at the East and the West. Episcopal zeal, inspired and guided by prominent adherents of the Church of England in New York, was gathering congregations at Rye and Stratford; while, on the East, the Baptists, sustained by Rhode Island sympathy, had planted themselves in Groton and its vicinity. But the aggregate number of both denominations was for a long period too inconsiderable to command any great measure of political influence or respect.

The first marked opposition to the ecclesiastical establishment of the Colony was manifested by an inconsiderable and, in some respects, contemptible sect. This body was known, from the name of its leading spirit, John Rogers, as the Rogerines; and it flourished more especially in the vicinity of New London. It first emerged into notice in connection with its practical adoption of Seventh-day observance principles, which had been so openly advocated and become so obnoxious, that the Rev. Mr. Fitch of Norwich, some quarter of a century before the adoption of the Platform, had felt it to be his duty to meet them with a public refutation.

The founder of the Rogerines was a strong-willed enthusiast, a second Gorton; and his course gave some color of justice to the order—at length issued—that he should be carried to Hartford prison, to be there “shut up in some dark room,” while “one Laborell, a French Doctor,” was to shave his head, and “give him purges to recover him of his madnefs.”

O his own career, we are informed in a pamphlet which he published in 1721. Most of it is devoted to an attempted refutation of the claims put forth by two writers, (one of them probably Fitch of Norwich,) in behalf of the religious observance of the Lord’s-day. This he professed to consider utterly unscriptural. The popular observance of the Sabbath was like the sin of Nadab and Abihu, in his esteem. Acting out his convictions, he repeatedly exposed himself to civil process. It would be tedious to recite the harsh treatment to which he was subjected, and of which he indignantly complains. Repeatedly fined, or bound over for his good behavior, he refused to comply

with the terms of what he regarded as an unrighteous sentence. In his “New London Prison,” he addressed a curious letter “the 17th of the 9th month, 1719,” to “Richard Christopher’s Assistant and from him to Governor Saltonstall, and Eliphalet Adams.”* He insists that they shall answer his three questions—“Hath God any law to forbid labour on the first Day of the Week?” “Whether the name Sabbath be a Title that God by his word hath put upon it?” (If so, he prays them to quote chapter and verse.) “Whether the Name, Lord’s-Day, be a Scripture Name peculiarly to that Day?” If they cannot answer these questions, he requests them to read and consider what is written, Psalm xc., 20, 21, “Shall the throne of Iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a Law?” etc.

He requests also “the Court Elders and Messengers” to see that an answer is returned him, “as you will answer it before God, the Judge of Heaven and Earth, and that we may not be compelled by the authority, to offer to God in divine worship, that which he hath not commanded, against our consciences,” etc.

He complains that no answer had been returned to his request, which he thereupon renews. “Having treated,” he says, “upon your Sabbath, the Foundation almost of all your worship, which is the work of your own hands,” he proceeds to narrate his persecutions:

“I shall now conclude with what is called your *Civil Government*. The last fine you fined me was *ten shillings*. All that I did was expounding upon a chapter in the Bible, between your meetings, after the people were gone to dinner, which you call a riot. I went into no other seat but that which I was seated in, by them whom the town appointed to seat every one. The building of the meeting-house cost me three of the best fat cattle I had that year, and as many shoes as was sold for *thirty shillings* in silver money; for which said fine of *ten shillings* the officer took ten sheep, as some told me that help’d to drive them away. The sheep were half my son’s; they were marked with a mark that we marked creatures with that were between us, which said mark had been recorded in the town book, I suppose for above twenty years; and after they were sold, the officer went into my son’s pasture unbeknown to him and took a milk cow which was between us, (my part he hired), all upon the same fine of ten shillings. The pasture had stood recorded to him, above

* Congregational Minister at New London.

"seven, if not above eight years, and not any overplus returned. Such things as those hath been frequently done upon us; and my purpose is brevity, and such things as those would contain a great volume, and therefore I think to mention but one more. I was fined £20 by a Superiour Court for charging an *Inferior Court with injustice, for trying upon Life and Death without a jury.*" Upon this, he dilates at length, giving account of his arrest, imprisonment, and flight to Long Island and Newport, where the Governor befriended him, and a merchant offered to supply him money to prosecute his appeal in England.

But his mission was in the vicinity of his own home, and there he found admirers and adherents. The Rogerines deserved the name. They copied after their leader's example. The most impracticable of mortals—the early Quakers scarcely excepted—they were well calculated to wear out the patience of the civil authority. It would be difficult to say which party, persecutors or persecuted, were made most uncomfortable. The file persecuted the steel, and the steel persecuted the file, but the Rogerines were the file. If we may infer, from the language of Dr. McEwen, the state of popular feeling, the law-abiding citizens, felt themselves to be the injured party. The fanaticism of the Rogerines, forced to attend public worship by law on a day when they were resolved to labor, made them not only undevout but troublesome hearers. Their religion could find no expression, but in insulting and disturbing the ordinances of Congregationalists. In the language of Dr. McEwen,* setting forth their principles and practice, "The Sabbath; the Congregational Church and its ministry and worship, were idols. This was the leading article of the faith of the Rogerines. Their grand mission was to destroy this idolatry. The obligation lay heavy upon their consciences; and the enterprise near their heart. To pay taxes of any sort wounded their soul. In common with Quakers, they held the doctrine of non-resistance to violence from man; and they outquaked the Quakers, in their religious abhorrence of resistance to bodily disease of every kind. If one had the typhus fever, or the itch, he must let it take its natural course, without the slightest resort to medicine or remedy. This cutaneous disease brought some of them to the borders of the grave. Messrs. Saltenstall and Adams were brave men, not intimidated by the insolence of the Rogerines. Mr. Byles was a man of less nerve; and he suffered not a little from their

"annoyance. They waylaid him in his walks to the place of public worship; and he was actually afraid to go without an escort, lest he should suffer indignities from them."

"The idol which most grievously offended the consciences of these purifiers of religion; and which called for their most general and fierce assault, was the public worship of the Congregationalists, on the Sabbath. They came, men and women, into the aisles of the meeting-house, with their cards and spinning-wheels; their sewing and knitting works; and with implements for working in wood; and during prayers and sermon, plied their several occupations. The disturbance made was a breach of the law; police officers took them out. They were careful to make no resistance; showing their faith by their works. A constable often took out a burly man; and with a twine, tied him by the arm, to a tree. He was studious not to break the ligature; but stood, conscientiously, until the close of divine service, when he was officially released. One constable displayed his genius in putting the strength of this principle of non-resistance to a test: He took a bold assailant of public worship down to the harbor; placed him in a boat, which was moored to a stake in deep water; perforated the bottom of the boat with an auger; gave the man a dish, and left him to live by faith, or die in the faith. 'Skin for skin; all that a man hath, will he give for his life.' The faith of the martyr was strong; yet he was saved, not by faith, but by baling water."

It is doubtful whether such opposition as the Rogerines offered to the ecclesiastical laws of the State, did not really serve to strengthen them. Their own notions were accounted whimsical, and they were regarded rather as the injuring than the injured party. Their studied disrespect of the Sabbath may have been conscientious; but it was insulting to the convictions of others as sacred as their own. The compulsion to which they were subjected, in being forced to attend public worship, was really their strongest ground of complaint; and the result of it, in the light of the present day, appears alike futile and ridiculous. Yet they were to Connecticut somewhat as the early Quakers were to Massachusetts; and a sketch of religious liberty in the former Colony, would be incomplete if it overlooked them altogether. They were sufferers by civil persecution. They doubtless often felt that they were entitled to rank as martyrs. "Their goods were distrained; their cattle were sold at the post; and some of their people were imprisoned. But emulating the example of the Apostles, they took joyfully the spoiling of their goods; yea,

* Half Century Sermon. New London, January 27, 1857

"they gloried in bonds and imprisonment. I have not yet spoken of scourging; nor of the effects of it; which, in the consummation of judgments, actually befel these crusaders against idolatry. What the law would not do, in that it was weak, lynching did. Historical fidelity constrains me, though with reluctance and sadness, to say, that our forefathers of this congregation, in the extremity of their embarrassment, took the disturbers of public worship out, tied them to trees, and permitted the boys to give them a severe whipping with switches taken from the prim-bush. The affirmation of the Rogerines is, that the shrub has never vegetated in this town, since that irreligious and cruel use of it."* It is but natural that in the clearer light of the present day, and far removed from the sympathies and passions of the actors in these scenes, we should feel that this diminutive, and in some respects contemptible, sect, was sustained and nurtured by the unwise coercion to which it was subjected by the necessities of the union of Church and State.

So far as opposition to the legal maintenance of the ministry was concerned, the Baptists were fuller as decided if not so demonstrative as the Rogerines. Like them, few in number, they were somewhat contemptuously overlooked; and their Rhode Island origin did not help to commend them to public respect. The first public movement on their part, in the way of opposition to the church-order established, of any special note, took place in 1727. Elder Wightman, a Baptist preacher, and Rev. John Bulkley of Colchester, met at Lyme, each supported by sympathizing friends, and engaged in a public debate. Baptism was the main topic of discussion, but one point of controversy was the legal maintenance of the clergy, which Wightman opposed and Bulkley defended. Each side published its version of the debate, although Bulkley gives limited space to his defence of ministerial support by legal provisions. The opposition of Wightman was based on three distinct positions—1. Because there is no precept or precedent for it in the New Testament. 2. Because it violates the Gospel rule of doing to others as we would have them do to us. 3. Because the Lord requires only volunteers, and not forced men in his service. Wightman complained that Bulkley evaded the issue, insisting only that *under the existing laws of the State*, the method adopted for the support of the ministry was lawful.

Such opposition as the few Baptists who were at that time within the limits of the Colony could offer to the legal church-establish-

ment, was indeed inconsiderable. But they asked for themselves precisely what they were prepared to concede to others. This can scarcely be said of the Episcopalians. Their mother Church of England was an Established Church. Even in their early publications, and in the days of their feebleness, they spoke in a lordly tone of the "Dissenters" around them; and no one questioned at that day the satisfaction with which they could have seen the civil patronage enjoyed by Congregationalists, transferred to themselves. The first serious opposition to civil enactments concerning religion, was to spring from the bosom of the Congregational Church itself.

A religious establishment is, from its very nature, conservative. It has nothing to gain by agitation or revolution, but much to risk. Its necessary attitude toward new and earnest outbreaks of popular religious feeling, is one of hostility. This was the case in a marked manner, with the established order in Connecticut, when that tide of religious revival, which for more than a century has been associated with the names of Edwards and Whitfield, rolled over New England. At first, indeed, the great trans-Atlantic Apostle received a cautious and guarded welcome. But his own zeal and imprudence, to say nothing of the course pursued by his followers and admirers—Tennent, Davenport, Allen, Crosswell and others—provoked criticism, then suspicion, and at length denunciation. Ministers saw their congregations thinned by the loss of those who admired and followed the Revivalists, and who were almost immediately designated as Separatists. The Legislature sympathized with the clergy, and resolved to check the threatening evil. That evil had already become serious. New congregations were formed in many places, and others were in progress of being gathered. Some of the more warm-hearted and zealous of the clergy favored them; while others opposed them. President Clap, at the head of Yale College, belonged to the latter class. So also did many of the most prominent clergy and civilians of the State.

The strength of this antagonism of feeling is reflected in many historic incidents of the time.

David Brainerd, a member of Yale College, in the fervor of his warm religious feeling, was overheard to say of one of the Tutors (Whittlesey, afterwards Pastor of the first Church in New Haven,) that he had no more grace than the chair upon which he was leaning. For this, after an inquisitorial investigation, he was expelled; and no intercession from men like Edwards and President Burr, in connection with his own humiliating confessions of his rash and uncharitable expressions, could procure him his academic degree. The two Cleavelands, mem-

* Dr. McEwen's Discourse.

bers of College from Canterbury, had on their visit home, attended with their parents the Separatist Church where the family worshipped; and for this offence, they too were expelled. Several students also were fined for going to Milford, to hear the celebrated preacher Gilbert Tennent; and it was only as a very special favor, and generally with the disapproval of the college authorities, that any could hear, even occasionally, the ministers who supplied the Separatist Church in New Haven.

The College authorities reflected fairly the prevalent feelings of the majority of the clergy within the bounds of the State. The Revivalists were accounted enthusiasts, in some cases—as in that of John Davenport—with only too much reason; and the civil authorities felt called upon to come to the aid of the friends of the Saybrook Platform. It was by no means going out of their line of business to do so. With the best of motives, they were continually stretching out their hands to hold up the falling ark. They were in fact a Secular Synod, enjoining upon the Associations—as so many Presbyteries—the work they were to do and the course they should pursue. In 1714, the General Assembly commended an inquiry into the prevailing sins of the times, and the state of religion among the people. In 1723, they enacted that “whatsoever persons shall presume on the “Lord’s-day to neglect the public worship of “God in some lawful congregation, and form “themselves into separate companies in private “houses, being convicted thereof before any Assistant or Justice of the Peace, shall each of “them, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of “twenty shillings.” Nor was this all. Any one, not a lawful minister of the Gospel, administering or making the show of administering the communion to any persons whatsoever, and being convicted thereof, should incur the penalty of ten pounds for every such offence, and suffer corporal punishment by whipping, not exceeding thirty stripes for each offence. Relief, however, was afforded to tender consciences, by application to the Legislature, of persons, soberly dissenting from the established order..

To harmonize the Churches on the Saybrook Platform, especially when parties existed within the Churches themselves, gave the Assembly no little trouble. At Norwich, the Church refused to accept the platform. In other places, they rebelled against the attempt to impose it. At Guilford, a secession took place from the Church over which Thomas Ruggles was installed in 1729. The seceders distinctly renounced the Platform, and set up worship as an independent congregation. The Legislature, however, rejected their petition to be made a distinct Society, and used measures to induce the seceders to re-

turn to the old Church. “Adhering to its old “habit,” in the language of Rev. Dr. Bacon, “of playing the Bishop over the Churches,” it ordered an ecclesiastical Council selected from three Counties, to meet at Guilford, and bring the controversy to a close. The thing could not be done. At the proposal of the Legislature, the General Association next attempted it; but with no better success. A Committee of its own, sent by the Legislature, recommended another Council. The Council was to be final, but it accomplished nothing. Another legislative Committee met, heard the parties, and reported; and still another Council was directed to undertake the task. They recommended that the seceders be permitted to have their own way; and after five years of strife, there was peace at Guilford.

The advent of Whitfield, and the labors of men like Owen, Pomeroy, Wheelock, Bellamy, well-known friends of the Revival, disturbed anew the quietude of the Churches; and the Legislature, again disposed to interfere, determined to secure the wisest counsels. They directed the General Association to meet at Guilford, and consider what should be done. “What “ministers composed” this Association, says Trumbull, “cannot be known, as there is not “the least Minute of any such Council on the “cords of the General Association; nor is there “any intimation of the result or doings of it, any “further than what is found in the preamble of “this extraordinary Act, and in references to it, “by Associations and Consociations afterwards.” Happily, I have succeeded in rescuing from contemporary documents, a manuscript letter of Joseph Bellamy to Eleazar Wheelock, which shows that the Association had present among its members a vigorous minority aware of its designs, and prepared to resist them. “Rev. “Sir & Dear Br,” writes Bellamy, under date of Bethlehem, November 16, 1711, “You know “doubtless that the Consociation is to be held “at Guilford next week. Dr. Sir, fail not of “being there, together with Mr. Mechem and “Pumroy, and all that are true friends to the “suffering interests of our dear Lord. I trust “you’ll meet there all your brethren from this “way. Many things I might add, but time “fails.” In a Postscript, he adds, “Let us cry “mightily to God, for who can tell but he may “now appear, and make Jerusalem the joy of “the whole earth.”

But Bellamy and his friends were outnumbered and out-voted. The policy suggested by Samuel Whittlesey, of Wallingford, and embodied in the instructions given by the New Haven County Consociation to their delegates, was adopted. When the General Assembly of the State met in May, 1743, the sermon preach-

ed before them by Isaac Stiles, (father of President Stiles) of North Haven, foreshadowed the course they were prepared to pursue, in accordance with the advice given by the Guilford Council. He was bitter upon the Revival party,* comparing them to "Will with his wisp" and Jack with his lantern." The General Assembly proceeded to their task and passed an Act, in the preface of which they speak of having "directed, in consequence of disorderly" and irregular practises," the calling of a General Association at Guilford, in November last, and of the work which it had been commissioned to do. Evidently in accordance with its advice, in view of "prevalent practises, "which tend to division and contention," and "to destroy the ecclesiastical Constitution established by the laws of this Government," they enacted that a minister, who goes uninvited into another parish to preach, "shall be denied and excluded the benefit of any law of this Colony, made for the support and encouragement of the Gospel ministry;" that ministers or Associations interfering with what pertains, according to the Saybrook Platform, to another Association, shall be subjected to a similar penalty; that a minister not settled or ordained, intruding into a parish, without the invitation of the minister and the major part of the congregation, be put under bonds, to the amount of one hundred pounds, not to offend again;* and that a minister from out of the State, whether licensed or unlicensed, ordained or unordained, intruding in the like manner, "be sent, as a vagrant person, by warrant from any Assistant "or Justice of the Peace, from Constable to Constable, out of the bounds of the Colony."

Such was the legislation for which the New Haven County Association (Oct. 1742) returned grateful acknowledgment, thanking the Assembly for "so caring for our religious interests and "ecclesiastical Constitution;" at the same time praising their wisdom, and commending the serviceableness of their Act.

The Act was not to remain a dead letter on the Statute-book. It reached, and in some cases very effectually, those at whom it was aimed. Philemon Robbins, (settled at Branford in 1732,) ventured to preach in a neighboring parish without the minister's consent." He was deposed from his office, and deprived of legal

* Among the features of the Connecticut law of 1742, was one which provided that if any person not licensed to preach, should exhort within the limits of any parish, without the consent of the pastor and a majority of that parish, he might for every such offence be bound to keep the peace, by any assistant or justice of the peace in the penal sum of £100.

For this law, the Association of New Haven County, in their meeting in September 1742, expressed their thanks to the Legislature and prayed that it might continue in force." —Dutton's *Historical Discourse*, 54.

maintenance. But he contemned the injustice of the law; and his people sustained him. Benjamin Pomeroy of Hebron, preached in Colchester, supposing that the minister had no objection; and for this he too was denied the privilege of the civil provision for his support. This, however, was supplied by the voluntary devotion of his people; and he pursued his course, supported by them on the voluntary system. Bellamy's Church also sympathized with him in his detestation of the law and placed themselves virtually outside the State establishment. In the Diary of David Brainerd, for September 1742, we find that he had preached for the Separatist Church, organized at New Haven in the preceding May (5th) by Joseph Bellamy, Samuel Cooke,* John Graham, and Elisha Kent. For this, he was informed that the civil authorities were seeking an opportunity to arrest and imprison him. He desired to meet his friends at New Haven; but he dared only to venture to the house of an acquaintance at a distance from the town. And so the saintly man, the Apostolic missionary to the Indians, whose life has inspired the zeal of men like Henry Martyn, and seemed to revive in the last ages the memories of primitive devotion, wrote in his Diary—"though some time ago, I reckoned upon seeing my dear friends at Commencement; yet being now denied the opportunity for fear of imprisonment, I feel totally resigned, and am content to spend this day alone in the woods, as I could have done if I had been allowed to go to town."

Thomas Lewis was a fellow student of Brainerd, graduating at Yale College in 1741. For him, zealous in the cause of the Revival, there was no toleration within the bounds of Connecticut; and, like Davenport, Symmes, Allen and others, New Jersey furnished him a refuge, (*Life of John Brainerd*, p. 192) and in 1747, he was settled at Bethlehem, in that Province. Elisha

* "Mr. Cooke was called to account before the Corporation of Yale College, of which he was a member, for assisting in the formation of this Church, and found it expedient, such was the feeling against him, to resign his seat." (*College Records*). —Dutton's *Historical Discourse*, 43.

A short time—two or three weeks—after the Church was formed, the Legislature of the Colony, doubtless urged by ecclesiastical influence, especially from this County, passed a law, which would prevent them from employing any minister, without the consent of the Pastor and the majority of the First Society." —Dutton's *Historical Discourse*, 44.

In 1743, the Assembly, "in order to suppress enthusiasm," as was said, repealed the Act of Toleration of which the founders of this Church had availed themselves when they seceded. So that, thereafter, no class of men could be permitted to separate from the established Churches, and worship according to the dictates of their consciences unless leave should be granted by special Act of Legislature; and moreover it was intimated in the Act of repeal, that Congregationalists or Presbyterians, who should apply for such leave, would meet with no indulgence from the Assembly. —Dutton's *Historical Discourse*, 47.

Kent, settled for some years at Newtown, had assisted in the organization of the Separatist Church at New Haven, and had preached for the Separatist Church at Milford; and to avoid arrest and imprisonment he fled beyond the borders of the State, and, not far from the Township of Kent, in Dutchess-county, New York, he planted the foundations of the Presbyterian Church, as a pioneer on the eastern line of the Hudson. His grandson, Chancellor Kent, and the name of the township derived from the family to which he belonged, are to us memorials of an exile enforced by the Connecticut legislation of 1742.

Owen of Groton and Pomeroy of Hebron, were not disposed to flee the State. The latter offended anew by preaching at Milford; and it is scarcely strange that, under the severity which was shown him, he should even have exceeded Owen in the harshness of his strictures on Connecticut legislation. He is reported to have said publicly, that the late laws of the Colony, made concerning ecclesiastical affairs, were a great foundation to encourage persecution and to encourage wicked men to break their covenants; that if they did not, it was no thanks to the Court; and that the law which was made to stop ministers from going about to preach in other towns, was made without reason, and contrary to the law of God. He was also charged with saying, "there was no Colony so 'bad for persecuting laws as Connecticut.'" For these words, bills of indictment were filed against him, by Elihu Hall, Esqr., of Wallingford; and he was summoned to appear and answer before the General Assembly.

Owen was summoned at the same time. This was in May, 1744. His offence was probably less than Pomeroy's; and he was let off with a slight apology. But undoubtedly he had at the time in his pocket, the answer to a letter which he had written to Thomas Prince, of Boston, in which the latter, after a long and eloquent defence of the order of Evangelists, closed by saying—"That as to the Connecticut 'laws, I should be ever astonished as well as 'grieved, if I had not read and seen so much of 'the same spirit in other parts of the world. 'It is the very spirit of human nature, in its 'present depravation. Even a righteous Abel, 'yea, a most holy, harmless and spotless Jesus, 'must be hated, abused and destroyed, because 'they were so. I mourn for the makers of 'them, for the temporal hurt they do to others, 'for preserving their consciences upright before 'the Lord; but much more for the wounds they 'give their hearts, for their entrenching on 'what I am sure are the prerogatives of the 'great Redeemer; and for the great dishonor 'they bring on our country, our profession, our

"religion and our God. As I sojourned in Eng-
"land near seven years, I know how grievous
"they will be to our friends, and offensive if not
"enraging to our enemies. . . . In one of your
"laws, I also observe an High Commission
"Court set up with such an unlimited power as
"there is none so great in England, and your
"Government is invested with greater power
"than King George himself. . . . As to
"your particular case depending—not knowing
"the precise words you dropped, I am not able
"to form a particular judgment. I can only
"venture to say in general, that the known
"sins of magistrates and ministers, as well as
"people, ought to be bewailed, especially on
"days of universal humiliation appointed by
"the magistrates; but then they are to be men-
"tioned with great humility and decency—but
"with respect to these particular laws, I cannot
"see but they might be lamented as very
"grievous to many pious ministers and people,
"as bereaving of those liberties Christ has most
"dearly purchased and kindly given us; but
"with the supposition that the magistrates
"being fallible men, acted in the uprightness of
"their hearts, and with a view to the glory of
"God, and the good of the people."

Not a very flattering document to those who were constrained to accept the apology which it allowed Owen to make; and perhaps it was well for both parties, that it was not exhibited. But Pomeroy had no apology; and he was condemned to pay costs of prosecution and give bonds in fifty pounds, to keep the peace thenceforth.

He could not complain of the character of those that suffered with him. A few months before, Samuel Finley, subsequently President of Princeton-college, was sent by the Presbytery of New Brunswick to supply the Churches formed at Milford and New Haven, which had put themselves under their care. For preaching at Milford, he was arrested, and sent out of the Government as a vagrant. He returned and preached at New Haven, for which he was seized at the meeting-house door, on Lord's-day morning, and carried away by an officer. He returned again and preached to the people. This is said, (*Letter of Stephen Blanchard to Ethan Smith, 1817.*) to have induced the Legislature to enact that any minister who should do the like, should be imprisoned till he gave a bond in one hundred pounds not to do so again. —(See TRUMBULL'S *History of Connecticut*, ii. Oct. 1743.)

Among such distinguished victims, it may seem superfluous to note cases like those of Thomas Marsh, arrested Jan. 5th 1746, on the day before he was to have been ordained, and thrown into prison, nor that of Solomon Paine

of Canterbury, deprived by process of law of his goods and chattels and imprisoned; vindicating in a large printed pamphlet his rights as a citizen and a man; and appealing for justice to the General Assembly. We shall leave the historian of Connecticut, (Trumbull) to characterize the legislation of 1742 as "an outrage to every principle of justice, and to the most inherent and valuable rights of the subject." "It was," he says, "a palpable contradiction and gross violation of the Connecticut Bill of Rights. It dishonored the Servant of God, stained his good name, and deprived him of all the temporal emoluments of his profession, without judge or jury, without hearing him or knowing what evil he had done. It put it into the hands of enemies and malicious persons to undo innocent men." We may add that a fitting parallel for it must be sought in the infamous legislation against Non-conformists and Conventicles, under Charles II.

Such intolerance could not long maintain itself in Connecticut; although the obnoxious enactment was plausibly defensible on grounds which could not be urged against the Saybrook Platform Establishment of the State, and to which some of the New Light party were blind themselves. If the State provided for the support of the ministry, it might be urged that it was not assuming too much to say on what conditions that support should be given. But in spite of any such plea, public opinion bore more and more heavily against the law. The exiled ministers and those who suffered by the law were persons whose characters commanded respect. Men like Finley, Brainerd, Kent, and others of a kindred spirit, to say nothing of Bellamy, Pomeroy, Wheelock, Owen, and those who maintained their places within the Colony, could not fail by their position and influence to create a reaction. The expulsion of Brainerd from Yale College, and the refusal to give him, the foremost scholar of his class, his degree, led directly to the establishment of Princeton College.—(*Life of John Brainerd*, 56, 57.) President Clap discovered the spirit of those with whom he had sympathized in his opposition to Whitfield, and threw himself more and more to the side of men like Graham and Bellamy. From across the ocean came the voice of remonstrance against Connecticut intolerance. Dr. B. Avery of England, a very influential Dissenter, who took a deep interest in the affairs of New England wrote to a gentleman there: "I am very sorry to hear of the persecuting spirit that prevails in Connecticut. It is unaccountable that those who live and breathe by liberty, should deny it to their brethren. If any gentlemen that suffer by these coercive laws, will apply to me, I will use my influence

"that justice shall be done them." His letter was read in the General Assembly, as Trumbull informs us, and must have produced a deep impression. In consequence of it, Governor Law wrote to Dr. Avery, acquainting him with the disorders and extravagances into which the people ran, under a pretence of, and zeal for, religion, which had occasioned such laws to curb their excesses. Dr. Avery replied that he disliked such wildness and disorder as much as he did; but that civil penalties were not the proper remedies to heal them.

This letter of Dr. Avery was not without effect. This at least was the decided conviction of Rev. F. Wheelock, a competent judge. In a manuscript letter of his, never yet published, he writes to Dr. Avery, under date of March 4, 1756, as follows: "The savour of your name in this Colony amongst those who appear on the side of religion, is like precious ointment, and the hearts of many who neither know how, nor (if they did) are ever like to have the opportunity to express it, remain conscious of great indebtedness to you for your kind and successful interpositions, when matters in this Government were pushed on to such a length as some were ready to term religious violence, and the face of things appeared with a threatening aspect; at that juncture, your letter to our late Governor, was (we apprehend) the means under God of quenching the fire, and putting a stop to such extraordinary measures."

That letter undoubtedly had a very material bearing upon the cause of religious liberty. Upon a revision of the laws, soon after, the law which had given so much trouble, and done so much dishonor to the country, was expunged or left out.* Not however till it was pretty clearly seen that its opponents were not disposed to lay down their arms. Threats were made, by those who declared that they would not be frightened, but would appeal to the King in Council. It was, moreover, proposed to reprint Locke's *Treatise on Toleration*, an enterprise which it was left for the friends of liberty in Massachusetts to carry out, at this very juncture. Thomas Prince, perhaps, had a hand in it.

But while the particular enactment was set aside—or omitted in the revision of 1750—other kindred legislation was kept in full force. The Separatists of New Haven at length outnumbered the original Church of Mr. Noyes, and outvoted them in the town. Yet they were unable to procure themselves a Pastor till 1751.†

* It seems probable that the ecclesiastical laws of 1742 were never formally repealed, but were superseded by the revision of the Statutes in 1752.—*Letter of J. C. Hoadley.*

† The Act of Toleration, of which the separating party had taken the benefit, did not exempt them from the payment of taxes to the Society from which they had withdrawn.—*Bacon's Historical Discourses*, p. 223.

The second Church at Milford continued its conflict for nearly twenty years, before they could secure their rights from the Legislature, wearied out by their stubborn perseverance. The Separate Church at Norwich outnumbered the original body, and in town-meeting refused to levy the minister's tax. The Legislature interposed to compel them; but so firm were they in their refusal that as many as forty persons, it is said, were in prison in a single year, for their unyielding purpose to maintain their rights. In Hovey's *Life of Backus*, we have a letter from "Norwich Gaol, Nov. 1, 1752," addressed to the Rev. Mr. Lord by one of the victims of intolerance. "Sir," he writes, "I take this opportunity to present you with these few lines, which I should have thought you would have prevented by visiting us. Pray, Sir, consider whether or no you do not neglect to minister to Christ, for inasmuch as ye did it not unto these, &c. . . . Ye lay heavy burdens and refuse to touch them with one of your fingers. You say it is the authority; Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.*"

In 1750, Ebenezer Frothingham, a Separatist minister at Middletown, entered the lists as a public champion of the cause of religious liberty. In that year he published a 16mo volume of four hundred and thirty-two pages, containing "The Articles of Faith and Practice, with the Covenant that is confessed by the Separate Churches of Christ in general in this land. Also a discourse, &c." A large part of the book is devoted to a vindication of the doctrinal views and religious practices of the Separates. The author then proceeds to the examination of a work entitled, *The present way of the Country in maintaining the Gospel ministry by a Public Rate or Tax is Lawful, Equitable, and agreeable to the Gospel; As the same is argued and proved in way of Dialogue between John Queristicus and Thomas Casuisticus, near Neighbors in the County.* By E. H. M. A., New London, "1749." 12mo. pp. 74.

Frothingham contends that Civil and Ecclesiastical authority have, each, their distinct spheres, and need not clash. The Civil power has no right to tax for the support of the Church. "That religion that hath not authority and power enough within itself to influence its professors to support the same, without Bargains, Taxes, or Rates, and the Civil Power, and Prisons, &c. is a false Religion." "Now,

"if the Religion generally professed and practiced in this land, be the Religion of Jesus Christ, why do they strain away the Goods of the Professors of it, and waste their substance to support it? which has frequently been done. And which is worse, why do they take their Neighbors (that don't worship with them, but have solemnly covenanted to worship God in another place) by the Throat, and cast them into Prison? or else for a Rate of Twenty Shillings, Three or Six Pounds, send away Ten, Twenty, or Thirty Pounds worth of Goods, and set them up at Vendue; where they will generally assemble the poor, miserable Drunkard, and the awful foul-mouthed Swearer, and the bold, covetous, Blasphemous Scoffer at things Sacred and Divine, and the Scum of Society for the most part will be together, to count and make their Games about the Goods upon Sale, and at the Owners of them too, and at the Holy Religion that the Owners thereof profess; and at such Vendues, there are rarely any solid, thinking men to be found there; or if there are any such present, they do not care to act in that oppressive way of supporting the Gospel. Such men find something is the matter. God's Vicegerant in their Breasts, tells them it is not equal to make such Harock of men's Estates, to support a Worship they have nothing to do with; yea, the Consciences of these persons will trouble them so that they had rather pay twice their part of the Rates, and so let the oppressed Party go free."

Referring to the fact that some Societies find it difficult to procure a man to act as a Collector of the Rates, he asks—"If it be such a good Cause, and no good Men in the Society, to undertake that good Work, surely then such a Society is awfully declined, if that is the case." He quotes the Suttler of the Dialogue as saying—"We have good Reason to believe, that if this Hedge of human Laws, and Enclosure of Order round the Church, were wholly broken down, and taken away, there would not be ('tis probable) one regular visible Church left subsisting in this land, fifty years hence, or at most, not many." To this, Frothingham replies, that if by "visible church, here spoken of," be meant "Ante-Christ's Church, we should be apt to believe it," for it needs Civil Power, Rates, and Prisons to support it. But if the Gospel Church, set up at first without the aid of the civil power could continue and spread; "why can't it submit without the civil Power now as well as then?" "To this day," he adds, "the true Church of Christ is in Bondage, by usurping Laws, that unrighteously intrude upon her ecclesiastical Rights and civil Enjoyments; . . .

* Pertinent to such experience, Dr. Bacon says: "The parishes being established by law, and minorities, however dissatisfied or indignant, having no right of secession, except by attaching themselves to some other denomination, the rights and feelings of minorities were sometimes treated, both by parishes, and by ordaining Councils, with contempt."—BACON'S *Historical Discourses*, 204.

"And Wo! Wo to New England! for this God-provoking Evil, which is too much indulged by the great and mighty in the Land. The cry of oppression out of Zion is gone up into the Ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth."

In opposition to the author of the Dialogue, he maintains that the Gospel favors the support of the Gospel by voluntary contributions. It knows nothing of Civil Taxes for its support. "A true Catholic Gospel Spirit, is not confined to Parish Lines in Supporting the Gospel of Jesus Christ." "There is no instance of Paul's entering into any civil Contract or Bargain, to get his Wages or Hire, in all his Epistles; but we have frequent accounts of his receiving of free contributions."

Frothingham's positions on this subject were substantially the same taken by Wightman and his Baptist brethren in the debate with Bulkley &c., at Lyme, in 1727.

In 1756, John Bolles, a Seventh-day Baptist, the founder of a somewhat illustrious family, who stood up manfully to the last for Religious freedom, came out with his volume, entitled, *To worship God in Spirit and in Truth, &c., is to worship him in true Liberty of Conscience*. He inserted in it the reply of Jacob Johnson, the Pastor of the Second Church in Groton (Ledyard) where he had succeeded Andrew Crosswell in 1749, and also his own answer to Johnson. Meanwhile, Frothingham's book was provoking public notice. According to his own description, this is not surprising, since the "scope and burden of it were to shew . . . both from scriptures and reason that the standing ministers and churches in this Colony are not practising in the rule of God's word." It challenged the strictures of Moses Bartlet, Pastor of the Church of what is now Portland, just across the river from Middletown—where Frothingham was Pastor; and if Bishop Lavington had needed to repair his taste for zealots and enthusiasts, he might have found a new strand in Bartlet's Sermon of fifty-four 16mo. pages, on *False and Seducing Teachers*. It named the offender, Ebenezer Frothingham; and it concentrated upon him about as much odium as decent language is capable of conveying. The main offense committed was undoubtedly not in any religious doctrines taught by Frothingham, although these were not overlooked; but in the fact which he confessed and avowed, that "Elden Pain and myself, in our books published, have labored to prove, and I think made it evident that the religious Constitution of this Colony is not founded upon the Scriptures of truth, but upon men's inventions."

Ten years passed away, and Moses Bartlet died, before any answer appeared from Froth-

ingham. Meanwhile, Robert Ross of Stratfield, (1753—1795?) published his *Plain Address to the Quakers, Moravians, Separates, Separate-Baptists, Rogercens, and other Enthusiasts, on immediate Impulses, and Revelation &c.*, in which he ranked Frothingham with Enthusiasts and Deists, and rebuked his conceit in "tramping on all Churches and their Determinations," but his own, with the greatest disdain." Noah Hobart of Fairfield, and Governor Fitch also published their Pamphlets on the interpretation to be given to the Saybrook Platform; and in 1767, Frothingham reviewing them all, as well as the production of his friend Bowles,—which he did not fully approve—came forward with his work entitled "*A Key, to unlock the Door, that leads in, to take a fair view of the Religious Constitution, Established by Law in the Colony of Connecticut*." In this 16mo. of less than one hundred and fifty pages, he shows that he understood, as well at least as any of his antagonists, the meaning of religious liberty. His arguments are better, than his grammar and his doctrines more orthodox than his spelling. He was qualified moreover to speak from his own experience. "I myself," he says, "have been confined in Hartford prison near five months, for nothing but exhorting and warning the people, after the public worship was done, and the assembly dismissed. And while I was there confined, three more persons was sent to prison; one for exhorting, and two for worshipping God, in a private house, in a separate meeting. And quick after I was released, by the laws being answered by natural relations unbeknown to me, then two brethren more was committed for exhorting and preaching, and several others afterward, for attending the same duties; and I myself twice more was sent to prison for the minister's rates."

These facts he thinks "may show the reader, that unless we become all spirit, and take wing up in the air, to attend social worship where gross constables, grand jurors, courts and prisons cannot come, we cannot escape this Constitution Power."

As to the "Constitution Plan" he says, that it "gives the General Assembly, (which is, and always should so remain, a civil body, to transact in civil and moral things) power to constitute or make a spiritual or ecclesiastical body. This, I think, is against, and contrary to the law of Nature, for any species of beings, rational or not, to produce, bring forth and make that which is contrary to its own being or nature. Indeed, civil bodies may make, and constitute civil bodies, but not religious or spiritual bodies, for that must be above their nature or power. But to come to something more weighty, Jesus Christ claims

"the sole right of making and constituting churches or ecclesiastical bodies. See *Psalms*, 127: 1. "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." *Psalms* 102: 16. "When the Lord shall build up Zion." —Mind, reader, the Scripture does not say, "When general assemblies, nor Kings, nor parliaments, makes religious societies or churches: No, no; for they cannot convert one soul, nor make no man religious; they may make multitudes of abominable hypocrites, which the Lord abhors; but not one meet person for the church of Christ."

He cites from the Colony Law Book, page 165 "Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, &c. "That the inhabitants of any town, or society, or parish, constituted by this Assembly, who are, or shall be present at a town or society meeting legally warned, shall have power, by the major vote of those so met, to call and settle a minister or ministers among them, and to provide for his or their support and maintenance, provided that no persons be allowed to vote in any such affairs, unless such person or persons have a freehold in the same town or society, rated at fifty shillings, or forty pounds estate in the common list; or are persons of full age, and in full communion with a church, in the said town or society."

On this he remarks that it "supposes no persons have a right to form themselves into a religious society, without their (the Assembly's) leave. No, if King George the Third, our rightful Sovereign (in the civil kingdom) should upon any occasion, come into the bounds of Connecticut, he has no liberty to worship God, according to his conscience, unless this constitution Head sees fit, in their great clemency, to indulge his Majesty with liberty, &c. For the truth of this assertion, I appeal to the C. L. B. p. 169, where the Church of England professors came courtesying and bowing to, and confederating with, this Constitution; to the discovering their great weakness and folly, when the word of God, and the religious constitution of the nation is on their side." But he is not content with exhibiting the bearing of this "Constitution Plan" on the King of England. For "if Jesus Christ was to come personally into Connecticut, with all his disciples, he could not gather and settle a church, unless he would crouch, and come down to this Constitution plan; or that, in its clemency, would allow Jesus Christ, and his disciples, liberty of conscience. If my reader will put on patience, and read with meekness, I trust you will find this figure made out, from the Constitution Plan, comparing one part with another, to take the true intent of it; for it is plain, I think, to any person that does not shut his eyes

"against the light; that this plan challenges the sole right of making religious societies and the government of conscience. Yea, I think that it assumes the prerogative that belongs to the Son of God alone. And how will that pass in the court of Heaven, judge ye, for see C. L. B. page 139. Nor shall any person neglect the public worship of God, in some lawful congregation, and form themselves into separate companies, in private houses, on penalty of ten shillings for every such offence, each person shall be guilty of. Here, reader, you may see a flat contradiction, in those that hold to this plan, and yet pretend to hold liberty of conscience; when, as the case may be and has been, there is no gap for one breath of gospel liberty. For if we exercise our gifts and graces in the lawful assemblies, we are had up, and carried to prison, for making disturbance on the Sabbath."

The Anti-christian character of Connecticut legislation is exhibited in a somewhat pointed way. "Christ saith as in *John* 4. 21 to 24. But the hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in truth, for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth. Thus saith the Son of God; but the plan virtually saith; 'Not so Lord—we do not like your opinion—it tends to strike up all our good regular churches that we in our wisdom have made and established by law, for you give liberty of conscience, and allow every one to judge for himself, which worship is spiritual, and which is not, and that opens a door for separation from our churches that we have made, and so crumble us to pieces. Also, to despise the good ministers that we have made for the people, and opens a gap for them that thinks they are converted, and gifted, and called of God to improve their gifts, to set themselves up as public teachers; and such an Allowance tends to make Divisions and Subdivisions, and there will be no end if this liberty of conscience is granted. Therefore, Lord, it shall not be so—we do not like your spiritual scheme of worship—it tends to wild disorder and enthusiasm. You say we shan't worship in this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem—but we say we will—and draw the lines precisely, for every ecclesiastical body—and the committee that the county court appoints, shall fix the very spot for worship, and all people within the compass of those lines, shall worship in that very spot, spiritual or not—a converted minister or not converted for a teacher—and we have decreed in our wisdom (let Christ say what he will in the Scriptures about spiritual worship) that if any person neglect the public

"worship where we fixed the spot, and meet in private houses, he shall incur the penalty of ten shillings, and be committed to prison till paid."

Again he presents the contrast. "The Scriptures saith, *Zach.* 4. 6-9. Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts—his church shall be built. But this Religious Plan saith (in its own nature) not so "Lord—for our churches will crumble to pieces, "if they are not upheld by the civil power: the "civil power made then, and they must uphold "them,"

Again "the Scriptures show that it is the love of God, true love to him in the heart, that "lays the foundation, and engages a person to "keep God's commands. 1 *John*, 5, 2, 3, 2 *Cor.* 5, 14. But this plan saith, 'No, not so—there "would be no regard paid to God's commands, "if it was not for our religious constitution." Again God forbids that men should be forced "to fear him by the precepts of men, *Isaiah* 29, "33. But this plan saith, that there would be "no fear of God in the land if it was not for "our religious laws, and wise plan, that our "civil rulers have established." Mind, reader, Jesus Christ, in the power of his word and spirit is all out of the question with this religious plan.

Yet further, "Jesus Christ challenges the whole "right of Conscience, that a man's judgment "and his whole all be wholly subjected to him "alone. *Rom.* 14, 4, "Who art thou that judgest another man's Servant? To his own master "he standeth or falleth." But this Plan saith, "Not so, Lord—if we have not the Government of Conscience, our good Order, good Ministers "and Churches will all be dashed to pieces—the "Indulgence we, in our Clemency, have already "granted has given us a dreadful Shock—and if "we resign up Conscience to your Government it "will be all up with us as to our Religion and "good Order. Now the Language that this "Plan hath, in its own nature, is shocking; but "it further saith, in all the ecclesiastical Laws, "That let Christ and Conscience say what they "will, we will be obeyed, or the Penalties we "have annexed to Disobedience shall be put into "Execution, &c."

Frothingham cites the case of Canterbury Church, where the Society "with their money "qualifications," defeated the desire of the Church, and settled a minister to their own liking. He says, "I ask in Meekness, who shall "answer at the bar of God, for all the abominable Oppression and Persecution done to this "Church for fifteen years together, notwithstanding all their voting: not only pushing them "out of the meeting-house, that was built for "them, in that Principle and Profession to worship God in, and robbing them of their property

"in it, but additional thereto, straining away their "substance, Horses and Oxen, stripping them "out of their Teams, in the midst of Business; "seizing Cows, Sheep, and poor people's meat "out of their Tubs, and other utensils, exceedingly wanted in their families? And what is "still beyond, seizing and imprisoning the Bodies "of this Flock of Christ, whilst their poor "Families are left to shift as they can."

He supposes a new Church, such a one as might be formed at Canterbury, after the old Church had seceded, with perhaps not a single holy man in it, or one walking by the Gospel rule, and yet sustained by the major part of the Society, choosing a man for minister, contrary to the minds of the first or old Church, and voting away their estates to support him. In this case money would be "the sole cause of stripping this first formed "Church of all her sacred rights and privileges," for it "falls below the title of being lawful, and "becomes unlawful, when they have not altered "neither in Principle or Practice, and are not "only obliged to have their Estates halled away, "to support a Man and Worship which they "know to be contrary to God's Word—but which "is more shocking, to be compelled to attend "that Worship themselves, or suffer the Penalty "for their Non-attendance. Now if this is not "to commit a Rape upon Christ's chaste Spouse "which he has bought with his precious Blood, "I know not what is. Surely the Lord Jesus "will, ere long, revenge such Injury done to his "dear Bride, in dreadful things in Righteousness, and meet such his enemies in Robes drest "in Vengeance." In 1767, when Frothingham was preparing to publish his *Key*, &c., the Separates in Connecticut far outnumbered the Baptists, the latter claiming but eight or twelve Churches, and most of them feeble. But the voice of remonstrance was uttered by one of them, in chorus with Frothingham. Joseph Brown, (probably of Montville, where a feeble congregation was gathered in 1750) published at New London in 1767, a *Letter to the Infant Baptisers of North Parish in New London*, at the close of which he inserts the following plea:

"Now suffer me to say something respecting "the unreasonableness of compelling the people "of our persuasion to hear or support the minister of another. Can a person who has been "redeemed, be so ungrateful as to hire a minister "to preach up a doctrine which in his heart he "believes to be directly contrary to the institution "of his redeemer? How if one of you should "happen to be in company with a number of Roman Catholics, who should tell you that if you "would not hire a minister to preach up transubstantiation, and the worshipping of images to "your children and to an unlearned people, they "would cut off your head; would you do it?

"Can you any better submit to hire a minister to preach up a doctrine which you in your heart believe directly contrary to the institution of Christ? I do not doubt but that many of you, and do not know but that all of you know what it is to experience redeeming love: and if so, how can you take a person of another persuasion, and put him in gaol for a trifling sum, destroy his estate and ruin his family (as you signify the law will bear you out) and when he is careful to support the religion which he in his conscience looks upon to be right, who honestly tells you it is wronging his conscience to pay to your minister, and that he may not do it though he suffer? *Mat. 18, 33, Should you not have had compassion on thy fellow servant, even as I had pity on thee?* How doth it seem to a people of another persuasion, to have you say, hire me a minister to preach up my doctrines to myself and my children and to all the people. What, hire a minister to preach up a doctrine directly against our opinions! May we not as well do it ourselves, and that would be lying to us, and knowingly contradicting our Saviour. Do you grudge to support your own minister, so far as he is faithful in what you say is your Saviour's religion? *Mat. 10, 8. Freely ye have received, freely give.* What if a number of children, on the request of a father, should say one to another, do you do it; and do you do it; and I wish brother you would do it? Is it not shame—Are we sharers in redemption, and do we grudge to support religion? No: let us seek for the truth of the gospel. If we can't think alike, let us not be cruel one to another, but remember the words of our Saviour, *Mat. 18, 33, and 25, 40. Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.*—And for a conclusion—"If any, or all of you, are offended at these things I intreat you to forbear. O! come let us strive to pattern after our Saviour, honestly meaning to enlighten each other: He, when he was reviled, buffeted, spit on, being nailed to the cross, and mocked, cried, '*FATHER, FORGIVE.*'"

Along with Frothingham, Israel Holly of Suffield, also a Separatist, may be classed as abjuring the policy and jurisdiction of the State establishment. About the year 1756, he published a small treatise in defense of the principles of the Separates, which he entitled *A Word on Zion's Behalf*. In this he quotes freely from Dr. Watts, and from *A Seasonable Plea for Liberty of Conscience*, published a few years before. He emphatically denies the right of the State to impose a faith or form of worship. After arguing the question at length, he concludes thus: "Therefore let no man, orders of man, Civil or

"Ecclesiastical Rulers, majority, or any whoever pretend they have a right to enjoin upon me what I shall believe and practice in matters of Religion, and I bound to subject to their Injunctions, unless they can convince me, that, in case there should happen to be a mistake, that they will suffer the consequence, and not I; that they will bear the wrath of God, and suffer Damnation, in my room and stead. But if they can't do this, don't let them pretend to a right to determine for me what religion I shall have. For if I must stand or fall for myself then, pray let me judge, and act, and choose (in matters of Religion) for myself now. Yea, when I view these things in the Light of the Day of Judgment approaching, I am ready to cry out, Hands off! Hands off!! Let none pretend a Right to my subjection in matters of Religion, but my Judge only; or, if any do require it, God strengthen me to refuse to grant it." (*p. 14, 15.*)

The man who could write in this strain, was not a man to be silenced by authority. His numerous pamphlets on a diversity of subjects are unusually racy, and Hopkinsian extravagance of doctrine, and religious intolerance appear to him almost equally odious. We shall soon hear from him again.

In Bragg's *Church Discipline* re-published at New London in the year 1768, we have, along with a vigorous defence of strict New Testament Congregationalism, a vindication of the independence of the Church in relation to the State—not inappropriate to the times. The writer says—"The Charter of this house exempts all its inhabitants from the doctrines of men in matters of faith; man can no more make a creed for this house, than he may prescribe laws to the sun, moon and stars, neither is he able. They who cannot devise a new sort of flies or worms, are very unfit to make a new Gospel."

"The charter of this house exempts all its inhabitants from man's commands in the worship of God. Man can no more prescribe how God shall be worshipped, under the new testament than he could under the old. He alone who is in the bosom of the Father hath declared this. To worship God according to the will and pleasure of men, is, in a sense to attempt to dethrone him: for it is not only to place man's will on a level with God's, but above it: All such worship is wicked as well as vain, and borders upon idolatry itself."

"The Charter of this house exempts all its inhabitants from man's injunctions and severities in matters of discipline. No prince may bring his star-chamber nor the court of inquisition into this house, which is a house of christian liberty, not of Egyptian bondage. Rome's cruel task-masters, who many degrees have out-

"done those of *Egypt*, have no room nor power
"in this house; the rattling of chairs, and noise
"of whips no way agree with the still and
"sweet voice of Mount *Zion*.

It might be supposed that during the Revolutionary period the complaint of religious intolerance would no longer be heard. The cause in which the enthusiasm and energies of the people were enlisted, was professedly that of religious as well as civil liberty. Chauncy of Boston, in his controversy with Chandler, had professed himself opposed to all ecclesiastical establishments, and yet even he, before the culmination of the struggle, ascribed our defeats in part at least to the neglect of giving an adequate (civil) support to the ministry. It is not strange that men of less sagacity should have been unconscious of their inconsistency in denying to others the liberty which, at the risk of their lives, they were vindicating for themselves.

That the adherents of the Episcopal Church should have been silent was only what might have been anticipated. We may abate very largely from the party asperities and harsh treatment, to which Peters, in his *veracious* history, claims that they were subjected, and yet allow them to sustain such social and civil relations to the community around them as to make a peaceable submission and a studious quiet their wisest policy. From them—where the patriotic cause was triumphant—nothing would be heard, and where it was overborne, they exulted in turn, and had everything their own way.

The Baptists were still very few in number, or rather they were very largely embraced—in an undeveloped state—in the Separate Churches. These latter Churches had increased in number, till, in Connecticut alone, they numbered from twenty-five to thirty. So far as the patriotic cause was concerned, they were not less zealous than the friends of the standing order. Israel Holly of Suffield, already mentioned as the author of *A Plea, &c.*,—the Pastor there of a Separate Church—had preached and printed a Sermon on the occasion of the destruction of the Tea in Boston Harbor. He had moreover taken a very prominent part in the theological discussions of the day. With Beckwith of Lyme, he had discussed lay-ordination—a fundamental principle with the Separates—in successive pamphlets; with Bartholomew of Harwinton he had disputed in opposition to the half-way Covenant, taking up and defending the position of Edwards. From the new Divinity of Hopkinsianism he turned away with disgust, and signalized his aversion by a large pamphlet entitled *Old Divinity Preferable to Modern Novelties*. After Frothingham,

no one spoke out more plainly or boldly against the ecclesiastical intolerance of the Colony; and to his lot it fell to defend a Memorial which in the very midst of the War (1778) was addressed in the name of the Separate Churches to the Legislature of Connecticut.

This task was performed in *An Appeal to the Impartial*. The Censured Memorial "made Public, that it may speak for itself. To which is added a few Brief Remarks upon a late Act of the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, entitled an Act for Exempting these Persons in this State Commonly styled Separates, from Taxes for the Support of the Established Ministry, &c."

This 12mo pamphlet of twenty-four pages was prepared in the fall of 1777, and appeared from the press early the next year. It contains the "Memorial," with Holly's Remarks upon it. He prefaces the document by an address to the Candid and Impartial Leader, in the course of which he takes occasion to say that by the laws designed to uphold, maintain and defend "what is generally called the Ecclesiastical Constitution of Connecticut," "honest and Conscientious Dissenters from the Constitution have been compelled to maintain the worship they dissented from, for more than one seven years after another since my observation, in the town where I live, and much longer in this and many other towns in the State, which is so evident that none pretend to deny it, and till of late, none pretended to justify it."

As to the Law to exempt the Separates, &c., he admits that some wearied out by oppression had taken advantage of it, and had been constituted distinct Ecclesiastical Societies by themselves, with certain provisions and limitations "that it was truly mean to accept of." This however was no proper toleration for individuals dissenting, while there were "Dissenting Churches and Congregations in this State, which have been long oppressed on this wise, and yet cannot in point of Conscience petition to the General Assembly to be made an Ecclesiastical Society with the privileges of the Constitution in order to get rid of this burden; because they look upon the Constitution to be wrong in its own nature, and the laws oppressive by which it is maintained and upheld, and therefore wrong for them to incorporate with it. We look upon the Ecclesiastical Constitution of Connecticut to be wrong in its own nature, because it is a compound of Church and State. Such a blending of Civil and Ecclesiastical Society together that we have not the least warrant for, that we can find in the New Testament, under which dispensation we live."

"There has been many memorials"—he pro-

ceeds—"for more than thirty years past sent to the General Assembly of this State to have these laws repealed by which honest Dissenters have been oppressed, or some official provision made some other way, that we might have just relief, *but all in vain*. However, we thought it a good time now, in such a day as this, when all are earnestly contending for what they call their Rights and Privileges, for us, under this oppression, to make one trial more. . . . And accordingly eleven of the Dissenting Churches of the Congregational profession in this State, met by delegation at Middletown, May 13th 1777, and unanimously agreed to sign and send the following memorial to the Hon. General Assembly, then sitting in Hartford. But we have been informed that the Assembly would not suffer it to be read through in their presence, and stopt the reader in the midst, and that some of the Assembly said that they thought that all who signed it ought to be sent for, to answer for it before the Assembly. And it has been represented in different parts of the State to be something of a very criminal nature that we sent to the Assembly. . . . So that upon the whole, and for weighty reasons, it is thought proper to have it published, that it may speak for itself."

For his own part Holly freely owns that he was one that signed the Memorial, and did not then see, nor has he seen since, any occasion to be ashamed of it.

He then gives the Memorial, "word for word," inserting, "for explanation," "a few original notes."

THE MEMORIAL.

"To the Honorable General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, now sitting at Hartford in said State. We your Honors' Memorialists, beg leave to show to your Honors, that on the 13th day of this instant May, a number of Congregational Churches, and their adherents, by delegation, met at Middletown, then and there unanimously agreed to present to your Honors this Memorial, by Eliakim Marshall, Agent for said Churches, which humbly sheweth: That your Memorialists, with a number of others, have for many years past suffered greatly by means of oppressive laws, and now in force in this State, respecting ecclesiastical matters. And for relief in these distressing and oppressive circumstances, many Petitions have heretofore been presented to this Honorable Assembly, some of which have been rejected, and others remain unheard: And we are still suffering* and liable to suffer by this oppression.

* * We meant here to express the case just as it was, some

"We pray your Honours, that those laws may be taken out of the way, by which this wicked oppression is carried on and the oppressors flatter themselves that they do no wrong, because they have law for what they do, or in one word, we pray that the liberty which the Bible grants may take place through this State, that all may be allowed to choose their own religion, and having chosen it, may be allowed to support it in the way and manner that they think is most agreeable to the Gospel; and then let none be allowed to compel them to support other people's religion. And to move your Honours hereto we shall suggest a few considerations briefly, by way of motive.

"1. We believe the thing is just and equitable that we plead for. We suppose we have an unalienable right by the two grand Chart-ers, of law and scripture, to choose our religion. This being granted, it must be tyranny and oppression in those who compel us to support any other.

"2. God has now a controversy with us: is correcting and punishing our whole land by means of tyranny and oppression, under the colour and pretense of law, which doubtless is a large call to us all, in every station, to reform, and break off all our own oppression. But when oppression is carried on by law, in any State, it then becomes an incorporate evil, which is very heinous in the sight of God, and threatens the ruin of the State, unreformed.

"3. Our fathers fled from oppression, and came over into this country for the sake of enjoying liberty in religious matters; and it looks very hard, indeed, that we, who are well-known to adhere to their principles, are now the sufferers by this oppression, while other denominations [are] exempted.

"of us suffering, and others of us liable to suffer. As in this town of Springfield, the dissenting Church and Congregation have been yearly taxed, and mostly collected, to support the established worship, to my knowledge, ever since I have been ordained here, which is about fourteen years. And even the present year, collectors have threatened our brethren to carry them to Hartford prison if they would not pay it. But in several other towns in this State, the constitutional party where there is a dissenting Church, have voluntarily, without the law to oblige them, took the charge of their worship upon themselves: We suppose they got convinced that the practice was wrong, notwithstanding they had the law to bear them out in it, and from a principle of justice and conscience they would not take money any longer from Dissenters to support their worship: at least from a spirit of common manhood there are many who belong to the constitutional party that even scorn to do it. But where they have less conscience, and more of the spirit of tyranny, they seem determined to do it as long as they can and law for it. And even those of our brethren where the people of the Constitutional party have not gathered these taxes of them for several years, yet they are liable to suffer on this wise again, because the law was not altered. And this we referred to in our Memorial."

"4. We apprehend it would tend much to promote peace and harmony in the State, in all civil matters, and *union*, especially in the common cause of America, so much needed in the present day, when we are so much weakened by Tories and Neuters, and have such a formidable enemy to encounter. Altho' we know not of one Tory among all our Churches or adherents, and it is well-known that those of our denomination have exerted themselves in the cause of Liberty, in the present struggle with Britain, equal to any in the State. But yet we pray your Honours to consider whether it is not discouraging to your Memorialists, when they are held under oppression themselves. For a fact it certainly is, that some of our brethren who have been, the two summers past, in the defence of their country against foreign tyranny and oppression, have been, the winter past, hardly assailed by this domestic tyranny and oppression at home.* Collectors have threatened them severely to commit them to gaol if they would not turn out estate to pay a rate to support a worship that they stood in no connection with, nor received any benefit by.

"5. The tories say, and have told some of us, that our rulers are not true friends to liberty and the just rights of mankind, notwithstanding all their pretences; but would act the part of tyrants themselves, if in their power; and, for proof thereof, they refer us to this as an instance, viz., Their oppressing the Separates, when they are honest dissenters, and in refusing to break off their oppressive yoke, even now when there is such a general outcry against oppression.†

"6. We think it looks very mean on the side of the oppressors, as acting below the spirit of Christianity, or even common humanity, for one congregation or worshipping assembly, to borrow the civil sword and go and rob another worshipping assembly to defray their religious charges; and we think the legislators of the State have no right in such cases to lend the civil sword to them.

"7. If this Honorable Assembly turns a deaf ear to our request, and will grant us no re-

lief, we apprehend they will unavoidably fall under the severe reprimand of the inspired Apostle, where he says, wherein thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself, for thou that judgest dost the same things. Judge and condemn tyranny in the Court of Great Britain, and uphold and maintain it in the Court of Connecticut.*

"*Perhaps this paragraph may have given more disgust than any other part of the Memorial, as being looked upon as harsh and unmannerly. But if the impartial reader only considers the occasion we had, and the call in Providence to express ourselves warmly and boldly on the subject, we doubt not but that he will readily own that it is not only a truth, but a seasonable truth.

"†I shall here mention some particulars of the nature of tyranny and oppression carried on in this State, and in the town of Suffield in particular, which the laws of the State, relating to matters ecclesiastical, are the means of; as,

"1. The people of the established worship in this town have all along considered the dissenting Church and congregation here as the minor part of their Ecclesiastical Society, and say we are so in the eye of Connecticut laws, because we live within the limits of parish lines, and hence, for the privilege of living here, they insist upon it we ought to help support their worship, whether we can, with a good conscience, attend upon it or no. Whereas, in truth and reality, as well as in the nature of things, we are no part of their Ecclesiastical Society, but an whole, distinct Ecclesiastical Society by ourselves, although we may be the minor part in civil society considered. And this would easily be seen by any man of common sense, were they not blinded by self-interest and these laws, which uphold the Constitution, and which have confounded civil and ecclesiastical society together.

"2. And, consequently, they of the established worship (being a majority) vote and take away our money to maintain their worship, that is, an equal proportion with those who belong to it.

"3. If there be any hazard in getting a vote passed in the Society to raise money to support their minister, there being so many dissenters who, they think, won't vote money out of their own pockets where they have no benefit, and so many others who think it is not right to vote away the Separates' money in this manner—I say, when there is any hazard of getting a vote (to be sure of getting the Separates' money), the leading men in the Society will make out the rate for their minister's salary without a previous vote of the Society, which used to be the custom, and commonly called law.

"4. And, to blind matters, the easier to gather the rates of the Separates, they will put the minister's rate and the town rate into one, that when the Collector comes to our people, he doesn't know anything about the minister's rate; he has got such a rate-bill against them, he says, and they must pay it.

"5. Or, if our brethren know precisely what the minister's rate is, and tell the Collector plainly, as some of them have, many a time, that they are conscious of owing nothing there, and determine to pay nothing, and if he will take it by force of law, he must look to that: Then sometimes they will take specie and sell it at the post, and, perhaps, not for half the value of it; or, when the credit of this practice runs low, Collectors have gone into some of our brethren's houses in the absence of the man of the house, and have measured up as much grain, or have taken some other specie, as much as he said the rate came to, and have carried it off directly to his minister's house, without any further ceremony about it.

"Now, all these things have been done in this town, and the ruling party discovered no disposition to take the charge of their own worship upon themselves. For, no longer ago than last fall or winter, the matter was tried here, being previously put into the warrant for the Society-meeting, whether the Society would, of themselves, free the Separates, for one year, from their minister's rate, but they would not. Now, after all this, and in other parts of the State, wasting goods and imprisoning the bodies of dissenters, and after petitioning more than thirty years in vain for liberty in this respect, who can, that has his wits about him, think the above paragraph too harsh or plain?"

"*I would not go out of the town of Suffield to find a fact of this nature, and proof enough, and I insert it here, because I have been told that some in high station in this State have said that they really thought that the practice of taking rates from the people called Separates had been wholly laid aside through this State for some years, and nobody injured by these laws, it was needless for the Assembly to do anything about it now, when there were so much business to be done."

"† Doubtless the Tories meant by this argument to try to influence us to join with their Tory principles and practices and to strengthen their party. But we think it is a pity that they ever had so much grounds to make that plea upon, let their intentions be what they will."

"8. We think that the legislative body of this State ought to see to it that this oppression is immediately stopt, in order to make good some public declarations which have been made in this State in the behalf thereof, by men of public character. It is well-known that it has been declared in the public newspapers in this State, that there is not the lowest degree of persecution or oppression exercised by the laws of the State, in matters relating to religion, but that all sects have and enjoy full and free liberty in that respect. Now, if it be deemed an honor and credit to this State to have it published to the world, that there is not the lowest degree of oppression exercised by the laws thereof, in matters relating to religion, but that, in this respect, all have their full liberty and freedom: *For God's sake, let it be a truth, then, for the future.*

"Also, by late publications, Proclamations for Fasts, and for our encouragement to engage in the defence of the State, we had grounds to expect an equal share therein, with the rest of our fellow-subjects.

"But, to conclude, by this Memorial, we mean to assert our rights in a point wherein we have been abridged thereof, and put in a peremptory claim thereto, praying that this Honorable Assembly will see that justice is done in the affair: Which if we are denied or of answered with silence, as Memorials of this nature often have been, by the General Assembly of this State, we determine, by the leave of Providence, to lay our grievances before the Honorable Continental Congress, and

"* Our mentioning our determination to apply to the Congress if we could get no relief here, has given disgust, as we understand, because it has been looked upon as a challenge, whereas we meant to express our honest intention. We dissenters, in this town, of late, first tried the people, as before noted, and could get no relief. Then, in conjunction with other Churches, we determined to send to the General Assembly of this State, where we had no full expectation of getting proper relief, having been often denied heretofore, and knowing they hug the Ecclesiastical Constitution dearly, which is the means of our oppression. Also we expected they would call our Petition too rank because we asked boldly what we wanted, and what we supposed we had just claim to, that, in reality, it's true we only asked the favor that justice might be done. But we had high expectations the Congress would hear us if we should apply to them and their other business would admit, upon the following reasons:

"1. We believe and trust the leading part, at least, of the Congress, are men of integrity and justice, and friends at heart to the just rights of mankind in reality, according to what they pretend.

"2. We trust that God, in His kind Providence, has placed them in that high and important (tho' critical) station, with a design to make them the happy and renowned instruments of saving America from being ruined by tyranny and oppression, and not only foreign but domestic.

"3. We look upon it that the Congress have virtually published their sentiments already concerning Ecclesiastical matters. Whoever was the sagacious author of that celebrated piece called *Common Sense*, published introductory to the Declaration of Independence, we suppose it was inspected and approved by Congress; and if so, then we

"have it thoroughly proved out whether there is a disposition and purposes in the leaders and rulers of the United States to grant, as well as claim, the just rights of mankind. And, as your Memorialists, in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c. This 14th day of May, 1777, signed by our agent, Eliakim Marshal, and by the delegates from the Churches."

The Memorial was also signed by several belonging to Churches "exempted, with some limitations, from the oppressions above complained of," and their names appear in connection with the original signers, but with a note stating their position.* These were Nathaniel Collins and Nathaniel Chapin of Enfield, Eliphalet Wright of Killingly, and Aaron Cleaveland of Canterbury. The original signers were John Park and John Avery of Preston, Israel Holly of Suffield, Eben. Frothingham and John Johnson of Middletown, Paul Avery of Groton, Nathan Avery of Stonington, Daniel Miner and Richard Ransom of Lyme, Robert Campbell of New Milford, James Bacon of Torrington, John Dudley and Benjamin Beach, of Wallingford.

After giving the Memorial, Holly spreads his own views before the public. He says, "It appears to me to be more agreeable to the Gospel plan and dispensation, for civil rulers to tolerate and protect all conscientious professors of religion, and establish none. * * * When all sects are protected, and none established by the laws of the State, none will be oppressed. And if, in this universal liberty, adequate to the Gospel dispensation, some one sect or another should happen to be so unfortunate as to choose a religion that has not virtue enough in it to maintain its own worship, and so it sinks and comes to nothing, we need not be concerned about that, for the

find they have, in their minds, no Ecclesiastical Constitution that they mean to defend to plague them, and stand in the way of doing justice, as the Assembly of Connecticut have.

"That author says, as to matters of religion, 't is the indispensable duty of civil government to tolerate and protect all conscientious professors of religion, and that, in his opinion, is all they have to do therewith, or words to the same import: meaning to let professors of religion, in their Ecclesiastical character, act under another head, even Christ. But we did not know but we might be mistaken; therefore, if we could get no relief here, we honestly intended to have the matter proved out, and so we expressed it."

* Holly explains the privileges of the exempted Churches, in one respect. "The children of the Separate Church in Enfield have, by the act of the Assembly, one year allowed them to choose what meeting to attend upon as the place of their worship, and there to be fixed; but the children of the established worship, nor their parents, have any time at all allowed them; and if any join with the Separate Church, as some of them actually have, as I am informed, they are charged by the law to pay rates to maintain the constitutional worship, notwithstanding."

"cause of Christ is not injured thereby, nor the "civil State."

The exempting law which Holly complains of as inadequate, required those attending Separate worship to produce a certificate to that effect from the Church, in proof of their constant and uniform attendance, and their contributing, in proper proportion, to its support. This certificate was to be lodged annually with the Clerk of the Ecclesiastical Society of the place, and attested by the officers of the Church. This requirement is pronounced troublesome, perplexing and insufficient. It was of no service to "scattered brethren." It did not meet the case of infant Churches unable to sustain a regular ministry, or of bereaved Churches deprived of their minister. It gave to the body of the Church, who were required to act, no discretion as to whether a certificate should be given to one justly entitled to it, but only to testify whether he was qualified according to the Act. On the whole, the law is pronounced "a miserable, narrow grant of freedom," if indeed it is a grant of freedom at all. Many are not reached by it, and those whom it does reach, only find the form of their oppression altered.

Holly closes his remarks by a comparison of Whig principles with those held by the Separates or strict Congregationalists. He finds them to be identical, and therefore he claims the rights for Church members which Whig principles allow.

The Memorial drawn up the Separates, and printed and defended by Holly, produced no immediate change in Connecticut legislation, but it can scarcely have been without effect upon popular opinion. After the close of the War, a revision of the Laws (1784) was made, in which we discern certain concessions made to the claims of dissenters. "The legal establishment of the Congregational Churches assenting to the Saybrook Platform was omitted, and liberty granted to all persons to worship according to their own conscience or inclination, and in such Societies as they should choose to join or form; such Societies being, "to all intents and purposes, legal corporations."*

The change was welcomed by many, and to Episcopalians especially,† it seemed an almost perfect relief. Their circumstances were such that they were willing to be taxed for the support of their own worship, and this was all that the Law now required. But in a modified form, the relations of State and Church still

continued. Any one might choose the Society with which he would unite in worship, but some choice must make, and pay his tax for the support of the one he joined. Unless his preference for some other was declared, it was of course assumed that he was an adherent of the Congregational Parish within which he resided. The law still required that the several Towns, in which there was but one Ecclesiastical Society, should grant a tax for the minister's support "to be levied on their several inhabitants according to their respective lists," while the minister aggrieved for the scantiness of his allowance, might have redress by application to the General Assembly. No Society left vacant by the death or dismissal of a minister, was allowed to derive any pecuniary advantage from it, but was still to pay such sum as the General Court should appoint, to be disposed of and improved by the County Court, for the use of the Ministry in the Town or Society.*

Thus while certain modifications were made affecting minor matters, the obnoxious principle upon which all else depended was retained. Dissenters without, as well as within, the State, had anticipated, as a sequel of the War for Independence, a more perfect enjoyment of religious liberty. In this, according to President Manning,† they were doomed to disappointment. "Last week,"—so he writes under date of "Providence, Sept. 17, 1784—"I attended the "Association at Elder Hinds', Middleborough. "Had an agreeable meeting, but find the Congregationalists at Cambridge, Brookfield, "Woodstock in Connecticut, with some other "places, have made distress on the Baptists this "last Summer. Some went to jail; from others "they took their stock, land, etc. This does "not look much like liberty. The Association "recommended the paying not the least attention to their Ecclesiastical Laws, and resolved "that they were determined to maintain their "claims of equal liberty, &c., and would recommend to the Churches to support the sufferers. I am surprised that they are not ashamed "to hold up their heads, in this enlightened age "in such a shameful cause."

Hitherto the several elements of dissent from the established order had been divided by separate interests. Patriotic Separatists, like Holly, could not sympathize with Episcopalians like Peters. But after the close of the Revolutionary War, the old antagonisms which had kept them apart, and nullified their political influence, began to disappear, while the number of the dissatisfied and aggrieved rapidly increased.

* "DR. DUTTON'S *Historical Discourses*, p. 93.

† "See BEARDSLEY'S *History of the Church in Connecticut*.

* Acts and Laws, 1784.

† GUILD'S *Manning and Brown University*, 333.

The rise of Methodism within the bounds of Connecticut introduces a new element of opposition to the union of Church and State. Wherever we meet with a Methodist itinerant bishop or preacher, we are sure to hear words about equally severe against religious intolerance and the bondage of sin. Connecticut was not a very inviting field, even to such daring and resolute spirits as those of Jesse Lee, Bishop Asbury, George Roberts and Billy Hibbard; and if their words were sometimes not merely severely just, but somewhat rasping, it is by no means surprising. In 1794, Asbury preached in a schoolhouse at Ellington, and felt, we are told, "great dejection of spirit at 'the iron walls of prejudice which existed.'" The reflections excited in his mind found expression through his pen.

"Out of the fifteen United States, thirteen are free, but two are fettered with ecclesiastical chains, taxed to support ministers who are chosen by a small Committee, and settled for life. My simple prophecy is that this must come to an end with the present century. The Rhode Islanders began in time, and are free. Hail, Sons of Liberty! Who first began the war? Was it not Connecticut and Massachusetts? and priests are now saddled upon them! O what a happy people would these be if they were not thus priest-ridden! I heard a most severe letter from a citizen of Vermont to the Clergy and Christians of Connecticut, striking at the foundation and principle of the hierarchy. It was the expression of the Vermonters to continue free from ecclesiastical fetters, to follow the Bible, and give equal liberty to all denominations of professing Christians."

If we may judge from the evidence afforded by his Autobiography, Billy Hibbard was not more reserved than Bishop Asbury in his utterances, and sometimes he must have relieved his burdened mind in the use of quite racy language. He found the newly converted Methodists the reverse of liberal in supporting their new faith. Under the sting of such provocation, he once exclaimed: "Now I am convinced that the people of Connecticut are a stingy, deceitful people; your wisest men have given you this character; they knew that you would never support public institutions unless you were compelled to do it. Therefore they have made laws to force you to support the Gospel, and to build meeting-houses and school-houses; but you are so stingy that you would not do it unless by compulsion. * * You have heard of some that had their last and only cow sold at vendue, to raise money to pay the minister's tax. You say this is hard and cruel; but the law demands it. And what of all this? It is but a human law. The law

of God demands that you should be liberal; and, while he is prospering you, and giving you the means to contribute, if you do not do it, you will be damned eternally, and that will be worse for you than to have your cow sold to pay the minister's tax."

"From this time," he adds, "I began to preach more especially against stinginess. I must think the Legislators of New England judge of the people as men and as wise men generally judge. But it is only a reflection upon the religious character of this people, to suppose that, with their great profession of religion, they would not support the Gospel, but by the compulsive power of taxation. The exercise of liberal principles is superceded when coercive measures are used to support the ministry. Toleration is not a religious principle, but a usurpation of power that is blasphemous in its nature. If the Governor and several Doctors of Divinity were to present a Bill to the Legislature, entitled an Act to grant liberty to the Almighty to receive the worship of the Methodists and Quakers, every one would startle and call it blasphemy; but toleration implies this. Thus our forefathers at Boston, would not suffer the Almighty to receive the worship of the Quakers in Boston: but it is certain the Almighty could not receive their worship in Boston after they were hanged. Each individual stands accountable to God for himself. The Legislature cannot answer for me or any one else. Therefore, laws respecting religious worship are unrighteous, any farther than they secure the liberties of religious people."

If such thoughts found expression once, they must have found it from the lips of such an itinerant, more than a hundred times. Wherever he went, he would sow his views broadcast. "In order," he says, "to discharge my duty in the ministry, I must preach against erroneous principles of this Government." It does not prejudice our estimate of his sincerity when he frankly confesses, "It is said in these parts, that many of those who join the Methodists, do so only to get clear of paying taxes, and I fear this is but too true."

It is true that Hibbard was not ordained till 1802, although he had been preaching for several years previous; and he was not the first of his denomination to give utterance to views like these, so offensive to many of the good people of Connecticut. George Roberts was, in some respects, a bolder and more outspoken opponent of the Established Order. A native of Maryland, and, for some months, an itinerant in that region, he was transferred, in 1790, to Connecticut; and, from 1793 to 1795, was Presiding Elder of Districts including, succes-

sively, a greater or smaller portion of the State. In 1793, he published, in a small pamphlet, his *Strictures on a Sermon delivered by Mr. Nathan Williams, A. M., in Tolland, on the Public Fast, April 17, 1793; with Some Observations on Dr. Huntington's Letter, annexed to said Sermon.* In this pamphlet he displays no small degree of theological virulence, denying that the Churches or ministers of the Established Order were Churches or ministers of Christ. The fact that they were "State establishments, and a "Church established by law" showed that they were "not a Church of Christ, but of anti-Christ;" were "no better than a Society of "wicked, designing men," "enemies to the true "interests of religion." He denies "that the "civil law has anything to do in the establish-ment of religion or the support of ministers. "Whatever the motives of your predecessors "might have been in framing the present plan "of establishment, the thing itself is wrong, be-cause we have neither precept nor example for "it; Christ never taught it to his disciples, "but, to the reverse, he declares, *My kingdom "is not of this world."*

Addressing the author of the Sermon he re-views, he says, "Your establishment, being a "State establishment, imposes ministers on "some of the people, under certain circum-stances, even without their consent; and their "liberties are wrested from them; the majority "of your people have not ministers imposed "upon them, nor their liberties wrested out of "their hands. But will you hence infer that "the minor part have no liberties, and ought "not to have a choice in matters of religion, "in a free country?"

Referring to the imprisonment of a Baptist, a resident of Tolland, for refusing to pay the minister's rate, he asks, "What was the mean-ing of that sheep's bleating in Tolland gaol "last year? I suppose you can tell." Reply-ing to the charge of intruding, he says, "I do "not believe the Holy Ghost ever intended the "earth, or any part of it, should be set off in "parishes, measured by so many miles in length "and breadth, for ministers to attend, and keep "out all others but their own. And if you can "find precept or example for it in Scripture, I "will thank you to show it to me, either by "word or letter."

Avowing his utter opposition to the policy of the State, he says, "These wild Methodists "must be fools to the last degree, to think of "overturning the well-known standing order. " * * * Had we appeared here in former "days, we might have been treated as kindly "as the Quakers and witches were." He con-siders the intolerance of Connecticut greater than that of England. "If report saith true,

"there is not one amongst five hundred, that is "or can be tithed to pay the priests in Old "England, as it is only the tenth of grain "taken from landed property. The parsonage "houses and lands are in common; not made "by £300 for every new priest. What house- "holder will go free in your parish lines? The "tenth of grain will not do here. Are not all "male members, over a given age, taxed be-cause they cannot be tithed, to build houses "and pay priests in Connecticut and Massa- "chusetts? If I err in any of these matters, "you will pardon my ignorance and set me "right:—I am but 'a stranger.'"

Other "strangers" were to follow Roberts—building upon his foundation—but not all of them Methodists. In 1784, we find Rathbun, a Shaker in New London Jail, where he had been lodged for attempting to disseminate his peculiar views; and, judging from his own pamphlet, it was not, by any means, in his case, an inappropriate place for profitable meditation.

But, in 1791, a Baptist minister, from Virginia, arrived, with his family, at New London. He was one who said, many years later, that all he wished, as an inscription on his gravestone, was, "who labored to promote piety and vin-dicate the civil and religious rights of all "men." His name was John Leland—a name destined to a considerable degree of notoriety for the next quarter of a century. Scarcely had he set foot on Connecticut soil, before he gave an earnest of his purpose in the publica-tion, at New London, of a pamphlet entitled, *The Rights of Conscience Inalienable, and, there-fore, Religious Opinions not Cognizable by Law; or, The High-flying Churchman Stript of His Legal Robe, Appears a Yahoo.* This was the signal with which he opened the campaign. From this date the question was a simple one—Establishment or no Establishment.*

The publications of the day took up the mat-ter. Rev. David Perry (Harwinton, 1774–1784) wrote his *Short View and Defence of the Ecclesi-astical Rights of Man*, and was answered in 1796, by Ezra Griswold, in a letter making an octavo pamphlet of twenty-seven pages. The next year, Rev. Isaac Lewis, in his Election Sermon, took for his theme, *The Political Advantages of God-liness.* In this he felt it his duty to stand in behalf of the State Establishment in as moder-ate a tone as the case would bear. He said: "It is not however our wish that anything "similar to the religious establishments of Eu- "rope, should be introduced into our country. "We hope never to see our magistrate employed

* In October, 1791, an Act was passed, which professedly secured "equal rights and privileges" to Christians of all denominations in the State.—HOLLISTER II., 473.

"in prescribing Articles of Faith, nor in the exercise of the least coercive power to compel men to adopt this, or that Creed, or submit to any one mode of worship in preference to another . . . But if there be important political advantages to be derived from Christianity, which cannot be so effectually secured by any other means, as appears evident from the preceding observations, then is it as much the duty of Government to endeavor its preservation, as in any other way to seek the public good. If every individual be left to choose for himself both with respect to doctrines and modes of worship, laws made for the support of public instruction and the religious observation of the Sabbath cannot in any proper sense infringe on liberty of Conscience."

Substantially the same ground was taken by the Clergy generally who published their views on the subject. One of the most plausible as well as elaborate arguments on the Conservative side was by Simon Baekus, (North Madison, 1790—1801.) and was issued in 1804. In the same year, Evan Johns, Pastor of a Church in Berlin, in a Sermon preached on the Thanksgiving day of the preceding year, adopted the same style of reasoning. He said: (p. 10.) "As for the rights of conscience, among you, they cannot, with truth, be said to be violated. Is not every one at full liberty, in the manner which he prefers, to worship God? You have no exclusive establishments of religion. You have no religious Articles, drawn up in scholastic language, imposed on you by human authority. The magistrate does not sentence you to everlasting damnation, if you refuse to subscribe to his religious Creed. You are not subjected to civil disabilities for non-conformity to a mode of worship. Any peculiarity of religious opinion does not lower you in the estimation of a majority of your fellow citizens, provided your manners be inoffensive, and your morals pure."—

And again: (p. 13.) "That the rights of conscience are not infringed by any law of this State has, already, appeared. But here, let me advert to a principle that no one will be hardy enough to controvert. It is a duty incumbent on the Civil Legislature to employ all means apparently adapted to ensure public order and private security. On this immovable foundation stand your school laws. And those persons, to whose care the welfare of the State is committed have a right to consider our plans of worship in the same point of view. Schools where lessons of morality are given without which the community cannot prosper. What is man, come to mature years, but a grown up child? The hackneyed arguments employed against the institutions

"of our forefathers, if it proves anything, proves too much; that is, it proves nothing. It would annihilate all the provision made for the education of our children, consign us to a state of general barbarism, and, soon, make us bow the neck, ingloriously to the yoke of despotism. A state of ignorance and licentiousness would, in a very short time convert the plausible, fawning demagogue into an oppressive and cruel tyrant. Hence, the friends of our religious institutions are the most powerful supporters of liberty; and the persons who would abolish the laws in question, whether they know it or not, are the enemies of their country; and, were they to prevail, would prove the pioneers of despotism. Shall we not, therefore, most cordially comply with what the Proclamation recommends; by praising God for the moral and social constitutions wisely adopted by our venerable forefathers; and that their influence continues to operate in a valuable degree?"

With a very few exceptions, the Clergy generally adopted these views. They are very distinctly reflected in quite a number of the most noted productions of the Federal orators of the time—the Fourth of July and other Addresses of such men as Theodore Dwight, Simeon Baldwin, Professor Silliman, President Dwight, and others. Even a literary occasion like that of the College Commencement, was available to students of strong political feelings like Warren Dutton, whose Poem was designed to administer a sharp rebuke to Abraham Bishop. Among all the Orations of the time, Prof. Silliman's while sufficiently rhetorical, is not the least argumentative. In his Oration at Hartford, July 6th, 1802, he remarks: "Our fathers were no theological philosophers . . . Knowing that religion makes men better fathers, husbands, rulers and citizens, they felt and acknowledged the obligation to provide for its permanent support. Indeed, no mind, which has not been corrupted by philosophism, could possibly consider the maintenance of public worship by law a tyranny. We find it enacted among our earliest laws, that every man shall attend public worship on the Sabbath, and keep for the use of his family, a Statute-book and a Bible. However sneering folly or mistaken liberality may have ridiculed these primitive habits, it is certain that to the prevalence of such ideas and practices we must impute our present happy state of Society." He closes by sounding the note of alarm as follows:

"The dreadful moral deluge which has swept away the happiness of other nations, is even now roaring around your walls. It is yours to decide whether you will yield to its

"fury, and be precipitated into that ocean whose shores are drenched in blood, and whose billows are covered with the wrecks of ruined nations. Choose then *'this day'* whether you will substitute the miserable chimeras of modern philosophy in place of the *real blessings and substantial happiness* which you have derived from your *Ancient Institutions.*"

Unquestionably at this date the overwhelming preponderance of the political power of the State was in sympathy with these views. But the party which stood opposed to them was advancing both in spirit and strength. The number of Baptist Churches had increased with great rapidity, and had swallowed up many of the Separatists. It is true they were not up to the full standard of ecclesiastical respectability. In 1798, Stephen Smith Nelson of Hartford, was the only liberally educated Baptist minister in the State. For a long time, the public journals refused to give them the opportunity to be heard in their columns. Green's *Gazette*, at New London, was the only one that extended to them the privilege; and David Bolles, a lawyer and at length a Judge, of Windham county, was perhaps their foremost champion, defending them in pamphlets of his own, issued at the expense of himself or his friends.

But their increasing numbers gave them political influence and importance, and the Republicans of the Jeffersonian School, who had been hitherto in a hopeless minority in the State, were ready and anxious to secure their alliance, the moment it could serve their turn. That moment was now at hand. Foremost among the friends of Mr. Jefferson in the State, was a man by the name of Abraham Bishop, son of that Samuel Bishop who had been imprisoned for refusing to pay his rate. He was a citizen of New Haven, a graduate of Yale College in the Class of 1778, a lawyer by profession, and had held some civil offices of no great importance. His character was regarded by many as by no means stainless. He was publicly charged with receiving money from Rev. Dr. Edwards, for land in Vermont which he had already transferred to his own father. Insinuations against him, less specific but scarcely less significant, come before us in the pamphlets of the day.* But he had some invaluable qualifications, for the part he was to take. He had a remarkable degree of what was then denominated impudence, that was

proof against public opinion, and that nothing whatever could put to the blush. Bold, self-reliant, and, not a few would have added, unscrupulous, he bantered and provoked, where he failed to refute. He told Noah Webster, who had Bishop in his eye in bringing out his *Rod for a Fool's Back*, that as he (Webster) was apt to give advice, he would leave him with a word of advice, which was: "to persecute to conviction and sentence of death, the man or men who ever told him that he had talents as a writer." He might be called the American Cobbett.

Such was the man who emerged into notice at a juncture when his talents were most available. It was a stormy time. The political heavens were darkened by the war of Pamphlets. There were *Connecticutensis*, with his busy and vigorous pen; Sermons, diverse in style, but kindred in tone, including exposures of infidelity and atheism in the same pages with those of political radicalism; Judge David Daggett's humorously satirical Fourth of July Oration, (1799) showing that "Sunbeams may be extracted from cucumbers, but the process is tedious;" Orations by Isaac Lewis, Benjamin Silliman, Noah Webster, and others, with a similar scope, though in a different vein; and, among many more, not the least significant, the Orations of Abraham Bishop himself—one delivered at the College Commencement in New Haven (1800) after his appointment by the Society he was to address had been formally set aside; and his Wallingford Oration, delivered the eleventh of March, 1801, at the general Thanksgiving of Connecticut Republicans for the election of Mr. Jefferson.

These latter productions were at least racy and vigorous. They rang with the tone of triumphant confidence; and indicated a man, who if defeated, would never know or confess it. He carried the war directly into the camp of his enemies. In his New Haven Commencement Oration, he confessed that he had no taste or spirit to discuss "the inexhaustible treasures of Hebrew, Greek and Arabic," but he boldly struck at "The Extent and Power of Political Delusion," giving the Political pulpit the benefit of his remorseless thrusts. "How much think you," he asks, "has religion been benefited by sermons, intended to show that Satan and Cain were Jacobins? How much by sermons in which every deistical argument has been presented with its greatest force as 'being a part of the Republican Creed? Is this, men of God, following the precept, 'feed my sheep, feed my lambs?' The people, instead of being alarmed lest religion should suffer under a new administration, ought to be infinitely solicitous to wrest the protection

* It would be no more perhaps than historic justice to make some allowance for charges originating in the heated invectives of political partisanship; and if Abraham Bishop's language in reference to his opponent is altogether too harsh, it is very possible that something of this harshness was reflected back upon himself.

"of it from those who are using it as a State engine. The kingdom of heaven now suffereth political violence. Think you that the Bishop of Ephesus, if now with us, would have left the care of souls to ascertain the number of votes which his favorite could get for a seat in Congress? Would Paul of Tarsus have preached to an anxious, listening audience on the propriety of sending Envoys? I ask these questions seriously, because on this subject, the people think seriously, and because delusion here is playing a most cruel game.

"Have you not read that the head of the Church will sustain his own cause, and that this cause will never be perfected, till wars and rumors of wars shall cease from under the whole heaven? The Captain of Salvation is not so weak as to need an Army and Navy, and a majority in Congress to support his cause. The system of enmity, pride, vice and abandonment, which characterize all modern Governments, are hostile to religion. The Saviour would be ill received in levees, in fields of battle, or on board hostile ships. He takes no delight in the flowing robes and masquerade dress of the Lords Spiritual. The morals of Courts and Camps never rise up before His throne as sweet incense. Courts and Camps have in all modern ages been the hotbeds of immorality, the nurseries of infidelity. That religion which you so highly value, is suffering a gradual, certain and painful extermination, by the very means which you affect to support it. While every nerve is stretched to obtain wealth and greatness, that cause, which begun in poverty and thrives best in the shades and retirements of life, must mourn. Our great political arrangements are like so many armaments against religion; yet the men who oppose them are denounced as atheists, and no proof of their atheism is required but their opposition to Federal measures."

He finds himself quite in his element in exposing "the delusions which have attended past elections." "Formerly," he says, "the people of this Country had sense enough to originate and organize Government, and by their intelligence and energies to keep it in operation; now by force of *Federal opiates* they have just sense enough to choose the wisest and greatest men; but as soon as the choice is over they sink into a torpid state and thus remain for two years, till the trumpet of a new election wakes them to new life and energy; but even then they have been so long dormant that sometimes the crew of a ship must be murdered; this murder must be registered in sermons for the edification of political saints; the men must continue *bona fide*

"dead, till the election is closed—miracles must be wrought at the bottom of meal tubs—the Indian tribes must be all in motion to invade the frontiers—mighty ships with mighty men in them must be traversing the ocean on mighty, portentous and unaccountable errands—the whole political stage must be veiled in darkness and mystery—clouds, tempests and coruscations must mark the sky; and in the midst of all scenery, Satan with his infernal host must be advancing to take his long lease of the earth, and to make Princes and Nobles of those infernal opposers of religion and good government, whom all friends of order are called on to keep out of place. All this, in modern days, is necessary to waken the people to a recollection that the men whom they chose last are the finest candidates for another election. But mark how ineffectual are all these causes to produce the wished effect, till joining the wonder-working host, the Clergy, (and as Cowper to aid his verse, so I my prose, 'with awe profound repeat the 'sacred name,' the clergy,) heralds of the Prince of Peace; ambassadors of him, who disclaimed for himself and his followers the honors of men; *the Clergy*, preachers of the word of life, deign for some days to waive their sacerdotal functions, to descend from their high seats made venerable by the respect of the people for religion, and as they advance to join and influence the throng, you may hear a shout from every quarter, 'THE CHURCH IS IN DANGER!'" Stung by the language frequently employed by Federalists like Lewis, Daggett and Webster, in their Fourth of July orations, Bishop cannot avoid giving them a blow in passing. He says, (*p. 43*):

"The Fourth of July occasion, which you imagined yourselves to have earned, have been wrested from you and they have been perverted into days for chastising the enemies of administration by the odious characters of illuminatists, disorganizers and atheists; but as our native tribes, when they are torturing a prisoner, suffer him in the interval of his torments to sit and smoke, or eat with them, so have these Federal gentlemen, after a public wounding of you in every part, suffered you to dine with them, to toast men whom you regard as despoilers of your rights, and to join them in copious libations to principles and measures which you hold in abhorrence; and the penalty for your neglecting or refusing to do and suffer the whole measure of torment has been to hold you up as a hissing and by-word—as Jacobins, anarchists and fit companions for infernal spirits."

In the Appendix, he gives extracts from *Jefferson's Notes on Virginia*, in which the latter

says: "it is error alone which needs the support of Government. Truth can stand by itself. Subject opinion to coercion; whom will you make your inquisitors? . . . What has been the effect of coercion? To make one half the world fools, and the other half hypocrites."

Unquestionably this "Commencement" Oration was meant to be, and did service as, an electioneering document. But the Wallingford Oration which followed it, a few months later, was one of the boldest, perhaps some would say, sauciest things, ever published in the State. In the preface (*p. v.*) he asks: "If we have serpents in our country, shall we call them doves? Shall our weeds be called flowers, and our barberry bushes be nursed and cultivated, lest the world should know that there is something in New England which will blast our grain? Shall the canker-worm and hessian-fly be held sacred because they are found in Connecticut? * * * * Church and State cannot be better served than by keeping them distinct, and by placing them where they ought to be, above, instead of beneath, the control of men who care no more for either than what they can turn to their personal benefit."

As he advances in his Oration, he takes up in a direct manner, the religious question which was becoming the political question of the day. "Church and State," he says, (*p. 13.*) "still twine together. Moses and Aaron find it profitable to walk hand in hand. The clergyman preaches politics; the civilian prates of orthodoxy; and if any man refuses to join the coalition, they endeavor to hunt him down to the tune of '*The Church is in danger.*'" The convenience of succeeding in life by bowing to these earthly potentates, has induced multitudes to join them; and hence when a foreigner inquired of one of our citizens, what was the most characteristic trait of New England, the frank answer was this: "*we are taught hypocrisy from our cradles:* and such an answer will be always true, till Moses and Aaron shall be contented to labor separately in their vocations. The character of those who join this coalition from motives of convenience, may be well imagined. They are hypocrites, and having no righteousness of their own, they affect to trade on the old stock, and are always exclaiming about the piety of our forefathers; but I have never read of any law, by which the piety of the ancestor descended, so as to be exclusively claimed by his heirs. Those who live in the midst of this deceitful union, will feel the force of these remarks; those who do not, can but very imperfectly conceive what a barrier

"it forms to the introduction of any truth which can diminish the power, wealth or infallibility of the fraternity.

"But when these pretended friends of religion lead infidel lives; when they carry religion to market and offer it in exchange for luxuries and honors; when they place it familiarly and constantly in the columns of newspapers, manifestly connected with electioneering purposes; and when they offer it up as a morning and evening sacrifice on the altar of personal pride or political party—these men are placing a fire-brand to every Meeting-house, and applying a torch to every Bible. They are doing worse; by their hypocrisy, they are attacking religion in the heart and life, betraying it, and crucifying its author."

As to Church and State, he says (*p. 41.*) they always contaminate each other, as far as their union extends. The clerical politician is an useless preacher; the political Christian is a dangerous statesman."

Further on (*p. 45.*) he remarks, "*The riding of Meeting-houses* is an equestrian feat, which might have amused, under the ancient order of things, but will be very hazardous to the rider, when religion shall consist in the worship of God, and Government be devoted to the interests of man, and when wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of our times."

He says, of the Election Sermons, with special reference to that of Dr. A. Backus, and with a general regard to such as that by Isaac Lewis, that he had read, with concern and disgust, sermons "in which there is a little of Governor, a little of Council, a little of Congress, much of puffing, much of politics, and a very little of religion—a strange compost, like a carrot pie, having so little of the ingredients of the vegetable that the cook must christen it."

Mr. Bishop addresses himself to the Clergy, and says, "Preach the Gospel, and let Robinson and Baruel alone. * * * You impute infidelity to Democrats, but you are the men who cause infidelity to abound. You do not preach the Gospel. You talk, pray, preach, and publish politics. All the sermons for two years past, aimed ostensibly at Democratic infidels and infidel philosophy, were, in fact, aimed at Mr. Jefferson. These things give occasion to the enemy to blaspheme, and say, Where is your God? You charge this state of things to Democrats; whereas no class of men wish more ardently for a change. Strike at the true cause of all this—turn your daggers to the pride of your own hearts, to your love of the world—cease to lord it over God's heritage—send

"no more vain oblations to the *Palladium** and "the *Connecticut Courant*." In denouncing the Clergy, he says, "'Depart, ye workers of iniquity,' will be their sentence, and this will not be reversed, even though they should add, 'When Thy name and Thy cause were sinking, we wrote *Serious Considerations*' [ascribed to Rev. Dr. Linn, of N. Y.] "and *Voices of Warning*" [ascribed to Rev. Dr. J. M. Mason], "and issued pamphlets, and even established Missionary Societies and *Palladiums* to defend it." (p. 42.)

He must have been well assured of the sympathy of his hearers, to indulge in the use of such language as this (p. 68): "Suffer me to remark to you that there is more hypocrisy in New England than in any equal portion of the globe. Professions coming from men who are known to have no religion and sincerity will bring more in market here than elsewhere. Hence, as money always finds its level where most is offered for it, so hypocrisy has found its level here. That calm spirit which is always croaking amidst the ruins of truth and freedom to the tune of *steady habits*, has taken up its abode here. The world, the flesh, and the Devil have their farms as distinctly bounded out in Connecticut as in any other State of the Union; and we shall be unable to sustain ourselves any longer by boasting of our superior light and virtue."

While the larger portion of his remarks is more historical than statistical or argumentative, and directed more to popular prejudice than to calm reason, now and then a statement is made which defines his perception of the violation of religious liberty by the laws of the State. Take for instance the following:

"The Trinitarian doctrine is established by law, and the denial of it is placed in the rank of felonies, (p. 183 *Statute book*.) Though we have ceased to transport from town to town, Quakers, New Lights and Baptists; yet the dissenters from our prevailing denomination are, even at this moment, praying for the repeal of those laws (certificate act) which abridged the rights of conscience. By virtue of steady habits, obsequiousness to the Clergy is accepted in lieu of respect for religion."

In 1802, Bishop brought out his *Proofs of a Conspiracy against Christianity and the Government of the United States, exhibited in several views of the Union of Church and State in New England*. The very title showed that it was an offset to Robinson's *Proofs of Conspiracy*,

published not long before, with a view to expose the projects of a radical infidelity abroad and at home. Indefatigable in his efforts, he spared no pains to turn the tide of public opinion in his favor. There were several occurrences which, at this juncture, favored the aims of Abraham Bishop. His father, Samuel Bishop, although almost an octogenarian, was appointed by Jefferson as Collector of the port of New Haven; and it was evident to all that the reward bestowed upon the infirm father was meant for the son, and was designed to support him against the opposition which he met in public opinion. The various denominations who were restive under the legal maintenance extended to the standing order, could not but recognize in him a champion. John Leland, a leader among the Baptists, was a zealous Virginia Republican; and the alliance between Baptists and Anti-Federalists was already foreshadowed.

It was doubtless hastened by the disposal which it was at first proposed to make of the proceeds from the sale of western lands, or New Connecticut. These were devoted (October, 1793) as a perpetual fund, to the use and benefit of the several Ecclesiastical Societies, &c., of all denominations within the State. They were to be applied to the support of ministers, or where two-thirds of the parish were opposed to this arrangement, they might be devoted to common school purposes, by public vote. Such a measure, designed to avoid collision with public opinion in New London County, where the Baptists were in some places predominant, only exasperated the whole body throughout the State, especially when the lands had been sold and the law was to go into effect. They gathered very generally at the next meeting of the General Assembly, at Hartford, strong not only in numbers, but in purpose. They had gone through one conflict for freedom, they said, and they were now ready, if necessary, to take up arms for another. They were prepared, they declared, to shed their blood.† To such an assemblage, John Leland, standing on the East steps of the old Court-house, addressed his memorable discourse: *A Blow at the Root*. We may be sure that the vast crowd that heard him, did not disperse with any very gentle feelings toward the obnoxious legislation that threatened to give a permanent endowment to the State Churches. That legislation could not, and it did not, stand; and its opponents, exulting over its repeal, might claim that to

*In a note, Mr. Bishop remarks that the *Palladium*, published at Boston by Warren Dutton, had "become a common sewer for abuse upon Republicans, and a sink for the disk-water of the political clergy." See Buckingham's *Reminiscences*, ii., 160.

†On asking my venerable informant, who witnessed the scene, what they meant by that, he kindled to earnest enthusiasm and simply repeated, with emphasis—"Shed—their—blood."

themselves was due in part at least, the beneficent result which has flowed to Connecticut from her magnificent endowment for Common Schools.

To follow up the publications of the time in which the question of the Standing Order was discussed, would be quite impracticable; but some important historical statements are contained in one, entitled, *Facts are Stubborn Things, or, Nine Plain Questions to the People of Connecticut, with a brief reply to each.* By Simon Holdfast, (Hartford, 1803, 800 p p. 21.) It was written by a fast friend of the Standing Order, and from this we learn that: "In May, 1800, a meeting of the leading Democrats of this State was holden, and they established themselves into what they termed a Republican Society. This has been continued ever since. . . . The General meeting is holden at Hartford and New Haven, in May and October, during the Sessions of the Legislature. Delegates hold special Conventions before each Freeman's meeting. . . . Such a Convention was holden at Killingworth, in August last, (1802?) Hence originated what was called the Baptist Petition which was circulated through the State and obtained several thousand signers, many of whom doubtless honestly sought the public good. After the Petition had been sufficiently circulated, it was thought proper to ask of the General Assembly, in May last, to assign it for trial on a particular day, perhaps hoping that request would be denied—it was, however, granted; and Mr. Edwards and Mr. Granger, it was said, were to advocate it. These gentlemen, however, did not appear; and, of course, no trial was had. The Assembly, still willing to examine its merits, referred it to a Committee of eighteen members from the two Houses, to enquire and report. By this Committee, several of whom were suffer'd to be its advocates, it was thoroughly canvassed, and every gentleman professed himself entirely satisfied that there was no ground of complaint which this Legislature could remove, except John T. Peters, Esq., who declared that nothing short of an entire repeal of the laws for the support of religion would accord with his ideas. A Report was accordingly made; accepted by both Houses without division; and has since been published. From that time, this subject has slept, and probably the high duties of the Postmaster General have precluded any further attention to it, from Mr. Granger," (p.p. 19, 20.)

But the result here declared was not final. In various parts of the State, the friends of religious liberty were busy, and acting independently of Mr. Gideon Granger, and Mr. Pier-

pont Edwards. With the latter, especially, many of them could have little ground of sympathy. Like his nephew and former playmate, Aaron Burr, he had become an apostate from his father's faith, and counted religion no more than a pawn on the political chess-board. It is told as a humorous, but well-known, fact, that while his brother, the younger Jonathan Edwards, was settled as Pastor of what is now the North Church of New Haven, a tinker called upon Pierpont, at his house, in the hope of securing a job. The lawyer replied that he had no work for him himself, but that his brother, who lived a little distance off, might very possibly employ him, for he had a certain affair known by the name of the Saybrook Platform, that needed tinkering badly.

Indeed, a very different man from Pierpont Edwards was John Sterry, who became, in the year 1800, the first Pastor of the Baptist Church at Norwich. The son of an Englishman, he was born at Providence, Rhode Island, and studied for a time at Brown University. At the age of twenty-four, he removed to Norwich, where he established himself as a printer, bookseller, paper-maker, author, and publisher. Eminent as a mathematician, he published several school-books. He assisted Daboll in preparing his Almanacs. He invented the art of marbling paper, and an improved method of bleaching cotton. The Collection of *Divine Songs*, once extensively used in the Baptist Churches, was compiled by him.

In 1801, he issued an American edition of Abraham Booth's *Essay on the Kingdom of Christ*—a treatise which bore almost as severely upon the Ecclesiastical Constitution of Connecticut, as upon the English Church Establishment. Not content with this, he initiated an enterprise in 1804, which delivered the Baptists from their dependence for a public hearing upon Green's New London *Gazette*. In connection with a partner, by the name of Porter, he edited and published *The True Republican*, a sheet which has been characterized as "very spirited, popular and useful." He ran up, as a matter of course, the "Republican" flag, and contended zealously for Religious Liberty and a New State Constitution. Among the agencies destined to work out this result, John Sterry and his *True Republican* must by no means be overlooked.

In 1808, there was reprinted at Windham, "by J. Byrne, for R. Huntington," from the London Edition, a 12mo volume of over three hundred pages, entitled, *A Review of Ecclesiastical Establishments in Europe*. It was by the Rev. William Graham, Newcastle; and was now in its "Second Edition, with Alterations, and Amendments." Mr. Huntington was a drug-

gist in Windham, a friend to toleration, who threw open his house to travelling preachers of every name, Methodist or Christian, provided only they did not belong to the "Standing Order." In the village library, he met this work, which by some means had strayed across the ocean and thus came under his eye. It was a new commendation of it, that a Scotch dissenter wrote it, and that his hostility to all establishments could be played off against the Congregational predilection for the Parish System in Connecticut. Assisted by sympathizing friends, he procured the reprint of the work; and the edition was bound by the joint labors of himself and his son.

A more effective Plea against a Connecticut "Establishment," could not readily have been penned by Bowles, Leland or Sterry. With some excess of rhetoric, it strikes telling blows. The author says: (p. 10.)

"When any Government, therefore, grants a precluding patronage to any particular part of that body, appointing subscriptions to its Creed the legal condition of enjoying the common rights of citizens and subjects; neither is the Church, according to the full import of the term, established—nor does Government itself act up to its original ends. It suspends the duties it owes to society, protection, patronage and encouragement, on conditions which are foreign to civil society. A particular part alone is protected and patronized; and other subjects—other Christians, equally deserving of civil society, are robbed of their property to enrich it.—Such an establishment constitutes its objects a schismatical body. It puts it in their power by law, to erect a separate interest from their brethren, and to pursue designs, foreign, yea, often opposite to our common Christianity.—It authorizes them to insult, to persecute, and to kill their fellow Christians of other denominations, and of other Churches, belonging to the same Catholic body. It patronizes them in proudly arrogating to themselves, after the accustomed manner of all who are actuated by a schismatical spirit the high-sounding appellation of —the Church."

His confidence that Christianity would sustain itself without leaning on the Secular arm, is set forth in glowing lines. (p. 255.)

"No! Christianity can never be on a level with any false religion. Her own intrinsic worth raises her infinitely above all—even the most specious and the best guarded system of imposture. The *Highest* himself, has always guarded her rich treasures, and ever will preserve her sacred foundations. Legions of devils, pouring from the gates of hell, cannot prevail against her. Craft, aided by cruelty,

"cannot move her from her foundation, nor disturb a single stone from her superstructure. Her weapons, it is true, are not carnal, but spiritual; but they are always, and in every conflict, greatly, triumphant. No daring foe could ever pluck the laurel from her brow; or snatch the palm from her hand. Her greatest enemies cannot endure the effulgence of her shield; nor cease from trembling at the shaking of her spear. She beholds them flying her approaches with precipitate steps; and, at a safe distance collecting their scattered remains. These her friends always find, either deeply entrenched in the howling desert of ignorance and error, behind a strong breastwork of political arrangements and penal statutes; or breaking away into the fortress of prejudice, which, with unavailing pains they labor to render impregnable by all the tempting arts of sophistry, and by all the mock artillery of profane wit and sarcastic raillery."

On the same side appeared, in 1810, a Sermon, by Henry Grew, Pastor of the Baptist Church in Hartford, with the title of *Christian Loyalty* and "designed to illustrate the authority of Cæsar and Jesus Christ." In his prefatory note, he says, "There are some who mock our conscientious scruples, and say we only use them to cover a perverse opposition to salutary institutions. We regret that such persons oblige us to remind them that they echo the very charge of the Beast, who, claiming infallibility, attributed the worst of motives to them who would not receive his mark in their foreheads." He adds, among other things, that "If the sentiments advanced cannot be supported by the unerring word of truth, the writer acknowledges himself bound to renounce them; and he will pay a respectful attention to any arguments which may be offered from that source." Some sentences of this discourse are quite pointed in their application to the case in hand. "A coalition between the true visible Gospel Church and the State, is absolutely incompatible. There have been, and still are, bodies of men denominated the Church, in connection with a State or Kingdom; but they are not Churches of Christ. They are creatures of State policy. They are bodies without souls." He speaks of "the amazing absurdity of the declaration that the Church of Christ will sink, if the State does not uphold her." He pronounces it "the hue and cry of men of this world, that they may, under the cloak of religion, more effectually advance their selfish designs. It is the howl of the Prince of Darkness, in order to get the Church of Christ into his embraces, and stifle her to death." One of his infer-

ences is, "that no civil authority, no Parliament, Legislature, or political body under heaven, have any authority to enact any religious laws, to appoint any day or hour for religious worship, or to dictate, in any manner, respecting our religious faith and practice." In such an assertion, the author did not go beyond the standard of Baptist opinion in the State. Not a few would have employed even stronger language, if it had been possible to command it.

But the conservative friends of "the Standing Order" were not disposed to yield without a struggle. Chauncey Lee of Colebrooke (1800-1828) had, as early as 1800, provoked Abraham Bishop by denominating Satan the "Arch-Jacobin." In 1813, he preached the Election Sermon on *The Government of God the True Source and Standard of Human Government*. In this he sounded anew the alarm in the hearing of the legislators of the State, declaring (p. 48) that at "no time has our Sovereignty as a State been more endangered, nor appeared more interesting to our own and country's happiness."

An abler man than Lee came forward with his plea in the following year.

In 1814, Dr. Lyman Beecher, in a Sermon at the installation of Rev. John Keys, at Woolcot, Connecticut, remarked that the original law of Connecticut for the support of the Gospel, "while the inhabitants of the State were all of one way," was entirely efficacious, and "secured to the people of the State, at least, four times the amount of instruction, which has ever been known to be the result of merely voluntary associations for the support of the Gospel." In a note appended to this, he adds, "It has been said that the 'Gospel will support itself, and that civil laws have nothing to do with the support of the Gospel' If it be meant that the Gospel will exist in the world though we should neglect to support it in Connecticut, it is true; but if the meaning be that God will continue to us a faithful ministry, and bestow his blessing upon it, though we should withhold the means for its competent support, it is not true. . . . And with respect to the manner in which religious instruction shall be provided, no plan has ever yet been adopted so effectual as Legislative provisions, which shut out individual discretion, and require every man to pay for the support of the Gospel, according to his property. The experiment has been fairly made, on our right hand and on our left, of what may be expected from voluntary associations and contributions for the support of divine institutions. . . . Even in this State, since the letter of the law has become practicable and

"common, the amount of religious instruction provided by themselves, by that portion of the population who have reserved to their own discretion what they will give, has dwindled" —nearly one-fourth, according to his estimate. Further on, he says, "the vital principle of our system, that every one shall pay according to his property, somewhere, for the support of religious instruction, as a public civil benefit, and for the preservation of morals and good order in the State, is gone. Every man who chooses to do it, withdraws, now, by a little management, his whole tax from the support of the Gospel; and the result is lamentably manifest in the multiplication of feeble Societies and waste places."*

The Clergy did not stand alone in their defence of the Parish system. The great body of the Federalists stood by them to the end. The respectable, the dignified, the influential, regarded the attempt to secure a new Constitution, abolishing the Union of Church and State, with high disdain. The story is still current, that when the Petition of the Baptists for religious liberty was presented, Oliver Ellsworth, afterwards Chief Justice of this State, was Chairman of the Joint Committee of the two Houses, before whom it was laid. As he received the Petition, he immediately threw it under the table, and putting his foot upon it, said, "there is where it belongs."

Such a proceeding was more exasperating than politic or just. It provoked the opposition. The two Baptist Associations of the State, at each Annual Meeting, appointed a Committee to lay before the General Assembly their claims and complaints. Every year the inevitable subject came up. About the year 1815, Judge David Bolles secured a hearing before the two Houses, in behalf of the Complainants, and explained his views. There was some, though but slight, relaxation of political prejudice. The Hartford Convention had met, and had, whether justly or unjustly, incurred no little odium, which reverted to the Federal party. Up to this time, the Episcopalians, who abhorred the War, had been ranged in opposition to the Republicans. In principle also, they could not consistently join the Baptists in opposition to all Church Establishments. Their record was against them. The fault which they had to find with the Ecclesiastical legislation of Connecticut was, that the Congregational, rather than Episcopal Church, was provided with legal maintain-

* In this Sermon, Dr. Beecher proposes, among remedies, itineracy, evangelists, charitable collections from the Churches, or "a General Society" for "building up the wastes of the State," weekly lectures in different parts of the Congregation, parochial visits, catechizing, concert of prayer.

ance. In 1748, *The Englishman directed in the Choice of his Religion*, was reprinted in this country at the instance of J. Wetmore, whose prefatory address vindicated the authority of the magistrate in matters of religion; and appealed for sanction of this position to New England History, the Saybrook Platform, and Connecticut legislation. Repeated indications were given by men who sympathized with him, that they were by no means unfriendly to a religious establishment, *per se*. It is scarcely strange therefore that we hear little of the Episcopalians while this conflict of parties was going forward in Connecticut. Loyally did they stand by the old Federal Party even, while—though especially exempted from taxation for Congregational ministers—they had yet some reason for complaint. They could not be readily drawn into the Anti-Church-and-State-Alliance. Baptists and Jeffersonians were not the class with which they chose to consort. "When certain political managers, 'in 1816, were making a combination of sectarian influences to effect the overthrow of the 'old Federalist party in Connecticut, and especially of what had been 'the Standing Order,' they approached the late Judge Johnson of Stratford, (son of the Revolutionary Statesman, and grandson of the Church of England Missionary, and himself a graduate of Yale) 'with the proposal to make him Governor of the State, if he would give his influence to their scheme, and their proposal was promptly rejected.'" (*New Englander* 1866, p. 329.)

But it seemed no more than right, by the rules of political ethics, that this loyal section of the Federal Party should have its reward. Perhaps they might feel that they were entitled to demand it. The issue showed that the continued supremacy of the party in the State depended on their adherence. They did therefore virtually put forth their claims to recognition. The Phoenix Bank of Hartford desired a Charter of Incorporation; and was prepared to pay a liberal *bonus* for it. To secure the coöperation of diverse political elements, the Bill for it was so drawn as to offer to Yale College Medical School a liberal sum; to the Congregational ministry of the State, a certain amount; and to Episcopalians, a sum which was designated as the Bishop's fund, the interest of which was to be devoted to his support.

The Episcopal leaders insisted on the passing of this Bill. They were conscious of their strength, and they meant to use it. Nor, in this new era, were they altogether exempt from the contagion of Republican or radical opinion. Some, at least, among them heartily detested the Saybrook Platform and all the subsequent legislation by which it was maintained. Several years before the period which we have reached, a pamphlet, without author's name or place of pub-

lication, was issued, undoubtedly if not by an indignant Episcopalian, at least by one who understood how to reach their feelings, which reveals the under-current of which the Federalists should have taken warning. It is entitled, *An Appeal to the Candid upon the present state of Religion and Politics in Connecticut*, (12mo pp. 23.) In this there is an adroit array of facts and insinuations, well calculated to alienate Episcopalians from the Federal alliance. The writer states, for instance, that "the present worthy Episcopal Clergyman* in that town (New Haven) has educated three sons at Yale, and they have been 'obliged to pass the door of the Church every Sunday, and go to the meeting in College,'" (p. 4.) He had already stated that not long after an Episcopal Church was founded at New Haven, the sons of the then Episcopal clergyman (Mr. Punderson) were fined during the whole time of their residence in College, for attending divine service with their father. The writer could not have been aware that Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson wrote a letter to President Clap, protesting against this regulation; or he would doubtless have mentioned it. He proceeds however to array his charges against the College and its managers. "President Dwight," he asserts, "is making great strides after universal control in Connecticut, New England and the United States, over religious opinions and politics," (p. 91.) "The oppressive (State) laws," he continues, "which art, war, violence and stratagem 'have obtained, are unrepealed, from the influence of the Edwardian and Calvinistic party.'" "Men have been dragged to prison," he says, "and their property sold at public auction, to maintain systems of Faith and Discipline, which they neither believe nor follow." "In no period since the planting of Connecticut, did bigotry usurp more over others than at this time, in every County, town, parish and neighborhood; and chiefly from the doings of the College, and opinions circulated from thence. The President is attempting to direct all the public affairs, civil, ecclesiastical, literary, military and political. . . Dr. Stiles was a bigot, active, obstinate and persevering; but Dr. Dwight's little finger will be greater than Dr. Stiles's loins. Dr. Stiles chastised with the whips of sermons and letters upon politics; but Dr. Dwight will scourge with the Scorpion of Calvinism and Edwardianism, the Scorpion of Polemic divinity, party politics, poetry, satirical writings, the triumph of Infidelity, and the prejudices circulated by young men and young divines taught by him. . . At this time, Connecticut is more completely under the administration of a Pope than Italy; is more 'an ecclesiastical domain.'"

* This was the Rev. Dr. Bela Hubbard.

The tone of such an Appeal indicates a degree of feeling which would spare no effort to alienate the Episcopalians from the Federal party, and bring them over to the side of their opponents. The Bill before the Assembly, drawn in such a way as to secure a civil recognition of the Episcopal Church, was to test the question how much the Federalists were willing to concede to retain their old allies and give a longer lease to "the Standing Order."

It was vigorously assailed and warmly defended. Every Methodist, every Baptist, every "Come-outer from the "Standing Order," was in sworn opposition to it. With Episcopal help, the united Federalists might pass it; but it was a bitter pill to swallow. Not that they repudiated its provisions on the same grounds with the other party, but that they felt that a Bishop's fund and civil recognition of Episcopacy were a high price to pay for what they were like to get. But the alternative was before them. It was distinctly and even eloquently presented. If the alliance was continued—this was the practical meaning of the language—the allies must have their price. Nathan Smith, a lawyer of New Haven and a shrewd political manager, is said to have made the closing speech in the Assembly in favor of the Bill. His peroration was thrillingly eloquent. He gave warning of the consequences, revolutionary, perhaps, and disastrous, which would follow the rejection of the Bill. As he closed, there was a deep silence; and if the question had then been put, the Bill might, perhaps, have passed. But, during that suspense of feeling which followed the speech, as if at the close of a sermon, when the audience could not be released without some appropriate closing exercise, a shrill voice was heard calling out "Mr. Speaker! Mr. Speaker! shall we sing?" The ridiculousness of the proposal produced an instant revulsion of feeling; and the whole Assembly, that but just now was thrilled with fear and apprehension, broke forth in a burst of laughter. The fate of the Bill was sealed. The Episcopalians were thenceforth alienated from the Federalists. The Republicans were reinforced with, perhaps, somewhat strange but very decidedly respectable allies; and, in 1816, Jonathan Ingersoll of New Haven, Senior Warden of Trinity Church, was elected, of course by the aid of Republican votes, Lieutenant-governor of the State, "the first Dis-senter from the Standing Order who was ever "elected to that office in Connecticut."

In the same year, an Act was passed, designed—if we may draw inferences from the general scope of it—to secure the endorsement of the principle of a Church and State Union, by the different dissenting denominations. It

held out a bribe to each, in the form of an appropriation from the amount of money paid over to the State by the General Government, for the excess of its expenditures during the War.

This "Appropriation Act for the Support of "Literature and Religion" was not without effect in hastening the crisis. It is adverted to in the vigorously written pamphlet of 1817, entitled *The Politics of Connecticut*, and is characterized as "terms known to be thrown "out," "by the ruling denomination," "merely to "pacify, to delude and gain time." The amount—some \$200,000 which was paid to the State by the General Government—was to be appropriated to the several denominations, somewhat in proportion to their numbers. The writer of the pamphlet predicts its rejection by them. "The effect," he says, "of this State stratagem "has been lost upon that very numerous and "flourishing class of the community—the "Methodists. * * They have, with a noble "indignation worthy of their profession, spurned "from them the poisoned cup, and escaped the "snare set to entrap them."

He proceeds to say: "This perversion of civil "revenue to a religious establishment, makes "Government a pander to the Church, and "contradicts every principle of legislation in a "free State. . . . Our legislators have, consequently, gone beyond the warrant of their "commission; they have transcended their "powers; they have violated their trust. They "should be recalled—their credentials cancelled "—and themselves dismissed."

So, doubtless, thought many who did not possess the virtue to resist the bribe. The Chairman of the Committee to distribute to the Baptists their portion of the fund,* was opposed, in principle, to the Appropriation Act, and declined to fulfil his appointment. But some of his brethren were not so firm in opposition. They demanded their share, and threatened to invoke the power of the law to secure it. In these circumstances, the Committee was compelled to act, and the money was distributed. But more was lost than gained by the measure. It disgusted many who would not forego its benefits, and helped forward the event which it was designed to postpone if not to obviate. Popular sentiment revolted alike against the commingling of matters civil and ecclesiastical, and the appropriation of civil funds to religious purposes. The false principle of the union of Church and State was more distinctly exposed, and the reprobation of it by the people was more emphatically assured.

All that followed was simply the necessary

* Rev. Augustus Bolles, who gave me the information.

result, and a matter of detail. In 1818, Governor Wolcott appointed the Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, to preach the annual election Sermon, the first time in Connecticut history that the service was performed by a dissenter from the ecclesiastical establishment. In that year, the new Constitution,[†] with no trace of the parish system in it, went into effect. There were not a few who were ready to exult that persistent, conscientious effort in the cause of entire religious liberty, was at last crowned with success. One Baptist clergyman, at least, was a member of the Convention that formed the Constitution. Another, then in his prime, and still surviving at the age of ninety-three years, felt that a burden was thrown from his shoulders. Year after year, he had been appointed by the Baptist Association, on their Committee, to present their cause before the Legislature; but when the Bill for a new Constitution passed the House, he stepped back, and, turning to the Chairman of the Committee to whom the matter was referred, simply said, "I withdraw my Petition." For just one half-century, Connecticut has stood forth free from all restrictions on religious liberty. What was once "the Standing Order" are foremost to applaud her emancipation; and, however the State may have degenerated from the sterling virtues of her colonial founders, two centuries of experience have exploded the errors of their early policy.

APPENDIX—A.

THE REPORT OF REV. ELIZUR GOODRICH, D. D., TO THE CONVENTION OF DELEGATES FROM THE SYNOD OF NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA AND FROM THE ASSOCIATIONS OF CONNECTICUT, HELD ANNUALLY, FROM 1766 TO 1775, INCLUSIVE.

The state of Religious Liberty in Connecticut, at the opening of the Revolutionary War, is very fairly presented in a document prepared by Rev. Elizur Goodrich, D. D., of Durham, Connecticut, and presented by him to the "Convention of Delegates from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia and from the Associations of Connecticut"—a body which met annually from 1766 to 1775, and of which Dr. Goodrich was a conspicuous member. He was appointed to draw up a Statement on the subject of Religious Liberty in the Colony; and this Statement, which he elaborately prepared, seems a fitting conclusion to the preceding sketch. We have merely appended notes with reference to the provisions found in the Revised Acts and Laws of 1784.

The paper of Doctor Goodrich is as follows:

The Charter of this Colony was granted by King CHARLES the Second, A. D. 1662, with

ample powers and privileges of legislation and government, and the enjoyment of all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects. The Government and Company are empowered to ordain and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable laws for regulating all the affairs of the Colony; and, after a number of particulars, there is this general Clause respecting Religion: "And for the directing, ruling, and disposing all other matters and things whereby our said people, inhabitants there, may be so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed as their good life and orderly conversation may win and invite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, which, in our royal intention and the adventurers' free profession, is the only and principal end of this Plantation." This declaration of King Charles, in the Charter, most probably hath reference to something contained in the Petition on which it was granted. The original settlement of the New England Colonies was much owing to religious zeal; for though several attempts had been made to settle this land, and great sums spent for that purpose, yet all proved abortive till religion was the grand inducement, and oppression drove multitudes from their native soil. It is probable, that if the same liberty of conscience had always been enjoyed in England that there is at present,—if corruption and arbitrary power had not usurped the rights of mankind, this country would still have remained a wilderness. If peace and purity, truth and liberty could have been enjoyed at home, the arduous undertaking of settling this country would have wanted men of great abilities and noble fortunes, who, for the sake of their consciences, cheerfully engaged and went through the amazing horrors, dangers, and inconveniences of this then dreary wilderness. And as the first planters came almost wholly upon religious views, so we have no reason to think but that they were sincerely desirous of the conversion of the heathen natives, and, indeed, from the history of those times, we are assured of the great zeal they discovered in this matter, and of the pains that were taken to spread the knowledge of the Gospel among them, that they might with truth declare that the advancement of the Redeemer's cause and interest was the great and principal end of the Plantation.

The same zeal and engagedness for religion appear in the Grants of the *General Court* for the making of Towns and Societies, and in the Petitions prepared for that purpose; but, though we have most undoubted cause to honor the fathers of New England, and in particular of this Colony, as men of great integrity, strict probity, and

[†] The Convention for forming a Constitution was directed by the General Assembly of 1813, to meet on the Fourth Wednesday of August, and frame a Constitution. This was to be submitted to the popular vote, and, if ratified, to go into effect.

sincere piety, yet we must own there was a mixture of superstition in their religious sentiments; and though they fled their native land that they might be free from religious oppression and enjoy a worship agreeable to their consciences, yet we must lament they understood the nature and extent of religious liberty no better than by their laws and oppression of other sects, they seemed to do; we must, indeed, impute this in a great measure to the times in which they lived, and not to the general principles they professed or the nature of that Church policy they embraced. The general principles they professed were truly Protestant—that the only rule of religion is the Holy Scriptures, the fixed, sufficient and invariable canon, incapable of addition or diminution; and that every one must see to it, that his faith be resolved into this foundation, as the reason of it; and on this principle they framed their platform of Faith and Worship, as in their view most agreeable to the Scriptures. The Faith they professed was, in general, the same as that contained in the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, and, afterwards, in the *Assembly's Catechisms* and Confession. The ecclesiastical polity they adopted was what is called the *Congregational way*. Happy, if while they supported and maintained their own sentiments and worship, they had granted a reasonable and equitable toleration to persons of different persuasions; but, though this was not granted at first, yet the principles of liberty adopted in the general profession of these Churches led to it. Here the Scripture was enjoyed, and holden to be the only sufficient rule; the study of it was encouraged; the Churches were so constituted that the members enjoyed peculiar privileges, and especially that of choosing their own Ministers, in which all shared who were obliged to contribute to their support. This naturally leads to exercise the right of private judgment in matters of religion ourselves, and to see that the same should be allowed others; nor is there any of our Christian liberties more to be attended and guarded than this of choosing our own teachers. Thus the principles professed, and the nature of ecclesiastical policy originally adopted, had a friendly aspect on religious liberty, and by degrees have banished whatever might be esteemed injurious and oppressive of those who dissent from the Established Churches, as we shall find by review of the ecclesiastical Laws of this Colony.

The Laws of this Colony have been sundry times revised and published by order of the General Assembly, particularly in or about the years 1672, 1702, and 1750. A view of the religious and ecclesiastical Laws as they are found in these several Editions, with the variations made from time to time, will give some proper knowledge, not only of the present state of re-

ligious liberty, but of the progress of it from the first settlement of the Colony to this day.

The Laws I shall mention relate to, or may be ranked under the following titles or heads of, Idolatry—Witchcraft—Blasphemy—Deism—Heresy—Profane Swearing—Church State—Public Worship—Sabbath, or Lord's Day—Ministers and their Support.

There are some of these which might be omitted, as having but little concern in the present inquiry; and yet as in one view they may be reduced to the head of religion, I shall just touch upon them, nor will it be altogether useless to the design of these extracts, as thereby we may have a more full view of the present subject, as it hath been treated of in the Laws of this Colony.

I. OF IDOLATRY.

"If any man or woman, after legal conviction, shall have or worship any other God but the LORD GOD, he shall be put to death."

II. OF WITCHCRAFT.

"If any man or woman be a witch, that is, hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit, they shall be put to death."

These Laws against idolatry and witchcraft are found in the same words in the first and second Editions, but are entirely omitted in the third.

III. OF BLASPHEMY.

"If any person within this Colony shall blaspheme the name of God the FATHER, SON, or HOLY GHOST, with direct, presumptuous, and high-handed blasphemy; or shall curse in like manner, such persons shall be put to death."

This is found in all the Editions of the Laws, and is now in force.*

IV. OF DEISM.

"If any person within this Colony, having been educated in or having made a profession of the Christian religion, shall by writing, printing, teaching or advised speaking, deny the Being of a God, or any one of the Persons in the Holy Trinity to be God: or shall assert and maintain there are more Gods than one; or shall deny the Christian religion to be true, or the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be of divine authority, and be thereof convicted," &c., such persons to be

* It is not found however in the revision of 1784, neither is anything said of Witchcraft or Idolatry.—E. H. G.

incapable of any office, ecclesiastical, civil, or military.

This Act is not found in the first or second, but only in the third, Edition of the Laws, and is still in force.*

V. OF HERESY.

"This Court being sensible of the danger persons are in of being poisoned in their judgments and principles by heretics, whether Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, or the like, do see cause to order that no persons in this Colony shall give any unnecessary entertainment unto any Quaker, Ranter, Adamite, or other notorious heretic, upon penalty of five pounds for ever such person's entertainment, to be paid by him that shall so entertain them; and five pounds per week shall be paid by each Town that shall suffer their entertainment aforesaid."

The Governor and Assistants are also empowered by this Act to commit such heretics to prison or send them out of the Colony: No person allowed any unnecessary discourse with them; and their books forbidden to all except Magistrates and Ministers.

These Laws are the same in the first and second Editions, but in the Acts of the General Assembly in the year 1706, as far as they respect Quakers, they are repealed: otherwise I find not but they were in force till the third Edition of 1750, in which they are wholly omitted.†

VI. OF PROFANE SWEARING AND CURSING.

An Act against Profane Swearing and Cursing. "Be it enacted, &c., That if any person within this Colony, shall swear rashly, vainly, or profanely, either by the holy name of God or any other oath; or shall sinfully and wickedly curse any person or persons, such person so offending shall, upon conviction thereof, before any one Assistant or Justice of the Peace, forfeit and pay for every such offence the sum of six shillings," &c., and if unable, to sit in the stocks.‡

VI. OF PERSONS EMBODYING INTO CHURCH STATE.

"It is ordered by the authority of this Court, that no persons within this Colony shall, in any wise, embody themselves into Church estate without consent of the General Court and approbation of neighbor Churches."

This Law is found in the first and second Editions; and as I find no legal repeal of it, I suppose

it stood in force till the Laws were revised and published in 1750, in which Edition it is wholly omitted.*

VIII. OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

"It is also ordered by this Court, that there shall be no ministry, or church administration entertained or attended by the inhabitants of any Plantation in this Colony, distinct and separate from and in opposition to, that which is openly and publicly observed and dispensed by the approved Minister of the place, except it be by approbation of this Court and neighbor Churches." Penalty, five pounds.

This Law is found in the first and second Editions, but before the third Edition, several Laws intervened, relative to this matter.

The Churches originally approved were those of the Congregational persuasion, with an allowance of those who were Presbyterially inclined in their persuasion and profession in church-ways or assemblies, without disturbance.

Care was taken, that the ministry of the word should be established in every Town and Plantation; and wherever it was established and approved, every person was obliged to attend respectively on the Lord's day and such other days as were appointed by authority, upon certain penalties to be inflicted by the Magistrate: and all contemptuous behavior toward the word preached or the dispenser of it, was severely punished.

No public assemblies for religion were allowed but with express consent of the General Court; nor do I find anything which looks like an Act of Toleration, till the year 1708, being the seventh year of Queen Anne, when the General Assembly passed the following "Act for the ease of such as soberly dissent from the way of Worship and Ministry established by the Laws of this Government."

"It is enacted and ordained by the Governor, Council, and Representatives in the General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, for the ease of such as soberly dissent from the way of Worship and Ministry established by the ancient Laws of this Colony, and still continuing, that if any such persons shall, at the County Court of that County they belong to, qualify themselves according to an Act made in the first year of the late King William and Queen Mary, granting liberty of worshipping God in a way separate from that which is by Law established, they shall enjoy the same liberty and privilege within this Colony, without any let, hindrance, or molestation whatsoever."*

In the same Act it is provided, that this allowance or toleration shall make no alterations in

* This does not occur in the revision of 1784.—E. H. G.

† Omitted also in the revision of 1784.—E. H. G.

‡ This is retained in the revision of 1784, the only change being that "State" takes the place of Colony.—E. H. G.

* Omitted in the revision of 1784.—E. H. G.

respect of ministerial support : the only privilege it gives to persons who qualify themselves as above is public allowance of worshipping God in a way agreeable to their consciences, though different from the established and approved ; and hence in subsequent Laws, such assemblies for worship are said to be " allowed."

The same year, the General Assembly passed the following Act, entitled " An Act in Approbation of the Agreement of the Reverend Elders and Messengers of all the Churches in this Government, made and concluded at Saybrook, 1708.

" The Reverend Ministers and Delegates from the Elders and Messengers of the Churches in this Government, met at SAYBROOK, September the ninth, 1708, having presented to this Assembly a Confession of Faith, Heads of Agreement and Regulation in the administration of Church Discipline, as unanimously agreed and consented to by the Elders and Messengers of all the Churches in this Government.

" This Assembly do declare their great approbation of such agreement, and do ordain that all the Churches within this Government, that are or shall be thus united in doctrine, worship and discipline, be, and for the future shall be, owned and acknowledged established by Law.

" Provided always, that nothing herein shall be intended or construed to hinder or prevent any Society or Church that is or shall be allowed by the Laws of this Government, who soberly differ or dissent from the united Churches hereby established, from exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their consciences."

I find nothing worthy of notice, that properly comes under this head, till the year 1742, when the General Court passed an Act entitled " An Act for regulating abuses and correcting disorders in ecclesiastical affairs." I shall recite the Preamble of this Act, though lengthy, and give an abridgment of the matters contained in it.

" Whereas this Assembly did by their Act made in the seventh year of the reign of her late Majesty Queen Anne, establish and confirm a Confession of Faith, and an Agreement of ecclesiastical discipline, made at Saybrook, A. D. 1708, by the Reverend Elders and the Messengers delegated by the Churches in this Colony for that purpose, under which establishment his Majesty's subjects inhabiting in this Colony have enjoyed great peace and quietness, till of late sundry persons have been guilty of disorderly and irregular practices : whereupon the Assembly, in October last, did direct to the calling a General Consociation, to sit at Guilford, in November last, which said Consociation was

" convened accordingly : at which Convention it was endeavored at prevent the growing disorders among the Ministers that have been ordained or licensed by the Associations in this Government, and likewise to prevent divisions and disorders among the Churches and ecclesiastical Societies settled by order of this Assembly : notwithstanding which divers of the Ministers ordained as aforesaid, and others licensed to preach by some of the Associations allowed by law have taken upon them, without any lawful call, to go into parishes immediately under the care of other Ministers, and there to preach to and teach the people ; and also sundry persons, some of whom are very illiterate, and have no ecclesiastical character or authority whatsoever to preach or teach, have taken upon them publicly to teach and exhort the people in matters of religion, both as to doctrine and practice ; which practices have a tendency to make divisions and contention among the people in this Colony and to destroy the ecclesiastical constitution by the Laws of this Government, and, likewise, to hinder the growth and increase of vital piety and godliness in these Churches ; and, also, to introduce unqualified persons into the ministry ; and more especially where one Association doth intermeddle with the affairs that, by the Platform and Agreement aforesaid, made at Saybrook aforesaid, are properly within the province and jurisdiction of another Association, as to the licensing of persons to preach and ordaining ministers."

" Therefore be it enacted," &c. By this Act any ordained Minister or licensed person to preach who should enter into any parish not immediately under his charge, and there preach and exhort the people, is secluded the benefit of the Law for support of the ministry, except such ordained Ministers or licensed person shall be expressly invited and desired so to enter into such other parish and there to preach and exhort the people, either by the settled Minister and major part of the Church ; or, in case there be no settled Minister, by the Church or Society within such parish. And if any Association of Ministers should assume the prerogative of another, by way of license, decision, or counsel, such Association also to be excluded the benefit of law for supporting Ministers.

By the same Act it is ordained, that persons who are not settled Ministers, who shall publicly preach and exhort without the consent of the settled Minister, etc., to be bound to their good and peaceable behavior, and, in particular, not to offend in the like kind.

And foreigners, whether of an ecclesiastical character or not, presuming to preach, teach, or publicly exhort, without consent of the settled Ministers, etc., to be sent as vagrants from one Constable to another out of the bounds of the

Colony; and, by an *Act* passed in the year 1743, in addition to this, if any such foreigner, who, by order of authority, hath been transported out of the bounds of the Colony, return again and become guilty of the same offence, then such offender to be bound to his good behavior and not to offend again in like manner.

This may justly be esteemed a very severe Law: it was made when religious heat and controversy ran high; but, however imprudent and disorderly some public and authorized preachers and others, lay exhorters, were, several things in this Act cannot be justified: it doth not appear that it was long in force, and is omitted in the following new Edition of the Laws, A.D., 1750, or if anything remains of it in that Edition it is found in an Act entitled "An Act for the due observation and keeping the Sabbath or Lord's day; and for preventing and punishing disorders and profaneness on the same." In this Act there is the following paragraph: "That whatsoever persons shall, on the Lord's day, under any pretence, assemble themselves together in any of the public meeting-houses, provided in any Town, parish or society for the public worship of God, without the leave or allowance of the Minister and Congregation for whose use it was provided, and be thereof convicted as aforesaid, every such person shall incur the penalty of ten shillings for every such offence.*" This paragraph may appear reasonable and was designed to prevent public disorder, and is still in force. But that which follows, in the next paragraph of the same Act, hath been esteemed contrary to Christian liberty: "Nor shall any neglect the public worship of God in some lawful Congregation, and form themselves into separate companies in private houses, on penalty of ten shillings for every such offence each person shall be guilty of." The injustice and iniquity of imposing upon the rights of conscience, do not seem to be fully understood when this Law passed. By another paragraph of it, every person who shall be unnecessarily absent from the public worship of God, on the Lord's day, in some congregation by Law allowed, is liable to a fine of three shillings; and by this to assemble elsewhere in a private house exposes to the penalty of ten shillings.

* In the revision of 1784, the Law is retained, but the fine reduced to three shillings. The fine for going abroad elsewhere than to public worship is five shillings. In 1743, John Beach of Newtown, wrote home to England, "the case of this people is very hard. If, on the Lord's day they continue at home, they must be punished; if they meet to worship God according to the Church of England in the best manner, the mulct is still greater; and, if they go to the Independent meeting in the town where they live, they must endure the mortification of hearing the doctrines and worship of the Church vilified, and the important truths of Christianity obscured and enervated by enthusiastic and Antinomian dreams."—*Anderson's Colonial Church*, iii, 423.

However, this severity never hindered such separate companies from meeting either in private houses, or from providing other convenient places; nor does it appear that this Law was ever made much use of against them: such companies were, for a number of years, tolerated notwithstanding the Law, there being no prosecution of it; and thus the matter continued till the year 1770, when the aforesaid paragraph was repealed, and universal liberty of worship established in the following Act, entitled "An Act in addition to a Law of this Colony, entitled 'An Act for the due observation and keeping the Sabbath or Lord's day, and for preventing and punishing disorders and profaneness on the same.'

"Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same: That no person in this Colony, professing the Christian Protestant religion, who soberly and conscientiously dissent from the worship and ministry established or approved by the Laws of this Colony, and attend public worship by themselves, shall incur any of the penalties in part mentioned for not attending the worship and ministry so established on the Lord's day, or on account of their meeting together by themselves, on said day, for the public worship of God, in a way agreeable to their consciences; any thing in said Act to the contrary notwithstanding."

Since this Act of Assembly there is no Law in force in this Colony for hindering any Protestants of whatsoever denomination from forming into whatsoever religious Societies they please, for worshipping God in a way agreeable to their consciences, without any application to the civil magistrate; and by it, in this respect, an equal, universal Protestant toleration is granted while still the approved and established Churches continue to enjoy the same privileges as they did before.

IX. OF THE SABBATH, OR LORD'S DAY.

The laws of this Colony respecting the observation of the Sabbath, require that all persons carefully apply themselves to the duties of religion, publicly and privately; particularly that they attend public worship in such assembly and manner as are agreeable to their conscience, in which regard every Protestant is at liberty to choose for himself, without being subject to any penalty or restriction whatsoever; and forbid all manner of labor, business or work, on land or water; also all kind of games, sports, plays, or recreations; likewise all travelling or driving of carriages and cattle; meeting together in companies in the streets or elsewhere in the evening before or after, and all

rude, profane, and unlawful behavior in word or action, and whatsoever may disturb any assembly of people who are met for public worship. These Laws have been numerous; but as at present there seems nothing in them that bears hard upon religious liberty, I content myself with the above summary of them.

X. OF MINISTERS AND THEIR SUPPORT.

The Laws of this Colony have always supported an approved and established ministry, and made provision in what manner this support shall be obtained. These Laws have admitted, from time to time, of circumstantial variations, but for substance have been the same from the beginning. It will, then, be altogether unnecessary to recite any of the ancient Laws of this Colony: it will be sufficient to give a summary of the Laws now in force respecting this matter, and particularly of an "Act or Law of the Colony" entitled "An Act for the settlement, support and encouragement of Ministers; and for the well ordering of estates given for the support of the ministry."

By this Law it is enacted that the inhabitants of any Town, or Society, or parish, constituted by this Assembly, who are or shall be present at any Town or Society meeting, legally warned, shall have power, by the major vote of those so met, to call and settle a Minister or Ministers among them, and to provide for his or their support and maintenance.*

That the Minister or Ministers which have been or shall be so called and settled, shall be the Minister or Ministers of such Town or Society.

And all agreements which have been or shall be made by the major part of the inhabitants of any Town or Society, qualified and met as aforesaid with such Minister or Ministers, respecting his or their settlement and maintenance, shall be binding and obligatory on all the inhabitants of such Town or Society so agreeing, and on their successors, according to the true intents and purposes thereof.

Here it may be observed, that it hath always been a principle in this Colony, that a people should choose their own Minister: and as, when the Colony was first settled, there were no Dissenters from the common and approved method of worship and discipline, it was taken for granted, that all who were taught in word or doctrine were bound in equity to give for the support of the Gospel according to their several abilities, by the same rule as they contributed to other necessary expenses.

And as for many years there was no other approved or allowed worship but that of the Congregational and Presbyterian, none were excused from paying to the established worship and ministry; and though in the seventh year of Queen Anne, there was an Act of Toleration for sober, qualified Dissenters, yet this did not excuse from paying toward the support of the established Churches, nor doth it appear that any such Dissenters asked this favor or privilege till the year 1727, when it was granted the professors of the Church of England by the following Act of the General Assembly, entitled "At a General Assembly held at Hartford, May the eleventh, 1727, 'An Act providing how the taxes levied on the professors of the Church of England for the support of the Gospel shall be disposed of, and for exempting said professors from paying any taxes for the building meeting-houses for the present established Churches of this Government.'

"Upon the prayer of Moses Ward, of Fairfield, Church-warden and the rest of the Church-wardens, Vestrymen, and brethren, representing themselves under obligation by the Honorable Society and Bishop of London, to pay to the support of the Established Churches; praying this Assembly by some Act or otherwise, to free them from paying to dissenting Ministers, and from building dissenting meeting-houses; and complaining that money hath lately been taken from them by distress, praying that said money might be returned unto them.

"Said Ward appeared, and by his Attorney declared to this Assembly, that he should not insist on the return of the money prayed for. Asserted it to have been always esteemed an hardship by those of the profession established by this Government, to be compelled to contribute to the support of the Church of England where that is the Church established by Law: and thereupon urged that no such thing should be imposed upon any dissenting from the Churches here approved and established by the Law of this Government: further urging that there might be some provision made by the Law for the obliging their parishioners to pay to the support of their Ministers."

Be it therefore enacted by the Governor, Council, and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all persons who are of the church of England, and those who are of the Churches established by the Laws of this Government that live in the bounds of any parish allowed by this Assembly, shall be taxed by the parishioners of the said parish by the same rule, and in the same proportion for the support of the ministry in each parish: but if it so happen that there be a Society of the Church of England where there is a person in orders, accord-

* In the revision of 1784, the provision—not mentioned in the text—that every voter must have a freehold in the Town or Society rated at fifty shillings, or forty pounds in the Common List, or be of full communion with the Church, is retained.

"ing to the Canons of the Church of England, settled and abiding amongst them, and performing divine service so near to any person that hath declared himself of the Church of England, that he can conveniently and doth attend the public worship there, then the Collectors having first indifferently levied the tax as aforesaid, shall deliver the taxes collected of such persons declaring themselves and attending, as aforesaid, unto the Minister of the Church of England living near unto such persons; which Minister shall have full power to receive and recover the same, in order to his support in the place assigned him.

"But if such proportion of taxes be not sufficient in any Society of the Church of England, to support the incumbent there, then such society may levy and collect of them who profess and attend, as aforesaid, greater taxes at their own discretion, for the support of their Minister.

"And the parishioners of the Church of England attending as aforesaid, are hereby excused from paying any taxes for the building meeting-houses for the present established Churches of this Government."

At a General Assembly held at Hartford, on the eighth of May, 1729, the following Act was made, in favor of those who are commonly called Quakers:

"An Act in addition to, and for the alteration of, an Act made in the 7th year of the reign of Queen Anne, entitled '*An Act for the ease of such as soberly dissent from the way of worship and ministry established by the Laws of this Government.*' Whereas it is provided in said Act, that nothing therein shall be construed to the excusing any person from paying any such Minister or Town dues, as were then, or afterwards should be, due from them.

"It is now resolved and enacted by the Governor, &c., that where there are such Dissenters as are commonly called Quakers, who do attend the worship of God in such way as is allowed by said Act within this Colony, or are so situated by the borders thereof as that they may and do attend the service out of the limits of this Government, in any such meeting as aforesaid, and shall produce a certificate from such Society of their having joined themselves to them and that they do belong unto their Society, that he or they shall be excused from contributing to the support of the established ministry and from contributing or paying any tax for the building any meeting-house or houses, in the Society or parish wherein they dwell."

The same year, at a General Assembly holden at New Haven, in October, the same favor was granted the people called Baptists, by the fol-

lowing Act:—"An Act concerning the people called Baptists.

"Upon the Memorial of the people called Baptists, praying that they may be discharged from the payment of rates and taxes for the support of the Gospel ministry in this Government, and building meeting-houses.

"It is Resolved, &c., that for the future the same privilege and exemption from the charges aforesaid, as was granted by this Assembly, in May last, unto the people called Quakers, is hereby granted unto them, under the like regulations, any Law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

These are the only exemptions from paying for the support of the established Churches, unless on particular application, the General Assembly is pleased, as they sometimes have been, to grant special exemptions to some persons expressed by name; all others, by virtue of the general establishment, are obliged to pay for the support of the Presbyterian, Congregational and Consociated Churches, which may seem to bear hard upon some number, I know not how great, of people commonly called *Separates*, who, though professing themselves *Congregational* in principle, yet for some reasons that to them appear sufficient, have separated from the standing Churches and formed themselves, in several towns and parishes, into distinct Churches and worshipping assemblies.

It is thought by some that there is still wanting a general Law, whereby all may be exempted from paying to the support of the established Churches, who conscientiously dissent from their doctrine, discipline, or mode of worship: yet, as the matter is now circumstanced, I believe but few Towns or Societies insist on collecting rates from those who are *Separates*, though the Law enables them to do it. Besides, all such may apply to the Assembly for relief, where they may hope to be heard with indulgence and have any reasonable favor granted them.

Since these Laws of exemption were made, the persons so freed from ecclesiastical dues are not admitted to act in such affairs, in Town or Society meetings, as appears from an Act entitled, "An Act for forming, ordering, and regulating Societies or parishes," in which, among other things, it is enacted that no person "who is or shall be, by the Laws of this Government, freed or exempted from the payment of those taxes granted by any Town or Society for the support of the worship and ministry of the Presbyterian, Congregational, or Consociated Churches of this Government, and for the building and maintaining meeting-houses for such worship, on account or by reason of his dissenting from the way of worship and ministry aforesaid, be-

"allowed or admitted to act or vote in any Town or Society meeting, in those votes which respect or relate to the support of the worship and ministry aforesaid, and the building and maintaining the meeting-houses aforesaid."

None appear dissatisfied with this Law, except some few professors of the Church of England, who represent it as an hardship that they are taxed without liberty of voting, though the tax be for their own benefit, and the regulation of it made upon their desire. I can't think any of the established Churches would be averse to an alteration, but would choose to be altogether disconnected; and that they might be enabled to do their own business, without any concern with one another. If I am rightly informed, this was proposed in the General Assembly some time past; but was laid aside upon the desire of the Episcopalians, who did not think it would be best for them, in their present circumstances. By the Law made in their favor and on their desire, whatever tax is collected must be paid their own Ministers; and if this be not sufficient, they may tax themselves. Besides, as the laws now stand, their Ministers seem to think they are entitled to the rates of people who live perhaps at forty miles distance, if they visit and preach to them once or twice a year, and baptize their children; and as may be feared sometimes beguile them with promises of discharging their rates if they become Churchmen. These things have occasioned trouble and law-suits in some places, which might be prevented by an alteration of the Law.

There is nothing farther needs to be added on this head, except that I do not find that there is any special office, power, or privilege of a civil or temporal nature granted to Ministers but that of being exempted from taxes for themselves and estates lying in their own Town and parish, which I take to be extended to all Ministers who are allowed by law, and not peculiar to those of the established Churches. On the other hand, I do not find that by any Law, Ministers are disqualified to hold civil offices; and yet such is the general persuasion, both of Ministers and people, that Ministers should mind their own business, that there have been but few instances of Ministers, during their ministry, acting in any civil office or capacity, except merely that of freemen of the Company since the first settlement of the country: and when Ministers have been chosen to some other weighty trust, into which they appeared to be called in Providence, they have usually resigned their ministry, as not consistent with civil employments: the only thing they are authorized to do by the Laws of the Colony in common

with the civil magistrate, is to join persons in marriage in their own Town and parish; and even this was not allowed them at first, but assigned altogether to the Magistrate as his proper work. As to marriage-licenses, there is no such thing allowed by Law; but it is required that the intentions of marriage shall always be published in due form, before any Magistrate or Minister join persons in marriage. As to the spiritual discipline of the Gospel, Ministers and Churches, of every denomination, are allowed freely to follow their own way; but their determinations do not affect any in their civil interest, offices and character, by force of any Law, nor otherwise than as Church censures may, in the reason and nature of the thing, have an influence in fixing a man's character, and may consequentially affect him in regard to his temporal interests, while yet he is put under no legal disability of any kind by such censures. But though there be no Law enforcing ecclesiastical censures with any civil penalties or forfeitures, yet such hath been and still is the general regard to the public profession of religion and virtue, that if it be known that any persons are scandalously guilty of breaking the rules of either, such persons, without some visible reformation and amendment, stand but little chance for those offices, which are in the gift of the people, by election, or are filled up by appointment of the General Assembly.

And as to those matters which are cognizable by the Spiritual Courts in England, Ministers have no concern in this Colony. Whatever relates to marriage, divorce, incest, scandal, matters testamentary, &c., is altogether determined in the common Courts of Law, or such other Courts as the General Assembly have ordained, as is the case in matters testamentary, for which a peculiar Court, called the *Court of Probate*, is appointed. As the civil magistrate meddles not with matters of discipline, so neither are Ministers allowed to meddle with civil and temporal matters. These seem too much blended in the Ecclesiastical Courts in England, but are here perfectly distinct. There the Spiritual Court is supreme and uncontrolled, in matters of discipline, and in finally and absolutely determining on cases of excommunication, sovereignly directing who shall be received to, or cast out from, the Christian fellowship, as well as authorized in those matters aforesaid which are purely temporal: but here, as Churches are left at free liberty to exercise their own spiritual discipline, so effectual provision is made for the determination of those other cases which come within the jurisdiction of the Magistrate.

I have now done with these Laws, a view of which seemed necessary in order to a just know-

ledge of the present state of religious liberty in this Colony, and the progress this liberty hath made, from the original settlement unto the present day. The design of our fathers, in the first settlement of this country, was noble; and they went through amazing difficulties in the accomplishment of it. The grand inducement was religion and liberty of worshipping God in a way agreeable to their consciences; and though they were not fully acquainted with the just extent of religious freedom, yet they adopted such principles and such an ecclesiastical polity as naturally led on to it. They were immovably fixed in the only sufficient rule by which the whole of religion is to be determined, that is the Holy Scriptures; that Christ Jesus is the only Lawgiver and King in his Church; and that no man, no body of men, upon earth have any authority to make Laws or prescribe things in religion to bind the conscience; and that every man should be careful to know the mind of Christ, that his faith might rest on a divine foundation; and, finally, this is the grand, the only principle on which the unity, the purity, and peace of the Christian Church can subsist: and if, notwithstanding these principles, liberty in matters of religion hath been under any embarrassments, as most certainly it hath, this proceeded not from the nature of these principles, or of our ecclesiastical polity, which bears a friendly aspect on public, civil, and religious freedom, but from the spirit of those times, which hath greatly altered. It is certain that, for a considerable time, there was too much of a coercive uniformity in the Laws of the Colony; but this, by degrees, disappears, and an equal, universal, Protestant liberty is established in its room.

On the whole, by this view of our ecclesiastical and religious laws, we find how the cause of liberty hath gained ground in this Colony. Those Laws which were inconsistent with freedom of thought and liberty of conscience are either wholly repealed and set aside, or so modeled that none can be oppressed by them. We have, indeed, a *Religious Establishment*; but it is of such a kind, and with such universal toleration that the consciences of other sects cannot be affected or wounded by it, while every one is at perfect liberty to worship God in such way as is most agreeable to his own mind. Whatever oppressive measures have been heretofore adopted, we recollect with regret and disapprobation. We rejoice that these have ceased, and that there is such freedom of religious inquiry and worship that no man need be in bondage. We desire not the aid of other sects to maintain our Churches; and, while we stand fast to the Constitution we have chosen, and think it, in doctrine and dis-

cipline, most agreeable to the Scripture, the unerring standard of faith and worship, we would not oppress others nor be oppressed ourselves, but exercise good-will and charity to our brethren of other denominations, with fervent prayers that peace and holiness, liberty, truth, and purity may be established more and more, among those that name the name of Christ, and be universally diffused among mankind.

An Account of the number of Inhabitants in the Colony of Connecticut, Jan. 1, 1774; and an Estimate of the proportion of Episcopalians to Non-Episcopalians in the same.

COUNTY OF HARTFORD.

Towns.	Epis.	Non-Ep.	Total.
Bolton,		994	994
Chatham,	80	2289	2369
East Haddam,	88	2655	2743
Enfield,		1353	1353
Farmington,	244	5719	5963
Glastenbury,		1992	1992
Haddam,	23	1690	1713
Hartford,	111	4770	4881
Simsbury,	914	2757	3671
Somers,		1024	1024
Suffield,		1980	1980
Tolland,	5	1242	1247
Wethersfield,	6	3341	3347
Willington,		1000	1000
Colchester,			3057
East Windsor,			2961
Hebron,			2285
Middletown,			4680
Stafford,			1333
Windsor,			2082
1 to 20. Total,	1471	32806	52675.

COUNTY OF NEW HAVEN.

Towns.	Epis.	Non-Ep.	Total.
New Haven,	942	7080	8022
Branford,	86	1852	1938
Derby,	725	1094	1819
Durham,	6	1025	1031
Guilford,	213	2633	2846
Milford,	153	1812	1965
Wallingford,	626	4151	4777
Waterbury,			3498
1 to 7. Total,	2751	19647	25896

COUNTY OF NEW LONDON.

<i>Towns.</i>	<i>Epis.</i>	<i>Non-Ep.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Preston,	221	2034	2255
Groton,	222	3266	3488
Killingworth,	68	1889	1957
Stonington,	32	4924	4956
Saybrook,	33	2595	2628
New London,			5366
Norwich,			7032
Lyme,			3860
1 to 25. Total,	596	14708	31542

COUNTY OF FAIRFIELD.

<i>Towns.</i>	<i>Epis.</i>	<i>Non-Ep.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Danbury,	420	2053	2473
Greenwich,	443	2211	2654
New Fairfield,	87	1201	1288
Newtown,	1084	1084	2168
Norwalk,	792	3451	4243
Redding,	478	711	1189
Ridgefield,	329	1344	1673
Stamford,	710	2793	3503
Fairfield,			4544
Stratford,			5201
10 to 34. Total,	4343	14848	28936

COUNTY OF WINDHAM.

<i>Towns.</i>	<i>Epis.</i>	<i>Non-Ep.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Coventry,	11	2021	2032
Pomfret,	55	2186	2241
Killingly,	30	3409	3439
Lebanon,	36	3805	3841
Mansfield,	12	2431	2443
Plainfield,		1479	1479
Voluntown,	6	1470	1476
Union,		512	512
Canterbury,			2392
Ashford,			2228
Windham,			3437
Woodstock,			1974
1 to 115. Total,	150	17313	27494

COUNTY OF LITCHFIELD.

<i>Towns.</i>	<i>Epis.</i>	<i>Non-Ep.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Litchfield,	191	1318	1509
Canaan,	91	1482	1573
Cornwall,	53	904	957
Hartland,	49	451	500
New Hartford,	25	960	985
Norfolk,	38	928	966
Salisbury,	91	1845	1936
Sharon,	83	1903	1986
Torrington,	31	812	843
Barkhamsted,			250

<i>Towns.</i>	<i>Epis.</i>	<i>Non-Ep.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Colebrook,			150
Goshen,			1098
Harwinton,			1015
Kent,			1922
New Milford,			2742
Westmoreland,			1922
Winchester,			327
Woodbury,			5224
1 to 16. Total,	655	10600	25944

As far as the accounts have been sent, the estimate of Episcopalians, &c., stands thus:—

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Episcopal.</i>	<i>Non-Epis.</i>	<i>Total*</i>
Hartford County,	1471	32806	50675
New Haven do	2751	19647	25896
New London do.	596	14708	31542
Fairfield do.	4343	14848	28936
Windham do.	150	17313	27494
Litchfield do.	655	10542	25944
Total,	9966	119922	190487

which gives 1 Episcopalian to 12 Non-Episcopalians nearly, or makes the Episcopalians about 1 in 13 of the whole number of inhabitants; and probably there would be no great difference from this proportion were the account of all the Towns come in, which I hope soon to gain.

ELIZUR GOODRICH.

DURHAM, Sept. 5, A. D. 1774.

APPENDIX B.

LETTER OF REV. THOMAS PRINCE, OF BOSTON,
TO REV. JOHN OWEN, OF GROTON, CONN.

The intolerant legislation of which the "New Lights" of Connecticut found occasion to complain, and for which the General Assembly of that Colony (1742) is responsible, excited attention in Massachusetts; and the manner in which it was viewed by some of the Ministers of the latter Colony, is indicated by the following letter from Rev. Thomas Prince, of Boston. It would appear that Owen, of Groton, who was a native of Braintree and a graduate of Harvard College, and who doubtless was well acquainted with Prince, wrote to him, to obtain his views of the legislation which Owen was arraigned for violating; and that Prince did not hesitate to speak of it as it deserved. Wheelock, of Lebanon, was a kindred spirit of Owen, and procured from him a copy of Prince's letter, which was found in the collection of the Wheelock correspondence; and which, so far as we are aware, has never before been published.

In the printed letters of Jonathan Edwards to President Clap, there are plain intimations of the views of the great Northampton Divine. In the letter, dated Feb. 4th, 1744-5, he says, referring to conversations with President Clap, on their journey together to Boston: "After this, we had an "other dispute about Connecticut Laws." Clap defended and Edwards condemned them. Prince's letter is as follows:

BOSTON, May 8, 1744.

TO THE REV. MR. JOHN OWEN OF GROTON.

REV. & DEAR SIR:

I have been so fully employed with such a variety of extraordinary Providences, affairs, and duties, which I could not possibly avoid attending to, ever since I received yours of March 29th last, that I have had no time till now to return an answer. And the Bearer being to start this forenoon, I have but an hour or two to give you my thoughts and judgment, as you desire, in the following terms:

That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, has set him at his own right Hand in the heavenly Places, far above all Principality, and Power, and Might, and Dominion, and every Name that is named, not only in this World, but also in that which is to come, and hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the Head over all things to the Church universal. Eph. i, 17-22.

That he is therefore King of Kings and Lord of Lords. That all the Power on Earth ought most freely and entirely to be subjected to him. That he is the Supreme Lord of Conscience. That this is a glory he will not give to another. That he absolutely forbids, and highly resents every degree of invasion upon this his unalienable supremacy; and that, sooner or later, he will make every one to bow down to him and own it.

That upon his being raised from the dead, he declared that all power in Heaven and in Earth was given unto him; and the first grand Commission he gave his Ministers, in order to advance his Spiritual Kingdom over the Race of Men, is in Matt. xxviii, 18, 20, and epitomized in Mark xvi, 15. That this Commission, in the very entrance, most expressly gives them an itinerating power, or a power of going forth into all the world, preaching the Gospel to every rational creature, discipling all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things which he had commanded them. And, as in this grand Commission he expressly promises to be with his Ministers always, even to the end of the world, Amen; this His Commission is therefore to continue in its full purport, force, and operation, to the end of the world; and every disciple of Christ should heartily say, Amen. That this Commission therefore gives them an itinerating power, or a power of going forth into all nations, wherever the affairs of his spiritual kingdom, or the instructing, awakening, and convicting sinners, or the instructing and exciting true believers, and the reviving the power of godliness requires or calls them. That in the exercise of humble fasting,

prayer, diligent searching after the mind of Christ in Scripture, serious examination and consideration of inward ends, motives and qualifications, and outward circumstances, as also conferences with the most pious and judicious; they are to get what light they can in this affair. And when it appears to their humble and inquiring minds, that Christ requires them, they are to make a fresh and entire surrender of their consciences, whole souls, and bodies, and all their powers, to him, and to no other, to deny themselves, take up their cross and follow him, thro' all kinds and degrees of sufferings and oppositions, not accounting their lives dear to them, so that they may finish their course with joy, and the ministry they have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God, Acts xfx, 21, 24. And that no authority on earth has any lawful power from Christ to hinder them from preaching him to every human creature or fulfilling their Commission.

That, agreeable to this first grand and perpetual Commission, when afterwards he appointed a new order of officers of a more limited sphere and power, viz., Pastors and Teachers of particular Churches or Congregations, to take the special, ordinary, and stated care of them, he did not sink, abolish, suspend or supersede this grand Commission, which, as we observed, is plain, from the terms, to last to the end of the world. But, to the Apostles, who could continue no longer than their personal lives, and Prophets, who could continue no longer than the age of inspiration, he took care to add and continue the order of Evangelists, in which alone that first and grand Commission could continue in its full purport, force, and operation, to the end of the world. Eph. iv, 11-13.

That the nature and design of their office is the same as at the first, viz.: In *general*, to itinerate or go forth and preach the Gospel in every part of the world and in every nation, wherever the interest of the spiritual kingdom of Christ appears to require or call them. In *particular*, (1) to go forth and preach the Gospel, convert, baptize and gather Churches among Heathens, Jews, Mahometans, to see them completely formed and organized with proper stated officers; and even afterwards to visit them, to see that they continue in the truth and power of godliness; or when they begin to wander or decay, to labor their reduction and revival. (2.) To go forth and preach the Gospel in pure truth and worship, and labor the awakening both the foolish and wise virgins, and revival of religion, even among Christian Churches; such as are fallen into idolatries, superstitions, heresies or dangerous errors, as the Greek Churches, Roman Catholics, Arians, Socinians, Pelagians, Arminians, Antinomians, Quakers, &c., as also

such as are fallen into great decay of the Practice, Power, and Life of Godliness.

That no authority on earth has a right from Christ either to destroy the order of Evangelists, any more than that of Pastors or Teachers of particular Churches, or curtail the Commission Christ has given them, or hinder them in the faithful discharge thereof, or make them suffer for it; but this must be a direct invasion of his supremacy.

That these Evangelists, as well as the Apostles, in the vigorous and faithful execution of their Commission in the primitive times, raised the rage of the world of Devils and men against them, not only the people, priests and magistrates among the Heathen, but also the people, priests, rulers of synagogues, and Magistrates among the Jews, who were then the covenant and visible people, Ministers and Church of God; yea, among those of them who were the most rigid and strict observers of his Laws; and occasioned great contentions and confusions in the world. That Wickliff, Walden, Huss, Jerom, of Prague, Luther, Zwinglius, Calvin, Farell, Wishart, Junius and other Evangelists, (for they were such in *fact*, though not in *name*;) who preached the Gospel, and promoted the Reformation and Revival of Religion among the Christian Churches in their day, thereby raised the like rage and occasioned the like contentions and confusions. That if such Evangelists should be now raised up by God, and go forth and prosper among the Christian Churches, not only in France, Spain, Italy and other Roman Catholic countries, but also in Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and many other Protestant countries; though they should preach up only the pure Gospel and Power of Godliness, the like rage, contention and confusion would arise and follow; and the more faithful, active and courageous these Evangelists should be in discharging Christ's Commission, or the more earnestly they professed this purity and power, the greater would the rage, contention and confusion be, until this purity and power prevail upon the greater number; and therefore this rage, contention and confusion is no more an argument against such sort of Ministers in the present day, than at the Reformation, or in the primitive ages.

That persons engaging in such an extraordinary difficult office had need to be both extraordinarily qualified and spirited thereto. I should mention their qualification and spirit; but I have now no time.

That as the Divine Spirit gradually withdrew from the primitive Churches, as earthly dignities, pomp, wealth and power were offered to their stated Ministers and engaged their attention and pursuit; their Ministers were by such

temptations prevailed upon to stay at home, and live an easier life, rather than expose themselves to the difficulties, oppositions, hazards and disquietudes of continual traveling and preaching. That such a spirit therefore gradually declined in them till it, in a manner, died quite away; and the order itself therewith dropped of course among them. That all this made way for the raising of one Pastor above divers others, by the name of Bishop; of one Bishop above divers others, by the name of Archbishop; of one Archbishop above divers others, by the name of Patriarch; and at length a Pope as claiming to be universal Head of all. That for the support of these, the Christian world was artificially divided into parishes, bishoprics, archbishoprics, patriarchates; and all religious powers, offices and orders entirely swallowed up among them.

That this artificial scheme, contrived to feed and gratify the pride and avarice of worldly-minded Ministers, to subject the people under them, blind their eyes and enslave their consciences, is utterly inconsistent with the order, office, and design of the Evangelists or itinerating preacher; who, if they had continued in the Christian world and had been allowed the liberty of preaching the pure ordinances and truths of Christ, they would have been a most likely means of keeping the eyes of the people open, preserving them from religious slavery, preventing the anti-Christian power from growing to so great a height, continuing both the doctrines and the worship of the Christian Churches pure, and of saving them from that amazing depth of error and apostacy they under the stated ministry fell into. For one Evangelist of great knowledge and ability, full of sanctity and inflamed with zeal, by traveling about and preaching the pure truths of Christ, would have been a likely means of enlightening and enlivening scores of thousands, yea whole countries, as some of the Reformers were; whereas by being a stated Minister, his light and influence would be confined to his single little parish of it, may be sixty families, and he himself bound down beneath the feet of some superior power of mere human device, so that he may not preach or labor in the next parishes about him, though their Ministers as well as people are bowing down to dead men's bones and images, or perishing in ignorance and error, or, what may be as fatal, deep security.

That it is no wonder, therefore, that when the Most High has raised up, and spirited these pious men in their several ages to go forth and preach the pure truths of Christ, enlighten the regions round about them, awaken them to the power of godliness, and recover them from their great apostacy; the hosts of devils and of wicked

men their children and instruments, yea, the rigider, as well as looser sort of the stated ministry, were enraged against them, have covered them with the most vile reproaches, inflicted the most inhuman torments on them, worried multitudes to death, broiled them in glowing fires, and done their utmost to destroy them all as fast as they arose.

However, that as chiefly by the preaching of such men as these, Christianity was at first promoted, and since revived at the Reformation; and the same Order still continues, and is in its very nature the most adapted for extensive influence; so I am persuaded, with divers great and learned men, that if the Son of God intends to advance his kingdom in the world before the conflagration, either by sending it among the Heathens, Mahometans and Jews, or by reviving it among professing Christians, he will revive this Order in its ancient vigor; he will raise up and animate great numbers of Evangelists that shall, like flying angels, with surprising zeal and swiftness, carry and preach his everlasting Gospel in every country and to every human creature under Heaven. Rev. xiv, 6, 7. That mighty enmities and oppositions will everywhere arise against them; they will have principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual wickednesses in high places, both in Heathen, Mahometan and Christian countries, to wrestle with; and all the powers both of earth and hell will combine to crush them; yet with the Apostle, none of these things will move them, neither will they count their lives dear to themselves, so as they may finish their course with joy, and the ministry (itinerant as his) they receive of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God; and thro' all kinds of most bitter sufferings, they shall persevere and prosper; many will obtain the glorious crown of martyrdom for Christ; but their sufferings will more illustriously display the mighty power and grace of God, and increase the number of their converts as in ancient times, until the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him. Dan. vii.

That as the highest glory Christ receives among all his followers, will be from that vast palm-bearing multitude who come out of great tribulation and wash their robes, and make them white in the blood of the Lamb, Rev. vii., I can't tell how to think, that he will have none of this glory from that vast tract of America in general, or of New England in particular, or that in the end of days it shall be said that there were never but two Quakers who died for re-

ligion here; but that America as well as Asia, Africa and Europe, will be made to yield to the great Redeemer a glorious company of triumphant martyrs, to brighten and adorn his crown in the day of his appearance; and that New England will be made to yield him in this respect a distinguished glory. That 'tis therefore our greatest interest and wisdom, most seriously to look out, expect, and prepare for sufferings; and if we are faithful to him to the death, he will not only give us a crown of life, but also place us with himself on his own throne, and make us partakers with him in his own glory. That as to the Connecticut Laws—I should be even astonished, as well as grieved, if I had not read and seen so much of the same spirit, in other parts of the world. It is the very spirit of human nature in its present depravation. Even a righteous Abel, yea, a most holy, harmless and spotless Jesus, must be hated, abused, and destroyed, because they were so. I mourn for the makers of them, for the temporal hurt they do to others, for preserving their consciences upright before the Lord; but much more for the wounds they give their hearts, for their entrenching on what I am sure are the prerogatives of the great Redeemer; and for the great dishonor they bring on our country, our profession, our religion, and our God. As I sojourned in England near seven years, I know how grievous they will be to our friends, and offensive, if not enraging, to our enemies. Such liberties are there in England for private schools and academies, that not only the Independent and Presbyterian, but even some of the Church of England pulpits, are supplied from them; yea, there are at this day, too, considerable Bishops there who were not brought up at any University or College, but at a private dissenting Academy; nor is there any restraint on itinerant preachers. In one of your Laws, I also observe an High Commission Court set up, with such an unlimited power as there is none so great in England; and your Governor is invested with greater power than King George himself. But I hope the late excellent printed letter will help to open their eyes.

Lastly, that as to your particular case depending: Not knowing the precise words you dropped, I am not able to form a particular judgment. I can only venture to say in general, that the known sins of Magistrates and Ministers, as well as people, ought to be bewailed, especially on days of universal humiliation appointed by the Magistrates; but then they are to be mentioned with great humility and decency. That with respect to these patriarchal Laws, I cannot see but they might be lamented as very grievous to many pious Ministers and people, as bereaving of those liberties Christ has

most dearly purchased and kindly given us; but with the supposition that the Magistrates, being fallible men, acted in the uprightness of their hearts, and with a view to the glory of God and the good of the people.

Dear Sir: May the Lord deliver you from every evil, and preserve you blameless to his heavenly kingdom.

Your affectionate brother in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ.

T. PRINCE.

APPENDIX C.

[The following items, from different sources, should have been embodied in the text of the Historical Sketch, but having been mislaid, while it was passing through the press, they are here inserted.]

I.

In February, 1727, Dr. Samuel Johnson wrote: "I have just come from Fairfield, where I have been to visit a considerable number of my people, in prison for their rates to the dissenting Minister, to comfort and encourage them under their sufferings . . . There are thirty-five heads of families, in Fairfield, who all of them expect what these have suffered; and though I have endeavored to gain the compassion and favor of the Government, yet it can avail nothing; and both I and my people grow weary of our lives under our poverty and oppression." —BEARDSLEY'S *History of the Church in Connecticut*.

II.

In the *Seasonable Plea for the Liberty of Conscience*, &c., from a Gentleman in the Massachusetts Bay, (1744,) we find severe criticisms on the views of these who would sustain the Saybrook Platform, by civil authority. After discussing the subject, the writer brings forward as corollaries: First, That "the civil authority hath no power to make or Ordain Articles of Faith, Creed, Forms of Worship, or Church Government." (p. 13.) The power of determining in questions of this nature lies with each worshipping Assembly; and the civil authority ought to protect all their subjects in the enjoyment of this right and privilege of judgment in matters of Religion. (P. 44.) Every Christian, moreover, has a right to determine for himself what Church to join himself to. (P. 46.)

The writer closes with sharp comments on the Law of Connecticut, of May, 1742. He contends that "it is founded on a false principle, is apparently inconsistent with itself, invests Ministers with an exorbitant power over a Church and Congregation, subjects persons supposed to be criminal to an unreasonable punishment, without any trial in the Law in any form whatever," &c.

This letter is dated "Elentheropolis, March 30, 1744," and is signed "PHILEATHES."

III.

John Bolles' Book, with his reply to Johnson, of Groton, was published in 1756.

Johnson said: "Who dare be so brazen faced and lost to all modesty, as to say, the civil ruler has nothing to do with the Church?" Bolles answered: "It was a brazen face in the Rulers and Teachers, at all times, when they have presumed to sit in Christ's seat or judge in cases of conscience, or things relating to the worship of God. And now, since more light is come into the world, it is more brazen faced for Teachers to encourage the Rulers any longer therein." *A Reply to J. Johnson's Answer to my Book*, by J. B.

APPENDIX D.

The following extracts, from the American reprint of Graham's *Review of Ecclesiastical Establishments of Europe*, and peculiarly appropriated in this place:

Those who bask under the warm sun of a national establishment, affect to think that the cause of liberty is sufficiently guarded, and her blessings abundantly extended, when, after the public teachers of the national Creed are secured in the possession of affluent livings, a partial toleration is granted to Dissenters. But a toleration incumbered with limitations and infringements on the rights of conscience, is an insult to human nature and to him who made it. It is built upon absurdity and injustice. It supposes that all men have not an equal right to think for themselves, and to worship their common Creator and Redeemer, according to the light of their own understandings and the dictates of their own consciences: that if some men worship God at all, they must buy their liberty to do so, at the expense of many things, to the possession of which their approved loyalty, their elevated stations, their consummate learning, and their political abilities give them the justest title in social life: and that, as the limitations of toleration are arbitrary and fluctuating, the rights of conscience must depend wholly on the caprice of Government.

Though Legislatures have as good a right to deprive the deserving subject of the whole as of any part of his natural and religious rights, yet these gentlemen profess the most perfect acquiescence in that state of things. Guided by early prejudices and hushed to silence by rich emoluments, they feel no check, when they subscribe a Calvinistic Creed in an Arminian sense, and when they address the Supreme Being by forms which, without a blush, they pronounce unintelligible and absurd! At the same time, they are pauegrysts on the Constitution, so favorable to liberty and the rights of conscience: and they even affect to wonder that any should complain, when they must see every day the rights of conscience redeemed at whatever exor-

bitant and fluctuating price administration is pleased to set upon them.

The infatuation hath seized even Dissenters themselves. Many of these, comparing the degree of liberty they now enjoy with the hardships their ancestors endured, are disposed to submit tamely to every abridgement of religious liberty, which a moderate administration may judge proper. They seem to think that occasional conformity to rites, which their consciences condemn, is no considerable hardship, as long as a constant violation of the rights of conscience is not made indispensable to their filling certain lucrative or honorary stations; and that all wishes that the rights of mankind were set on more advantageous ground are fatal and absurd. Men of such easy principles, keep one another from blushing at their absurdity, and from remorse at their impiety. Such principles are unworthy of any above the rank of slaves and sycophants. As long as a favorite denomination enjoys alone all those privileges which ought to be enjoyed in common by all deserving subjects, and conscientious Dissenters are either robbed of their civil rights or are obliged to redeem them at the price of daring to violate rights infinitely more precious, who, without blushing, can reckon it unreasonable to wish that that liberty and right were more diffusively extended and more firmly established?

It is plain from these and similar facts, that national Churches have ever been at war, not only with the rights of mankind, but even with the spirit of Christianity itself. Justice and Mercy are the foundations of her throne; equity and righteousness are the pillars of her empire. National establishments, therefore, are not that full and impartial patronage of Christianity, which she, by the blessings she pours down on society, ever and exclusively deserves, and which every Legislature in the Christian world owes her

The proof of this assertion is intended in this work. That it may be more full and satisfactory, the question concerning the justice and propriety of national establishments must be distinctly stated; and the signification of the terms which are to be used must be clearly ascertained.

I. The question is not—Ought Legislatures to interest themselves in the public profession of religion?

II. Nor is the question—Should Christian Legislatures give a legal establishment to religion, both natural and revealed?

III. The question is not—Whether Legislature, by granting a precluding patronage to one denomination of Christians, does *too much*? But whether, by doing *so much* for one description of Christians, civil Government does not fall short of its own original purposes; and instead

of establishing the Church with the full and adequate profession of Christianity, in her, does not in a great measure overthrow both?

There is nothing more contrary to reason as well as revelation, than to suppose that the Church of Christ is confined to any one sect or description of christians. She is catholic. She comprehends, within her extensive pale, all societies, whose soundness in the faith, and whose conscientious subjection to the institutions of Christ, entitle them to the honour of being justly reckoned parts of that sacred body.

When any Government, therefore, grants a precluding patronage to any particular part of that body, appointing subscription to its creed the legal *condition* of enjoying the common rights of citizens and subjects; neither is the Church, according to the full import of the term, established—nor does Government itself act up to its original ends. It suspends the duties it owes to society, protection, patronage and encouragement, on conditions which are foreign to civil society. A particular sect alone is protected and patronized; and other subjects—other Christians, equally deserving of civil society, are robbed of their property to enrich it. Such an establishment constitutes its objects a schismatical body. It puts it in their power by law, to erect a separate interest from their brethren, and to pursue designs, foreign, yea, often opposite to our common Christianity. It authorizes them to insult, to persecute, and to kill their fellow-Christians of other denominations and of other churches, belonging to the same Catholic body. It patronizes them in proudly arrogating to themselves, after the accustomed manner of all who are actuated by a schismatical spirit, the high-sounding appellation of—**THE CHURCH.**

IV. The state of the inquiry, therefore, is—“Whether the state of civil society, the marked character of Christ's kingdom, the law of equity, and the rights of conscience, admit that any Legislature should incorporate any distinct description of Christians; should dignify it with the pompous title of **THE CHURCH**; and should ally it to the political Constitution, in such a degree of intimacy, that communion with that incorporated sect, in all the offices of religion, shall be as indispensably necessary to entitle any subject to the legal enjoyment of the common rights of men, of citizens, and of Christians, as his approved obedience to the common and statute law of his country?”

In fewer words, the question is—“Whether **COMMUNION** with the **NATIONAL CHURCH** **OUGHT** to be a **RULE of LAW**, in the political Constitution, for conferring *civil rewards*, and inflicting *civil punishments*?”

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I.—ANDREW HAMILTON, ESQ., OF PENN
SYLVANIA.

BY J. FRANCIS FISHER.

The name of ANDREW HAMILTON, it is probable, would have sunk into oblivion, but for the place it has in the History of Civil Rights, as that of one of the earliest and boldest assertors of the Liberty of Speech and Writing, to whom precedence must be given over the famous Mr. Erskine, in the enunciation of the now universally accepted doctrines of the Law of Libel. All who have read his defence of the Printer, JOHN PETER ZENGER, before Chief-justice DeLancey and the Supreme Court of New York, in 1736, will perhaps desire to know something more of this learned and fearless Advocate.

The following pages perhaps contain all the facts of his private history and professional and political career, which it is now possible to recover. They will probably excite regret that so little can now be known of a man whose patriotism and public spirit were as pre-eminent in the Province of Pennsylvania, as the legal attainments which mark him, in all respects, as the first of our Colonial Lawyers.

ANDREW HAMILTON was a Scotchman, born in the year 1676. Although his parentage cannot be ascertained, he was doubtless of gentle blood; and his education must have been very good. Of his early history, nothing is known. The family tradition is that he had been obliged to fly from his native country in consequence of killing a person of some importance in a duel. It is more likely that he may have been involved in some of the political difficulties during the reign of King William. At all events, he thought proper, for some time after his arrival in America, to conceal his name, taking that of *Trent*. Whatever the cause might have been, all dan-

ger to himself was passed in the reign of Queen Anne; and his admission to Gray's Inn and call to the English Bar forbid the idea of his emigration under a charge of felony or any disgraceful crime.

His first residence in the Colonies seems to have been the Eastern shore of Virginia—afterwards in Kent-county, Maryland. He is said to have had charge of an Estate; and to have kept a Classical School. He married afterwards a lady of some fortune, Mrs. Anne, (Brown) widow of Joseph Preeson, connected with some of the first families in Maryland. In the year 1712, he was established in Chestertown, as a lawyer, with a handsome practice and great reputation for ability. In that year he was first retained by the agents of William Penn in a suit against Berkeley Codd, Esq., of Sussex-county, Delaware, who had disputed some of his Rights under the Grant of the Duke of York. It may be remarked as a curious fact that Andrew Hamilton, son of the subject of this sketch, married a grand-daughter of Mr. Codd—the daughter and heiress of William Till, a gentleman of some consequence in the Colony—obtaining with her among other property the *Woodlands* Estate, near Philadelphia, afterwards so highly improved by his son, William Hamilton.

It is supposed that the legal studies of Andrew Hamilton, commenced in Great Britain, must have been completed in Maryland, where there were, among the officials of the Government, several men of considerable legal attainments, and, amongst the gentry of the Eastern Shore, some highly educated men. Whatever opportunities these afforded, it is certain they were made the most of; and at the age of thirty-six, Andrew Hamilton had already attained great reputation and a lucrative practice. But the position of a Colonial lawyer seems in those times to have depended on the favor or license of the local authorities; and a call to the English Bar, as a member of the Temple of Gray's Inn, was always prized as giving a rank and independence before the Colonial Judges, well worth the expense and time of a voyage to England. So

Mr. Hamilton thought; and with this object he sailed for England in the year 1712. The Records of Gray's Inn show that he was admitted a member of that learned Society on the twenty-seventh of January, 1712, where he is designated as *Mr. Andrew Hamilton of Maryland*; and on the tenth of February of the same year, he was, *per favor*, called to the Bar, which means, without keeping the usual Terms, though not, it is to be inferred, without proof of character and learning in the Law.

He soon after returned to America and removed to Philadelphia. Here his abilities gained him the first position at the Bar and a large practice. When appointed a member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, he accepted on condition that his attendance should not interfere with his practice; and he appears rarely if ever to have taken his seat in that body. He had previously been appointed, in 1717, Attorney-general of the Province, which office he resigned in 1726, before his second visit to England, which was of considerable length.

After his return on the fifth of June, 1727, he received from Governor Gordon, the lucrative post of Prothonotary, made vacant by the death of Mr. Ashton, in consideration not only of his legal qualifications, but also of "the considerable service he had done to the Proprietors in this Province and country."

In April, 1728, we find he was Recorder of the City of Philadelphia; and, in November, 1737, he was appointed by Governor Thomas, Judge of Vice-admiralty, which office it is supposed he held until his death, his judicial functions not appearing to interfere with his practice in other Courts.

In the year 1727, he was elected a member of the House of Assembly from Bucks-county; and he was returned to the same seat for twelve successive years. He immediately took a leading part in public affairs; was Chairman of the most important Committees, the author of most of the Addresses of the Governor, to the Proprietors, and to the English Government; and the draughtsman of the Acts of Assembly.

In October, 1729, he was elected Speaker; and with the exception of the year 1733, he filled the chair uninterruptedly till his final retirement in 1739. On one occasion, at least, he received the unanimous vote of the members. Every mark of their confidence seems to have been bestowed. He was appointed a Trustee of the Loan Office, and entrusted with the building and disbursements for the State House—sacred to us, and to all Americans,

* The original façade, with the arcades connecting the wings, had a much better effect than the present unsightly offices of "The Row."

as the HALL OF INDEPENDENCE. It appears that although Messrs. Lawrence and Graeme were of the Committee, that the designs were furnished and entirely carried out by Mr. Hamilton. This appears to have been to the public satisfaction: and although the exterior cannot boast of much architectural grandeur,* the interior, especially the entrance hall and staircase, have been much praised by good judges. The other apartments might be, if their original panelings and decorations had not been many years ago barbarously removed—unluckily before Colonel Trumbull's picture of the Signers of the Declaration was sketched—or we might have a representation of the Hall as it was in July, 1776. The tradition is, that it was richly carved and in the finest style. An attempt was made to restore it, about forty years ago, and some little fragments of ornamental work were found in the cellars of the building, which may be seen over the smaller doors, but give little idea of the pristine appearance of this hallowed apartment—the dignity of which is departed, and the proper associations nearly effaced.

The respect and confidence of his colleagues were not purchased by any unworthy compliances. While, at all times, advocating every inherited and chartered Right, and promoting every measure of public utility, he never was ranked in the *soi-disant* popular anti-proprietary party; and his constant opposition to Sir William Keith was justified by the developments of the character and objects of that mercenary and factious man. Such was the verdict of public opinion in Pennsylvania.

On taking leave of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, in the year 1739, when, owing to his growing infirmities, he declared his intention of declining all further public service, he said:—*

"GENTLEMEN:

"As the Service of the Country should be the only Motive to induce any man to take upon him the Country's Trust, which none ought to assume who find themselves incapable of giving such a constant Attendance as the Nature of so great Trust requires; and as you are Witnesses of the frequent Indispositions of Body I have so long laboured under, particularly during the winter Season (the usual Time of doing Business here) and being apprehensive that, by Reason of my Age and Infirmities, which daily increase, I may be unable to discharge the Duty

* The Records of the Assembly, under date of "6th Mo. 11. 1739" are as follows:

"And the House being about to adjourn, the Speaker addressed himself to them in the following Speech, a Copy whereof, on Request, he delivered to the Clerk, and it was Resolved, upon Motion, that the same be inserted in the Minutes of the House." *Votes and Proceedings.* iii, 349.—[H. G. J.]

"expected from a Member of Assembly; I therefore hope that these Considerations alone, were there no others, will appear to you sufficient to justify the Determination I am come to, of declining the farther Service of the Province in a Representative Capacity.

"As to my Conduct, it is not for me to condemn or commend it: Those who have sat here from time to time during my Standing, and particularly these several Gentlemen present, who were Members when I first came into the House (whom I now see with Pleasure) have the Right to judge of my Behaviour, and will censure or approve of it as it has deserved. But, whatever that may have been, I know my own Intentions, and that I ever had at Heart the Preservation of Liberty, the Love of which, as it first drew me to, so it constantly prevailed upon me to reside in, this Province, tho' to the manifest Prejudice of my Fortune.

"But (waiving all Remarks of a private Nature, which Reflections of this kind might naturally, and justly lead me into) I would beg Leave to observe to you, That it is not to the Fertility of our Soil, and the Commodiousness of our Rivers, that we ought chiefly to attribute the great Progress this Province has made, within so small a Compass of Years, in Improvements, Wealth, Trade, and Navigation, and the extraordinary Increase of People, who have been drawn hither from almost every Country in *Europe*; a Progress which much more antient Settlements on the Main of *America* cannot at present boast of. No, it is principally and almost wholly owing to the Excellency of our Constitution, under which we enjoy a greater Share both of civil and religious Liberty than any of our Neighbours.

"It is our great Happiness that instead of triennial Assemblies, a Privilege which several other Colonies have long endeavoured to obtain, but in vain, ours are annual; and for that Reason, as well as others, less liable to be practised upon, or corrupted, either with Money or Presents. We sit upon our own Adjourments, when we please, and as long as we think necessary, and are not to be sent a Packing, in the Middle of a Debate, and disabled from representing our just Grievances to our Gracious Sovereign, if there should be Occasion, which has often been the hard fate of Assemblies in other Places.

"We have no Officers but what are necessary; none but what earn their Salaries, and those generally are either elected by the People, or appointed by their Representatives.

"Other Provinces swarm with unnecessary Officers, nominated by the Governors, who

"often make it a main Part of their Care to support those Officers, (notwithstanding their Oppressions.) At all events. I hope it will ever be the Wisdom of our Assemblies to create no great Offices or Officers, nor indeed any Officer at all, but what is really necessary for the Service of the Country, and to be sure to let the People, or their Representatives, have at least, a Share in their Nomination or Appointment. This will always be a good Security against the mischievous Influence of Men holding Places at the Pleasure of the Governor.

"Our foreign Trade and Shipping are free from all Imposts, except the small Duties payable to His Majesty by the Statute Laws of *Great Britain*. The Taxes which we pay for carrying on the Publick Service is inconsiderable; for the sole Power of raising and disposing of the Publick Money for the Support of Government is lodged in the Assembly, who appoint their own Treasurer, and to them alone he is accountable. Other incidental Taxes are assessed, collected and applied by Persons annually chosen by the People themselves. Such is our happy State as to Civil Rights.

"Nor are we less happy in the enjoyment of a perfect Freedom as to Religion. By many Years Experience, we find that an Equality among religious Societies, without distinguishing any one Sect with greater Privileges than another, is the most effectual Method to discourage Hypocrisy, promote the Practice of the moral Virtues, and prevent the Plagues and Mischiefs that always attend religious Squabbling.

"This is our Constitution, and this Constitution was framed by the Wisdom of Mr. *Penn*, the first Proprietor and Founder of the Province, whose Charter of Privileges to the Inhabitants of *Pennsylvania* will ever remain a Monument of his Benevolence to Mankind and reflect more lasting Honour on his Descendants than the largest Possessions. In the Framing of this Government, he reserved no Powers to himself or his Heirs to oppress the People; no Authority but what is necessary for our Protection, and to hinder us from falling into Anarchy; and therefore, (supposing we could persuade ourselves that all our Obligations to our great Law-giver, and his honourable Descendants, were entirely cancelled, yet) our own Interests should oblige us carefully to support the Government on its present Foundation, as the only Means to secure to ourselves and our Posterity the enjoyment of those Privileges, and the Blessings flowing from such a Constitution, under which we cannot fail of being happy, if the Fault be not our own.

"Yet I have observed, that in former Assemblies there have been Men who have acted in such a Manner as if they utterly disregarded all those inestimable Privileges, and (whether from private Pique and personal Dislike, or thro' Mistake, I will not determine) have gone great Lengths in risking our Happiness, in the Prosecution of such Measures as did not at all square with the Professions they frequently made of their Love to our Government.

"When I reflect on the several Struggles which many of us, now present, have had with those Men, in order to rescue the Constitution out of their Hands, which, thro' their Mistakes (if they were Mistakes) was often brought on the Brink of Destruction; I cannot help cautioning you, in the most earnest Manner, against all personal Animosity in publick Consultations, as a Rock, which, if not avoided, the Constitution will at some Time or other infallibly split upon.

"But there is no Room for Applications of that Kind at present. It is with Delight I see this Session of Assembly end in a Manner very different from what was expected in the Beginning of the Year. The principal Business has been carried on with so good an Agreement among the Members of the House, and so little Difference in Sentiments between our Governor and the People, that it cannot but yield a sensible Pleasure to all who wish well to this Province.

"As this, Gentlemen, is likely to be the last Time I may trouble you with anything in this Place, I hope you will the more easily pardon the Liberties I have taken; and that you will farther permit me here to acknowledge my Obligations to that County, which has so often elected me for one of their Representatives; and at the same time to assure you, that I shall always retain a grateful Sense of the great Confidence so long reposed in me, and the Honour so frequently conferred upon me by many successive Assemblies, in calling me to the Chair of this honourable House."

Cotemporaneously with his occupancy of his seat in the *Pennsylvania* Assembly, as its Speaker, Andrew Hamilton filled, for one or more years, the same place in the Three Lower Counties—now the State of Delaware. This has been only ascertained from the published Laws of Delaware, printed by Franklin, in 1741. Some of the most elaborate and important of these Statutes have the signature of Andrew Hamilton, as Speaker; but these are without date or year of the King's reign, but being executed under the administration of Governor Gordon, must date before the year 1737, when he was superceded by Governor Thomas. Among these Acts are those for reg-

ulating Elections; for securing the administration of Estates; for the confirmation of Titles to land and for establishing Courts of Law and Equity; and these were all, without doubt, drafted by Mr. Hamilton; and have been cited as evidence of his great ability, by eminent lawyers.

The Records of Delaware, however, of that period, have not been preserved at the public offices; and the search for the name of Andrew Hamilton in their legislative and judicial proceedings, has been entirely fruitless.

The following letter from the Speaker of the House of Assembly of the Three Lower Counties gives evidence of his having been employed in similar services at a much earlier date:

"SIR,

"The Representatives of this Government in Assembly met, being truly sensible of the Services you have this Session done, have commanded me to return you their hearty Thanks for the same—which in their Names & my own I most sincerely do—and at the same Time lay hold of the Opportunity to subscribe with Pleasure,

"Y^r most humble Serv^t

"JOHN FFRENCH, Speaker.

"March 15th, 1726.

"TO ANDREW HAMILTON, Esq.

"These."

Of his professional attainments and ability, only traditional and fragmentary evidences remain to this day, except his celebrated argument in the Zenger Case, which has procured for him a place in the History of Liberty and has been called by Gouverneur Morris the "Day Star of the Revolution," as it unquestionably awakened the public mind throughout the Colonies to a conception of the most sacred rights as Citizens and as subjects of a Free Country.

The speech, which was repeatedly printed in England as well as America, may be commended more for the bold enunciation of principle than for the accumulation of learned citations and for its argument from precedents; but it uses its authorities with masterly skill, and deals crushing blows to the Prosecution and the Court. It justly establishes its author's fame as the first lawyer of his time in the British Provinces; and we have besides the abounding evidence of his high consideration by his professional Brethren in the neighboring Provinces, where his opinions were constantly sought for.

He was in the employ of the Proprietary family, from his removal to Philadelphia till his death; and in the difficulties with Lord Baltimore he was particularly useful. At every

step taken in this tedious controversy, he seems to have been consulted; and served in various Commissions to meet the Maryland Authorities in framing the Terms of Agreement, in 1732, upon which the Case was brought before the Privy Council by Mr. Murray, afterwards the celebrated Lord Mansfield; and in preparing the materials of the Brief upon which it was finally submitted, after his death, to the Court of Chancery, Mr. Hamilton not only exerted the most untiring industry, but exhibited marked ability; and the gratitude of his employers was shown by their more than ordinary remuneration for his services. The Estate of *Bush Hill*, forming part of the present City of Philadelphia, and comprising the whole space from Vine-street to Coates-street, and from Twelfth-street to Nineteenth-street, was carved out of the manor of Springettsbury, and granted by the advice of James Logan to the great lawyer. On this, he erected a spacious and stately mansion in which he died. Here, his son, Governor Hamilton, long exercised a generous hospitality; and here, too, John Adams resided during his Vice-presidency. It was burned about sixty years ago; but the walls, still standing, were restored on a sadly debased shape, forming part of a floor-cloth manufactory, and since converted to other uses. There is a poorly engraved view of it in the *Universal Magazine*, December, 1787, with its out-houses, giving a higher idea of its magnitude than of its architectural beauty.

Andrew Hamilton also acquired a noble estate in Lancaster-county. The town plot of the City of Lancaster was laid out on this property, in 1728; and the ground rents reserved, yielded, for a long time, an income to his descendants, till popular policy was roused against that kind of tenure; and, although the appeal of the Tenants to an incorrupt and unterrified Judiciary was in vain, the family were induced to cede their established rights on liberal terms of compromise. The parts of the Bush Hill Estate sold have enriched several members of the family, who still retain a considerable portion of it. Besides these estates, they had lands in New Jersey; and the valuable city property bounded by Chestnut and Third-streets and the Dock Creek, where a mansion, described in Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, as Clarke's Great house, was the birth-place of Governor Hamilton. It was afterward sold to and inhabited by Israel Pemberton, the leading member of the Friends' Meeting at the time of the Revolution; and, under the Administration of General Washington, it was occupied by Alexander Hamilton, as the Treasury Department of the United States.

Andrew Hamilton's visit to England, between

the years 1724 and 1726, was probably connected with the great Penn and Baltimore case; but no trace can, it is believed, now be found of his appearance as a Barrister at the English Court, tho' this is not impossible. The opportunity was however given for an acquaintance with Mr. Murray and the other great Lawyers of the day; and was no doubt the occasion referred to, in his defense of Zenger, when he "saw the "practice of very great Courts."* Sir Philip Yorke, afterward the great Lord Hardwicke, was then the leader of the English Bar; and Mr. Hamilton might have been present at the famous trial of Lord Chancellor Macclesfield.

In America, we find traces of his employment in the Courts of several Colonies; and his opinion was often sought for by different Provincial Governors, in matters of political or pecuniary importance. At home he probably had a part in every important case. His great success excited envy and stimulated calumny. The party leaders he opposed and frustrated, the rival lawyers whose ignorance and incompetence he exposed, the unfortunate litigants whom he disappointed, all were his enemies, or at least, ready to listen to his detractors. There exist in print some most abusive attacks upon him, the scurrility of which is alone fatal to their credit—which contain no definite charges; and which are contradicted by all we know of him. The chief accusation was a grasping spirit and dishonesty in his practice. The latter charge is impossible, for he had the respect of all the best men of the Colony. As a contradiction to the latter, we may involve his noble disinterestedness in the case of Zenger, when "he offer'd to "go to New York without fee or reward under the weight of many years & great infirmities of body," to advocate the great cause of Civil Liberty. With a professional reputation already established, a fortune already acquired, he appeared before a Court which had already prejudged his case and a provincial jury very likely to be intimidated by the frowns of authority, to assert the great Right of Freedom of the Press, without which most other Rights would be valueless.

Preceding, by fifty years, the great English lawyer who finally established this principle of Liberty, he had used the same course of argument and we may justly claim for him the larger share of honor—an honor also to be given to the honest jury. In those days there was no small courage required to oppose the authorities in a King's Colony, where so much depended on royal favor.

Andrew Hamilton died at Bush Hill, in the Summer of 1741, and was buried in the family graveyard on the Estate; but on its sale, his remains,

* Zenger's report of his Trial, p. 25.

with those of his children, were removed to a spacious mausoleum in Christ Church-yard, which was closed on the last of his name in 1848.

His children were James Hamilton, who, by two appointments, and for many years, was Lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania—a gentleman of great dignity and private worth; distinguished for liberality and independence; the only native Governor before the Revolution; and probably the most esteemed by his countrymen, as well as the Proprietary family. He was one of the early patrons of Benjamin West, by whom there is a very fine full-length portrait now in the possession of his collateral descendant, Mr. Hamilton Beckett, who married a daughter of Lord-chancellor Lyndhurst and resides in England. He patronized and encouraged all public enterprises; and was the President of the American Philosophical Society before its union with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, under the auspices of Dr. Franklin. James Hamilton died in the year 1782. His brother, Andrew Hamilton, married a daughter of William Fell, Esq.; and their son, William, was distinguished as probably the earliest collector of Pictures and cultivator of ornamental gardening. In his day, there was no country seat equal to the *Woodlands*, for trees and shrubbery and plants imported from every region; for Pictures, many of them selected by West; and other objects of taste. In the Cemetery, to which it is now converted, there are few remains of its picturesque beauties; and the gloomy appropriation makes a sad contrast to the hospitalities and gaieties of which it was the scene, within the recollection of the writer. William Hamilton, the younger, like his uncle, the Governor, never married. His brother, Andrew, married to Miss Abigail Franks, daughter of David Franks of New York, had a numerous family, who had descendants; but there are none of the name now living. A fourth Andrew Hamilton in succession, lived in England; and his daughter married a Captain Paläret, of the British Army, whose children have in their possession, the gold box in which the freedom of the City of New York was presented to their ancestor, “for his learned and generous defense of the Rights of Mankind and the Liberty of the Press.”

The only daughter of Andrew Hamilton, the elder, was married to William Allen, who filled the office of Provincial Chief-justice with great respectability. He probably owed his professional education to his wife's accomplished father, and his official promotion to the influence of Mr. Hamilton. He was a man of great wealth; and his children had the most prominent places, in our provincial society.

One of his daughters married John Penn, son of Richard, the last Proprietary Governor of Pennsylvania, who built and resided at Lansdowne, one of the finest seats on the river Schuylkill. He died at Philadelphia, and is buried at Christ Church. He had no children; and his widow went to England, soon after the Revolution. The sons of Chief-justice Allen were all supposed to take the part of England, in the War of Independence; and some of them were seriously implicated. Those who survived the War abandoned their native country, and left, I believe, no sons; and the name of Allen, as that of Hamilton, is now extinct. The Borough of Allentown, in Northampton (now Lehigh) County, takes its name from them, as it was the centre of their immense family possessions. It is believed there is nothing left of this great estate to the descendants, in the female line, still among us.

The foregoing are all the facts that can now be collected of the first Andrew Hamilton. After the space of four generations, traditions of character are rarely preserved; but there is happily in existence, an obituary notice, attributed to Dr. Franklin, printed, at all events, in his paper, which, if it errs on the side of eulogy, can hardly be without a substantial basis of truth. Such a character would else be only satire in disguise.

The Obituary referred to appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, of August, 1751, as follows:

“On the Fourth instant, died ANDREW HAMILTON, Esq., and was next day interred at Bush Hill, his Country Seat. His Corpse was attended to the grave by a great number of his friends, deeply affected with their own but more with their Country's loss. He lived not without enemies; for, as he was himself open and honest, he took pains to unmask the hypocrite, and boldly censured the knave, without regard to station or profession. Such, therefore, may exult in his death. He steadily maintained the Cause of liberty; and the laws made during the time he was Speaker of the Assembly, which was many years, will be a lasting monument of his affection to the people, and of his Concern for the welfare of this Province. He was no friend to power, as he had observed an ill-use had been frequently made of it in the Colonies; and therefore was seldom on good terms with the Governors. This prejudice, however, did not always determine his conduct towards them, for, when he saw they meant well, he was for supporting them honourably, and was indefatigable in endeavouring to remove the prejudices of others. He was long at the top of his profession here; and had he been as gripping as he was knowing, he might have

"left a much greater fortune to his family than he has done. But he spent much more time in hearing and reconciling differences in private, (to the loss of his fees,) than he did in pleading causes at the bar. He was just when he sat as Judge, and though he was stern and severe in his manner, he was compassionate in his nature, and very slow to punish. He was a tender husband and a fond parent. But these are virtues which fools and knaves have sometimes, in common with the wise and honest. His free manner of treating religious subjects gave offence to many, who, if a man may judge from their actions, were not themselves much in earnest. He feared God, loved mercy, and did justice. If he could could not subscribe to the Creed of any particular Church, it was not for want of considering them all, for he had read much on religious subjects. He went through a tedious sickness with uncommon cheerfulness, constancy and courage. Nothing of affected bravery or ostentation appeared; but such a composure and tranquility of mind as results from the reflection of a life spent agreeably to the best of man's judgment.* He preserved his understanding and his regard for his friends to the last moment. What was given as a rule by a poet, upon another occasion, may be justly applied to him upon this.

* * * * *
 Servetur ad inum
 Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constat."

Finding himself unable to do justice to the professional and public services of this great lawyer and statesman, Andrew Hamilton, the writer applied to his friend the learned Judge Cadwalader, as of all our Juris-consults, the one most familiar with the judicial history of the Province, and at the same time, best able to esti-

mate at their true value the professional ability and attainments as well as the public services of this almost forgotten patriot and statesman; and he is permitted to extract from Judge Cadwalader's answer the following pages. In those preceding, Judge Cadwalader had given some memoranda for the private and family history of Mr. Hamilton, to which the composition of the above imperfect biographical sketch is partly indebted.

Judge Cadwalader writes: "After the above hasty outline of the little biographical knowledge of Mr. Hamilton which I possess, I proceeded to answer directly your inquiry what is my opinion of him as a lawyer.

"This opinion is formed solely upon consideration of his argument in Zenger's case. This trial, we are told, "made a great noise in the world." [17 *State Trials*, 675 (n).] That which principally made it remarkable was the argument of Mr. Hamilton and its effect. The novelty, in his day, of some of his propositions and of the reasoning by which he supported them, explains the ill-natured contemporaneous criticisms of his argument in certain publications inserted in the *State Trials*. The authors of great reformations are always thus censured by the short-sighted of their own day. These criticisms were written before the impression of his views had been stamped, as it has subsequently been, upon the institutions of a nation. Reform, through legislation, may be effected with little difficulty as compared with administrative reformation of jurisprudence without legislative aid. The Advocate who can effect the latter, especially where political considerations are involved, must be a mental giant. One great excellence of the system of trial by jury is, that it affords the means of gradually producing such formations without revolutionary perils. Propositions in this argument, which were, strictly speaking, untenable as points of Anglo-American Colonial law, prevailed, nevertheless, at that day, with the jury. These propositions have been since engrafted permanently upon the political jurisprudence of this Continent. If that speech to the jurors who acquitted Zenger had never been uttered, or had not been reported, the framers of the Constitutions of the several States might not have been prepared for the adoption of provisions like that of the Seventh Section of the Declaration of Rights in Pennsylvania. This provision is 'that the printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the Legislature, or any branch of Government; and no Law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights

* The reference to Andrew Hamilton's want of religious faith in the above Obituary, suggests a quotation from a MS. satirical production of the year 1727, in which many of the more eminent of that day, in the Province are catalogued with considerable ironical humour.

"Is called Advice and Instruction to the Palatines newly arrived in the Province of Pennsylvania, by their countryman H. J. Z., a Freeholder, translated from the High Dutch.

The list terminates with the three following:

"If you are staggering in your Faith and desire to be confirmed in the Belief of the Christian Religion, seek ghostly counsel from A——w H——n.

"If you would desire strict Justice in your Lawsuits let honest D——l L——i be your Judge.

"If you would learn the art of Dissimulation to impose on the Ignorant, make fine Speeches and promise without any meaning; borrow of every body without any intention to pay; cheat all you deal with, and nevertheless be a fine Gentleman, follow the example of Sir, W——m.

"If you desire to possess a perfect calmness of thought—to sleep sound and and enjoy a good measure of health—drink hard, laugh loud and run deeply in debt."

The whole may be found inserted in a folio volume of tracts and broadsides of great rarity, belonging to the American Philosophical Society. It may be presumed that the 'advice to the Palatines' was never printed. Its authorship has been attributed to Franklin.

"of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers or men in public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence; and in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the Court, as in other cases." I thus quote the Constitution partly in order to introduce a remark upon the well-known British Act of Parliament, of the year 1792, which is the same in effect as the last sentence of the Constitutional provision. This British Statute was passed in consequence of the effect upon public opinion produced in England by the speeches, in two previous cases, of a celebrated English barrister, afterwards Lord Chancellor. In one of the cases, this English lawyer had set himself in opposition to the Court, and to its ruling of the law as previously laid down in books of Reports, quite as earnestly as Mr. Hamilton in Zenger's case, and no less pugnaciously.

"Mr. Hamilton argued three propositions. One, that the jury have, in prosecutions for libels, the same right as in other criminal prosecutions, to determine the law as well as the facts under the direction of the Court, has already been mentioned. Another was, that as the alleged libel concerned the official conduct of persons acting in public capacities, the publication was justifiable if the statements were true. The other was that whether they were true or false, the limits of fair discussion of subjects of general public interest had not been exceeded. But the last proposition, though argued, was not stated by him. It was blended with the other; and he rested the case professionally on the question of truth or falsehood. Whether this was a defect in his argument should be decided with a cautious reference to its date. The two propositions which he stated were, in his day, thought innovations. To have stated the third proposition distinctively might then have been an imprudence. It might have been thought demagoguism, and have injured the case of his client. The lights of after-born wisdom have been since cast upon this part of the subject. Its distinct development was not a duty of the Advocate unless necessary to the success of the defence. His immediate function was not that of the Statesman or political philosopher.

"I do not think that the argument was improved by the references near its close to occurrences of Roman history. But these are spots of the sun. I have stated every question which

"a fault-finding critic of the present day could suggest in order to qualify the praise due to this argument. As a simple forensic effort it is not surpassed by anything of the kind which is in print, as having been uttered by Webster, Erskine, or Pinckney. The remark of Mr. Hamilton, (*17 State Trials*, 703) that he had 'seen the practice in very great Courts' might suggest the notion that he had schooled himself upon the observation of some great English models of his day, perhaps one of the Yorkes, or a Murray.

"But it is not merely a great forensic effort. It displays accuracy of scientific learning, and the result of severe self-discipline as a lawyer. The speech is a sufficient biography of him as a student of legal science. His method of referring to authorities tests the depth of his research and the clearness of his judgment not less than the copiousness of his intellectual development. Ordinary lawyers work from authorities as their only source of professional knowledge. They thus work, as it were, from below upwards. But great lawyers look upon the same precedents from above downward, using them as the tests, or as examples, of rules or principles deduced from independent and higher sources of thought. Of this class was Mr. Hamilton. His learning must have been profound. But he made no parade of it. He stated his propositions in such a form as to dispense with citations from books; and yet such citations were obviously at his command; and he seems to have stated no proposition which he had not previously subjected, in the course of private study, to the standard of a rigid comparison with precedents. It is obvious that he had educated himself in general public law, and was familiar enough with its principles to incorporate them with his argument without pausing to state them. If short-sighted men of his own day thought him a demagogue, which I do not believe, those of greater forecast must have recognized the traits of a statesmanlike lawyer, whose works would produce their memorials to be appreciated in a future generation.

"I have thus given my opinion of him as a lawyer. You ask also my opinion of him as a legislator. He was, I think, of the class of lawyers who usually make the most judicious legislators. But I am not able to form any opinion of his actual capacity in this respect. I do not know what Laws he may have written, or assisted in writing; and have not sufficient means at hand of obtaining the knowledge. I am, however, under the impression that, in Pennsylvania, the legislation of his era was much less important than that of anterior and subsequent periods.

"All that I have written is the result of investigations made some years ago, which are, in part, forgotten, and which I regret that I have not, at this time, leisure particularly to renew.

"Yours, very truly,

"JOHN CADWALADER.

"J. FRANCIS FISHER, Esq."

To this may be added the recollections of the writer of the above Memoir, that there were found at the Woodlands, when that family-seat was broken up, many boxes and trunks full of legal papers, including Briefs and Opinions evincing great learning and labor, and indicating extensive practice throughout the Middle Colonies. Much that was interesting and valuable might have been rescued; but the writer was at that time too young to estimate their worth, and they were left to the ordinary fate of worm-eaten family papers. Among the books which had been inherited by Mr. William Hamilton, were a few with the name of his grand-father in various departments of literature, some of them with annotations in English and Latin, indicative of deep and curious learning. The law books had probably passed into the possession of Chief-justice Allen, who married Andrew Hamilton's daughter, some of whose sons were also members of the legal profession. There was not much learning of any kind among the later representatives of the Hamilton name.

It has not been thought necessary to quote at length the great Argument in the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger, which is to be found in the *British State Trials* and in several pamphlets printed at the time, in England and America—the rarest of which is that, in folio, from the press of Zenger himself—New York, MDCCLXXXVI. The peroration, embodying the noblest sentiments, and exhibiting some of his peculiar powers as an Advocate, is worthy of being reproduced at this time, and is as follows:

"But why do I go to heathen *Rome* to bring instances of the love of Liberty? The best blood in *Britain* has been shed in the cause of Liberty; and the freedom we enjoy at this day, may be said to be, in a great measure, owing to the glorious stand the famous *Hampden* and other of our countrymen, made against the arbitrary demands and illegal impositions, of the times in which they lived; who rather than give up the rights of *Englishmen*, and submit to pay an illegal tax of no more, I think, than *three shillings*, resolved to undergo, and for the liberty of their country, did undergo the greatest extremities, in that arbitrary and terrible Court of Star Chamber, to whose arbitrary proceedings, (it being composed of the principal men of the Realm, and

"calculated to support arbitrary government) no bounds or limits could be set, nor could any other hand remove the evil but a Parliament. Power may justly be compared to a great river, which while kept within its due bounds, is both beautiful and useful; but when it overflows its banks, it is then too impetuous to be stemmed; it bears down all before it, and brings destruction and desolation wherever it comes. If then this is the nature of Power, let us at least do our duty, and like wise men, (who value freedom) use our utmost care to support Liberty,—the only bulwark against lawless power, which in all ages has sacrificed to its wild lust and boundless ambition, the blood of the best men that ever lived.

"I hope to be pardoned, Sir, for my zeal upon this occasion. It is an old and wise caution—*That when our neighbour's house is on fire, we ought to take care of our own*. For tho' blessed be God, I live in a Government where Liberty is well understood, and freely enjoyed; yet experience has shown us all (I'm sure it has me) that a bad precedent in one Government, is soon set up for an authority in another; and therefore I cannot but think it mine and every honest man's duty, that, while we pay all due obedience to men in authority, we ought at the same time to be upon our guard against power wherever we apprehend that it may affect ourselves or our fellow-subjects.

"I am truly very unequal to such an undertaking on many accounts. And you see I labour under the weight of many years and am borne down with great infirmities of body; yet old and weak as I am, I should think it my duty if required, to go to the utmost part of the land, where my service could be of any use in assisting to quench the flame of prosecutions upon Informations, set on foot by the Government, to deprive a people of the right of remonstrating (and complaining too) of the arbitrary men in power. Men who injure and oppress the people under their administration, provoke them to cry out and complain; and then make that very complaint the foundation for new oppressions and prosecutions. I wish I could say there were no instances of this kind. But to conclude; the question before the Court and you, Gentlemen of the Jury, is not of small nor private concern; it is not the case of a poor printer, nor of *New York* alone which you are trying. No! it may in its consequence affect every freeman that lives under a British Government on the main of America. It is the best cause. It is the cause of Liberty, and I make no doubt, but your upright conduct, this day, will not only entitle you to the love and

"esteem of your fellow-citizens; but every man who prefers Freedom to a life of Slavery, will bless and honour you, as men who have baffled the attempt of tyranny; and by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbours, that, to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right—the Liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power (in those parts of the world, at least) by speaking and writing Truth."

At the close of this remarkable speech, there was considerable sharp discussion between "Mr. Attorney," the Judges of the Court, and Mr. Hamilton, the latter of whom maintained his position with that manly dignity by which he was ever characterized.

The Jury then retired; but after a short absence, returned. When asked for their verdict, the Foreman, Thomas Hunt—whose name deserves to be remembered—said "*Not Guilty.*"

As soon as the verdict was announced, the people, who crowded the Hall where the Court was held and were fully aware of the magnitude of the question at stake, and strongly sympathized with Zenger, gave "three Huzzas in the Hall," doubtless to the great chagrin of the Judges who had confidently anticipated a different result.

To this pamphlet are appended the proceedings of the Corporation of the City of New York, conferring the Freedom of the Corporation. The Grant, which was voted on the sixteenth of September, 1735, by the Mayor, Deputy Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Assistants, is in the following words and form, viz:—

<p>City of New York.</p>	}	<p>ss. PAUL RICHARDS, Esq.; the Recorder, Aldermen and Assistants of the City of New York, convened in Common Council, To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.</p>
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"WHEREAS, Honour is the just Reward of Virtue and publick Benefits demand a publick Acknowledgement. We therefore, under a grateful Sense of the remarkable Service, done to the Inhabitants of this City and Colony, by *Andrew Hamilton, Esq., of Pennsylvania*, Barrister at Law, by his Learned and generous Defence of the Rights of Mankind, and the Liberty of the Press, in the case of *John Peter Zenger*, lately tried on an Information exhibited in the Supreme Court of this Colony, do by these Presents, bear to the said *Andrew Hamilton, Esq.*, the publick Thanks of the Freemen of this Corporation for that signal Service, which he cheerfully undertook under great Indisposition of Body, and generously

performed, refusing any Fee or Reward; And in Testimony of our great Esteem for his Person and Sense of his Merit, do hereby present him with the Freedom of this Corporation. These are therefore to Certify and Declare, that the said *Andrew Hamilton, Esq.*, is hereby admitted, received and allowed a Freedom and Citizen of the said City, To Have, Hold, Enjoy and Partake of all the Benefits, Liberties, Privileges, Freedoms and Immunities, whatsoever granted or belonging to a Freeman of the same City. In Testimony whereof the Common Council of the said City, in Common Council assembled, have caused the Seal of the said City to be hereunto affixed this Twenty Ninth Day of September, Anno Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Five.

By Order of the Common Council.

WILLIAM SHARPAS, Clerk."

At the same time, as is recorded, "Sundry of the Members of the Corporation and Gentleman of the City voluntarily contributed sufficient for a Gold Box of five Ounces and a half for inclosing the Seal of the said Freedom," which being completed as desired, Alderman Bayard, on behalf of the Corporation, proceeded to Philadelphia and delivered to Mr. Hamilton the Diploma with the Seal enclosed in the Gold Box—which is still preserved as an heirloom by the children of Captain Palairt, who married a daughter of Andrew Hamilton—the fourth of that name in direct descent, and the last in the line of males.

Round the lid of the box there is engraved, not only the Arms of the City of New York, but also this Motto, in a Garter:

DEMERSÆ LEGES—TIMEFACTA LIBERTAS—
HÆC TANDEM EMERGUNT.

On the inner side of the lid of the box, showing itself at the same time with the Certificate of the Freedom, there are engraven, in a flying Garter, these words;

NON NUMMIS—VIRTUTE PARATUR.

As an incentive to public virtue, on the front of the rim of the box, there are engraven a part of *Tully's* wish;

ITA CUIQUE EVENIAT, UT DE REPUBLICA MERUIT.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that there exists a Portrait of Andrew Hamilton, a fine picture by Wertmuller, copied from a rude original which was destroyed—a handsome shrewd face, in the wig, gown, and bands of an English Barrister. The original was in the possession

of Mr. Becket; and a copy is preserved in the Hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[NOTE.]

Zenger had employed as his Counsel, James Alexander, Esq., and William Smith, Esq., two of the most eminent lawyers of New York. On the sixteenth of April, 1735, and during the progress of the Trial, the Judges, in a most summary manner, struck their names from the list of Attorneys, because they had put in Exceptions, in Zenger's name, to the Information, denying the legality of the Judges' Commissions.

The following letter shows that they were not soon forgiven; and that they, instead of Zenger, were the sufferers—a rather unusual result, in legal matters, at least at this day.

"NEW YORK, July 16th, 1737.

"SIR:

"We think the State of publick affairs here afford some "Probability that we may have relief in a course of Justice "for that act of silencing us in the case of Zenger and as "you were so kind as to offer us your assistance, we beg "leave to send to you herewith a draught of a Declaration "for your perusal and amendment.

"We send you also some authorities that we have read on "that head which seem generally to look against us. There "are two distinctions which we think may support our action, *malò animo* and *coram non judice*. There appear "some faint traces of these distinctions in the authorities. "We wish we had them more plain.

"Our Judges have valued themselves upon a Dilemma, "they thought they had us in, viz: If they were Judges, "then what they did was in that capacity, and no relief is "against them for it as such. If they were not Judges, then "what they did was void and did not hinder us from being "attorneys, &c. The first draught of the Declaration inclosed, and second conclusion we thought would not well "enough bring us within the distinctions named in that Dilemma. The third conclusion inclosed is an endeavour to "amend it in those points. All which we submit to you, and "we desire your opinion whether we ought to pay any regard to their quibble or not.

"We send now a like copy to Mr. Kinsey. We beg you "would compare your observations and amendments with "his, and agree upon one of the Declarations to send back to "us if conveniently you can by the Post after this, because "our Supreme Court begins the last Tuesday of this month, "and ends the first Tuesday of August, in order that we "may file the Declaration on the Monday before the end of "the Term.

"We are

"Your Humble Servants,

"JA. ALEXANDER.

"WM. SMITH."

"To

"ANDREW HAMILTON, Esq.*

II.—PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

By COL. ROBERT CARR OF PHILADELPHIA.†

CONTRIBUTED BY FREDERICK D. STOW, ESQ., OF PHILADELPHIA.

WEST PHILADELPHIA, May 25th, 1864.

TO MR. JOHN A. McALLISTER.

DEAR SIR:

In answer to your request that I would give you a few notes of my recollections of Doctor

* The original of the foregoing letter is now in the possession of Mr. Fisher.

† Colonel ROBERT CARR was a native of Scotland; came to America in 1784; learned to be a printer in the office of Dr. Franklin's grandson, Benjamin F. Bache. Colonel Carr died on the fifteenth of March, 1866, having nearly attained his ninetieth year. Vide. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, I. x. 199, 224.

Franklin, in his latter years, I have to state that I can say but very little, and that little only the crude reminiscence of a thoughtless school-boy of eleven or twelve years of age, whose opportunities of seeing the Doctor occurred from the fact of my residing near his house and being intimate with, and the play-mates of, his two youngest grandsons.

It is seventy-four years since the Doctor's death, and few persons now remember the location of his house, and none of the present generation could have seen it, as every vestige of the building has been long since entirely obliterated, in the march of improvement.

The Doctor's mansion-house was in the centre of a lot of ground, midway between Third and Fourth-streets, about one hundred feet wide, and extending from Market to Chestnut-streets. A court, or alley, ten feet wide, called "Franklin Court," extended from Market-street to the rear of the house, which was built with the front towards Chestnut-street; but, sometime after it was erected, it was discovered that the title to the front of the lot, on Chestnut-street, was defective; and the Doctor, rather than engage in a litigation, or pay an exorbitant price demanded by the claimant of the lot, abandoned it, and used the Market-street avenue. This fact I heard Mr. B. F. Bache, his grandson, relate to Mr. Volney, the traveller, who enquired why the Doctor had built his house fronting the South, to which he had no outlet.

The mansion-house was a plain brick building, three stories high, about forty feet front, and thirty feet deep, with an entry through the centre. There was a large parlor on the East side of the entry, and two rooms on the West side, with a door between them. The kitchen was in the basement, with an ice-house under it. The Doctor's office or study, was the North-west room, on the first floor; and there was a coal grate, in which he burned Virginia or English coal. Below this grate, on the hearth, there was a small iron plate or trap-door, about five or six inches square, with a hinge and a small ring to raise it by. When this door or valve was raised, a current of air, from the cellar, rushed up through the grate to re-kindle the fire.

The Doctor's bed-chamber was the South-west room, on the second floor. There were two cords, like bell-pulls, at the head of his bed; one was a bell-pull; and the other, when pulled, raised an iron bolt, about an inch square, and nine or ten inches long, which dropped through staples, at the top of the door, when shut; and until this bolt was raised the door could not be opened.

The house was built before the Revolution;

but after the War, he made an addition to the East end, about eighteen feet wide and thirty feet long; the lower room of this addition, was a large reception room, in which the Philosophical Society met, for several years. The second floor was his library; and third floor lodging rooms. His son-in-law, Colonel Richard Bache, and family, resided in the same house with the Doctor.

The doors of the chambers, and nearly all the doors about the house, were lined or edged with green baize, to prevent noise when shutting; and several of them had springs behind them to close them.

On the South side of the house there was a grass lot, about one hundred feet square, containing a few fine plane trees, and surrounded on three sides by a brick wall. From the South wall to Chestnut-street, there were afterwards a tan-yard and currier's-shop. On the North side of the house there was an open lot of the same size, extending to the Printing-office, which was two stories high, built on each side, and over the court or carriage-way opening on Market-street.

This office he had built, after his return to France, for his grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, with whom I served my apprenticeship. The Western room, on the lower floor, was a type-foundry: the opposite room, on the East side of the Court, was a book-bindery. The printing-office was on the second floor, and was furnished with every variety of large founts of type, from nonpareil to the largest sizes then used for posting-bills. The Doctor brought them from Paris, when he returned, in 1785.

After the Doctor's death, in April, 1790, there were a great many articles that had belonged to him, stored in the loft, over the office; amongst others, a beautiful and valuable *Orreery*—which I believe was sent to the Philosophical Society—a great variety of electrical apparatus, and a *Sedan-chair*, in which I have often seen him carried by two men, to and from the State House, where he was President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. This Sedan-chair was sent to Pennsylvania Hospital, where it remained a great many years, in the garret; but on enquiry about it, lately, I ascertained that it had been broken up and burned.

During the latter years of the Doctor's life, he was afflicted with the gout and stone. For the latter, his friends wished him to submit to an operation; but he said that at his age it was not worth while to undergo the pain. Although he suffered much from his afflictions, he was remarkably patient and mild. When able to be out of bed, he passed nearly all his time in his office, reading and writing, and in

conversation with his friends; and, when the boys were playing and very noisy, in the lot front of the office, he would open the window and call to them: "Boys, Boys, can't you play 'without making so much noise. I am reading, and it disturbs me very much.'" I have heard the servants in his family say that he never used a hasty or angry word to any one.

On one occasion, when his servant was absent, he called me into his office, to carry a letter to the Post-office. Whilst waiting for it, there was a candle burning on the table, with which he had been melting sealing-wax. He told me to put it out and set it away. I took up the candlestick and blew the candle out, when he said: "Stop, my boy, I will show you the right way 'to put out a candle. Light it again.'" Accordingly, I lighted the candle; and the Doctor lifted it out of the candlestick, turning the blazing end down, until the tallow had nearly extinguished it, when he quickly turned it up, and blew it out. "Now," said he, "it can be 'lighted again very readily; and the grease will 'not run down the candle."

The Doctor was remarkable for always having some kind word of advice or encouragement, for those around him. You may recollect the anecdote, which has been published, of his conversation with the man, who was blacking his shoes: "John," said the Doctor, "I was 'once as poor a man as you; but I was industrious and saved my earnings, until now I have 'enough to enable me to live in comfort in my 'old age.'" "Ah," but Doctor, replied John, "if every one was as saving and as rich as you, 'who would black your shoes?"

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

ROBERT CARR.

III.—SELECTIONS FROM THE DUANE PAPERS.

CONTRIBUTED BY COLONEL WILLIAM DUANE.

1.—*General John Armstrong to Colonel William Duane.*

NEW YORK, August 20th, 1812.

DEAR SIR:

I never felt towards you but one sentiment, which is that of friendship and confidence. This letter will be a proof of both. You have seen and marked the progress of eastern disaffection—its *objects* and its instruments. It is travelling South. We have evidences of it here, and the presumption is that some of the same kind will exist among you. The thing most to be regretted is, that it should address itself to our ranks and that in these it should

find men, willing to lend themselves to its views and even to become the agents of its policy. This is either wickedness or folly. I have been thought of sufficient importance to be assailed by the same party and the same policy. My self-love could not disguise from me one moment that the motive was mischief, and the means, hollow and deceptive and profligate. I neither did nor could hesitate. I rejected their overtures, and have once more taken the field in support of *principles*, which are, I hope, common to us both. Upon this very brief exposition, let me come once more immediately to the object of this note—it is to state to you that there will be a fair expression of the republican sentiment at the next session of the Legislature, and that this will be decidedly against any man or any measure, whose policy identifies itself with that of federalists and federalism. Rank influence is no more. In much haste, but with the truest attachment.

I am dear Colo,

Your's always,

J. ARMSTRONG.

2.—*General John Armstrong to Colonel William Duane.*

March 16th, 1812.

DEAR SIR:

The Adjutant General has directions to forward what may be necessary with regard to the hand-book.

The shores of the Delaware will not be assailed. Your navigation is not one inviting to large expeditions, and it does not appear to be the enemy's policy to hazard small ones. Their whole force is now collected, or collecting at Norfolk. *There*, is a frigate and a navy-yard, which form the real objects. The same objects present themselves here, (and less means of defence), but more remote and of course, more hazardous. By the way, the whole coast is in a state of alarm, and demanding defence, at a hundred different points. In this state of things we can but do, (what is necessary in the defence of all frontiers of great length) select prominent points, and arm them with our best means, leaving others to the resources of their own courage and skill. An attempt is made to methodize these, by the enclosed arrangement, which you may publish if you will. Bloomfield will be assigned to No. 4, and it is my intention to give him a *good Adjutant General*. To this place I shall appoint you, and give you * as an Asst.

This arrangement will give employment to your military talents, without lessening your

usefulness to your country and your family in another way.

Write to Bloomfield and prepare him for this arrangement. He may want soothing, because most men have enough of the *Amour propre* to think themselves fit for any thing that is a going, and though he told me he was unfit for a northern region, still, he may have looked to higher rank in a southern one.

As to the Paymaster you mentioned, and the letter of the Paymaster General, I know nothing. It is possible I may have said to Cushing what I really think, that discipline is much broke in upon, by putting officers, of the line, and generally the best, into situations not requiring military knowledge or talents at all. In the present case, you lose a good Captain for the sake of having a good Paymaster. The duties of the latter require only integrity and the knowledge of accounts. My plans of Campaign are made, and if they can be executed, we shall, I think, do something. Prevost is at Kingston, with his whole disposable force. It is where I wish him to be. The country is exhausted, and his sustenance will be doubtful, and his place d'Armies one hundred miles in his rear. If we have legs and Arms and a particle of head to direct these, we may weave a net for his Knightship, strong as that thrown around Burgoyne. Wilkinson has squatted himself down at New Orleans, among fens and marshes and cypress, like a goose. He must come to the North, to the country of Laurel. Harrison is an artificial General—but the West and South, were only to be satisfied by his appointment, and our's is, you know, a Government of opinion. The order of the Major General published, by little Gates, has a tendency to vex and do harm. The real order stands thus—Wilkinson, Hampton, Davy, Lewis, Ogden, Harrison.

Yours Truly,

J. A.

3.—*General John Armstrong to Colonel William Duane.*

21 March, 1813.

DEAR SIR:

I had anticipated two of your ideas. The call upon your Governor for one thousand effectives and the mode of calling out militia generally. As to the first, is a mere soporific, to quiet the present spasms of the City, and which do not, I think, grow out of as comprehensive a view of what the enemy wish to do and can do, as might have been expected. At Baltimore also, Winder (the Governor) and S. Smith are making a mighty bustle, but to do these justice, they do not demand from the Union anything more than a few musquets and a little

* "The name originally here is erased."

ammunition. They organize themselves and do not wish to be paid, unless brought into actual service. At Norfolk, where the object is considerable to the enemy, and where their principal force is collected, and where an attack is therefore reasonably expected, they are not, nor have they been, clamorous or illiberal. We have done for them what they wish, and we have offered to do more, but they do not ask more. Taylor, who commands there, is a warm federalist, but a clever fellow, and has military talents. With the exception of these renowned places, Sag Harbor and New Bedford, &c., &c., no place has made so much noise as Philadelphia. Pour a little oil upon the waves of folly and of faction, for the latter are at the bottom. Honest precaution, has, no doubt, a share in it also; but this is temperate and willing to hear and to learn and to wait for the movements of those who, having better means of information, have also every disposition to turn that information to the best possible account for the *whole*. In the Southern country and in the West, the same game is playing—and what in my business, will be the most difficult task will be to break up the villainous system of alarm, which would set every man like a leech to fasten himself on the public and to drain the resources of the nation to the very last drop, and for nothing. I have been compelled to take a stand. It is a bold one, and will bring down many heavy curses upon me, but from it I will not recede. I have sent back all the Militia accounts of the West and have limited Mr. Harrison's drawers of bills to a very small sum per month. Had I let them go on, as I found them (with every man's hand among them in the public coffers) the game would have been up for want of means, before a single stroke had been made, useful or creditable to our arms.

Has Bloomfield got to his Post?

Your's sin^r,

J. A.

4.—General Armstrong to Colonel William Duane.

WASHINGTON, 29 April, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have heard much of the Pea Patch, and if my funds permitted, I would throw up a battery there. One (made this Spring) is completed at Sandy Hook for about twelve thousand dollars, which will be very efficient if I mistake not. It is made of large logs well bound together and filled in with sand and cedar tops. It mounts twenty-one heavy guns. What could such a one be made for at the Patch?

The Assistant Adjutant General will order Major Carr to join his regiment and to

carry with him the recruits you have got together at Philadelphia. One company of militia will be sufficient to hold your fort, so long as Beresford remains off Lewistown, which I take to be his *ne plus ultra*. The General did well to parry the thrusts of the Colonels. Pay and rations is the parole of the day. Above all, the people of the West and particularly of Kentucky and the territories have systematised this. 1st. Every man is to be on pay. 2d. Their surplus produce is to be purchased at three times the peace price.

To effect the first, recruiting is to be put down. Harrison has accordingly swept off all the recruiting officers and resorted again to large militia drafts. To accomplish the latter, contractors are to be set aside, and field purveyors appointed to give any price that may be asked. To have finished the campaign in twelve months could not therefore, have been prudent. The war is a good thing, and is to be nursed. I have determined to break down this system—to give Mr. Harrison not an Army, but a Division—to cut short his expenditures, by embarking him at the foot of the rapids, and carrying him directly to Malden. At this the men of the West—the best blood of Kentucky begins to kick. They have so long governed the Governor, that they now think they have that authority *jure divino*. Governor Shelby says fifteen thousand men are little enough for the campaign, and that they must be mounted like Asiatics, and to do what? To take a work defended on three sides by pickets! To fight an enemy, not more than two thousand, of all colors and kinds! The Aurora ought to open its batteries upon these abuses. The best form would be, letters from the West. But there would be no decorum in its doing so, while ostensibly edited by you. The truth is, that your military appointment imposes obstacles on your press. Cannot you borrow a name? Your son's will do best for many reasons, but particularly, because it is nearly your own. I have another reason for suggesting this. The Russian Minister called on me last night officially, and represented that, having no reason to find fault with you personally, and really having a respect for you, he had seen two publications in the Aurora, which gave its enemies, and his, reason to triumph. He thinks you cannot refuse to Russia the right of defending herself, nor the glory of having done it, with foresight and energy. He *wishes* only that you would separate his Government and its measures from the faction here who turns everything to its own little and wicked purposes; he *hopes* that you will take some occasion to do so. I do not, my friend, see anything unreasonable. Give him therefore an Anodyne. But think of a radical

cure for all such cases. I know not any but that suggested above.

Yours truly,

J. A.

5.—*General Armstrong to Colonel William Duane.*

18 Sept. 1813.

DEAR SIR:

I shall be able to send you in a short time some topographical sketches. Kearney is now at work on them. Commodore Chauncey left us to-day for Fort George. The greater part of the enemy's land force has been carried westward. So far he has given in to the snare. It will be our business to admonish him of his error, and at a time when it cannot be repaired well or promptly. W. is better. He will soon be in motion. Keep these hints to yourself.

Agreeably to your own desire, long since expressed, I have decided on releasing you from the superintendence of the recruiting service. Totteral's Regiment will not be able to take the field in anything like its full compliment. He therefore may remain and may take the recruiting superintendence. I have given orders accordingly.

It would really appear as though the three Emperors would make a peace in Europe. If, in this arrangement, B.* give up Spain, G B. will have a large disposable force for the next campaign. Our troops are healthy, in good order and well supplied.

Yrs truly,

J. ARMSTRONG.

6.—*General John Armstrong to Colonel William Duane.*

WASHINGTON, 15 July, 1814.

SIR:

I received your two letters of the twelfth inst, the one public, the other private. The subject of the former has been much under my consideration, and I have been and am attempting to sound the depths and shoals of southern prejudice in relation to it. How long shall even history and experience go for nothing! No service in Europe rejects black or coloured men. The nations of Asia and Africa are all such. Our navy has no scruples of this kind, and yet *we* are more squeamish and stand on the complexion of our rank and file, meagre as it is. We must get over this nonsense, and much more than this, if we mean to be what to be what we ought to be. I will send an officer of the Ordnance Department to Philadelphia. Colonel

Totteral, as you state, is honorably acquitted. Hunter is not as you suppose, to be tried; his trial is over and preceded Totteral's. He is cashiered. Our Court express great regret at being obliged to pass this sentence, and the President expressed their wish that he might be permitted to resign. Gen. Lewis will no doubt take this course. Brearly was the President.

I am, dear sir,

Very respectfully Your's,

J; ARMSTRONG.

7.—*Thomas Jefferson to Colonel William Duane.*

WASHINGTON, May 23. 1801.

SIR:

I have duly received your favor of the 10th, and shall always be thankful for any information you will favor me with, interesting to our affairs, and particularly which may enable me to understand the differences of opinion and interest, which seem to be springing up in Pennsylvania, and to the subjects of uneasiness. If that State splits, it will let us down into the abyss. I hope so much from the patriotism of all, that they will make all smaller motives give way to the greater importance of the general welfare.

I now write to Mr. Boudinot, forwarding the specimens of Mr. Reich's talents as an engraver, and recommending to him consider, whether he may not be usefully employed for the public. Will you be so good, as to mention this to Reich and to desire him to present himself to Mr. Boudinot, two or three days after you shall have received this.

As to your proposition on the subject of Stationary, I believe you may be assured of the favor of every department here; you have no doubt contemplated the placing of your supplies here. My custom is inconsiderable, and will only show my desire to be useful to you.

From a paragraph in your letter to Mr. Galatin, I think you must have forgotten the particulars of what passed here on the subject of the prosecutions against you; to recall it to your mind, I will just recapitulate that I have asked if you could give me an exact list of the prosecutions of a *public* nature, against you, and over which I might have a control; observing, that wherever, in the line of my functions I should be met by the Sedition law, I should treat it as a nullity: that therefore even in the prosecution recommended by the Senate, if founded on that law, I would order a *nolle prosequi*; but out of respect to that body should be obliged to refer to the Attorney of the District to consider whether there was ground of prosecution in

* Bonaparte.

any court and under any law acknowledged of force.

I thought you expressed some dislike to a change of judicature, said you could not furnish them a correct statement of the prosecutions, but would do it after your return to the City; this at least was the impression left on my mind, and ascribed your not having furnished so specific a list of the prosecutions as would enable me to interfere with due accuracy, either to the distance of the trials or perhaps the willingness to meet the investigation before a Jury summoned by an impartial officer. The trial on behalf of the Senate being postponed, you have time to explain your wishes to me, and if it be done on a consultation with Mr. Dallas, it may abridge the operations which shall be thought proper.

I accept with acknowledgement Mrs. Bache's compliments and beg leave to tender her my sincere respects, and to yourself salutations and my best wishes.

TH: JEFFERSON.

8.—*General Horatio Gates to Colonel William Duane.*

NEW YORK, 14th Novemb: 1801.

DEAR SIR:

The 22nd of December, 1800, I paid Mr. H. Herferd, my full subscription for the *Aurora*, to the 1st of May last, for which I have his receipt. I now inclose you Eight Dollars which completes my subscription to first of May next. I request the favour you will send me your acknowledgement thereof by the post.

Continue so long as you live to be the Friend of Civil Liberty, and the "Rights of the Man;" then will you be honored by all good men in this world, and seated by the immortal Franklin in that which is to come.

Farewell, and believe me your constant Admirer and sincere friend,

HORATIO GATES.

9.—*Thomas Jefferson to Colonel William Duane.*

MONTICELLO, Nov. 13. 10.

DEAR SIR:

Your third packet is received before the second had been returned. It is now enclosed, and the other shall go by the next post. I find as before nothing to correct but those errors of the copyist which you would have corrected yourself before committed to the press. If it were practicable to send me the original sheets with the translated, perhaps my equal familiarity with both languages might enable me sometimes to

be of some advantage: but I presume that might be difficult and of little use, scarcely perhaps of any. I thank you for the copy of Williams. I have barely dipped into it a little: enough however, to see he is far short of the luminous work you are printing; indeed I think that, the most valuable work of the present age. I received from Williams some years ago his book on the claims of authors. I found him to be a man of sound and true principles, but not knowing how he got at them, and not able to trace or develope them for others. I believe with you, that the crisis of England has come. What will be its issue, it is vain to prophecy; so many thousand contingencies may turn up to affect its deviation. Were I to hazard a guess, it would be that they will become a military despotism. Their recollections of the portion of liberty they have enjoyed will render force necessary to retain them under pure monarchy. Their pressure upon us has been so severe and so unprincipled, that we cannot deprecate their fate, tho', we might wish to see their naval power kept up to the level of the other principal powers separately taken. But may it not take a very different turn? her paper credit annihilated, the precious metals must become her circulating medium. The taxes which can be levied on her people in these will be trifling in comparison with what they could pay in paper money. Her navy then will be unpaid, unclothed, unfed. Will such a body of men suffer themselves to be dismissed and to starve? Will they not mutiny, revolt, embody themselves under a popular Admiral, take possession of the Western and Bermuda islands, and act on the Algerine system? If they should not be able to act on this broad scale, they will become individual pirates; and the modern Carthage will end as the old one has done. I am sorry for the people, who are individually as respectable as those of other nations. It is her government which is so corrupt, and which has destroyed the nation. It was certainly the most corrupt and unprincipled government on Earth. I should be glad to see their Farmers, and Mechanics come here, But I hope their Nobles, Priests, and Merchants, will be kept at home to be moralized by the discipline of the new Government.

The young stripling whom you describe, is probably, as George Nicholas used to say, "in the plentitude of puppyism," such coxcombs do not serve even as straws, to show which way the wind blows.

Alexander is unquestionably, a man of an excellent heart, and of very respectable strength of mind: and he is the only sovereign who cordially loves us.

Bonaparte hates our government because it is a living libel on his. The English hate us

because they think our prosperity filched from theirs. Of Alexander's sense of the merits of our form of Government, of its wholesome operation on the condition of the people, and of the interest he takes in the success of our experiment, we possess most unquestionable proofs; and to him we shall be indebted if the rights of neutrals, to be settled whenever peace is made, shall be extended beyond the present belligerents, that is to say, European neutrals, as George and Napoleon, of mutual consent and common hatred against us would concur in excluding us. I thought it a salutary measure, to engage the powerful patronage of Alexander at conferences for peace, at a time when Bonaparte was courting him; and altho' circumstances have lessened its weight, yet it is prudent for us to cherish his good dispositions, as those alone, will be exerted in our favor when that occasion shall occur. He, like ourselves, sees and feels the atrociousness of both belligerents.

I salute you with esteem and respect,
TH. JEFFERSON.

10.—*Thomas Jefferson to Colonel William Duane.*

MONTICELLO, Feby 10, 1815.

DEAR SIR :

I wrote to you on the 24th of Nov., on the subject of Mr. Tracy's book. A Mr. Ticknor from Massachusetts was lately with me and being about to proceed to Paris within about four weeks, offers so safe a conveyance for my letters that I cannot avoid writing to Mr. Tracy. I have hoped that delay of your answer was occasioned by some prospect of publishing the work yourself; or of getting it published to your own mind, either of which I should prefer. If that be the case, only be so good as to let me know what I may with certainty say to Mr. Tracy. If it be not the case I must renew my request for the return of the MS., either with or without the translation, as you think best, that I may be enabled to discharge the trust reposed in me by Mr. Tracy.

Our late news from New Orleans is enlivening. The personal interest which British ministers find in a state of war, rather than peace, in riding the various contractors and other douceurs, on such enormous expenditures of money, and recruiting their broken fortunes, or making new ones, forbids the hope of peace, as long as by any delusions they can keep the temper of the nation up to the war-point; but their disasters of the last campaign on the northern frontier, their recent discomfiture at N. Orleans, especially if it should end in the capture of their army, the evaporation

of their hopes at Hartford, and the reprobation of their conduct by all Europe, may create a clamor, productive of peace. I suppose Cobbett will not let these things be unknown to the nation. Still the best stimulus to peace is an effective provision of men and money for war. I do not much attend to the proceedings of Congress: but as far as I have noticed them, I am not over confident in the means proposed for either. Experience, however, of what will not do, will lead them to what will, and with their good intentions, all will come right. Accept the assurance of my great esteem and respect.

TH. JEFFERSON.

GENERAL DUANE.

11.—*Thomas Jefferson to Colonel William Duane.*

MONTICELLO, Sept. 18, 18.

DEAR SIR :

Repeated enquiries on the part of Senator Tracy what has become of his book, (the MS. I last sent to you) oblige me to ask of you what I shall say to him.

I congratulate you on the brilliant affair of the "*Enterprise and Boxer*." No heart is more rejoiced than mine at these mortifications of English pride, and lessons to Europe that the English are not invincible at sea; and if these successes do not lead us too far into the Navy-mania, all will be well; but when are to cease the severe lessons we receive by land, demonstrating our want of competent officers? The numbers of our countrymen betrayed into the hands of the enemy by the treachery, cowardice or incompetence of our high officers, reduce us to the humiliating necessity of acquiescing in the brutal conduct observed towards them. When during the last War, I put Governor Hamilton and Major Hay into a dungeon and in irons, for having themselves personally done the same to the American prisoners who had fallen into their hands, and was threatened with retaliation by Philips, then returned to N. York, I declared to him, I would load ten of their Saratoga prisoners (then under my care and within half a dozen miles of my house) with double irons for every American they should misuse under pretense of retaliation: and it put an end to the practice. But the ten to one are now with them.

Our present hopes of being able to do something by land seem to rest on Chauncey. Strange reverse of expectations, that our land-force, should be under the wing of our little Navy!

Accept the assurance of my esteem and respect,
TH. JEFFERSON.

12.—*Thomas Jefferson to Colonel William Duane.*

MONTICELLO, May 31, 24.

DEAR SIR :

I received a few days ago, a pamphlet on the subject of America, England, and the Holy Alliance, and read it with unusual interest and concurrence of opinion. It furnished a simple and satisfactory key for the solution of all the riddles of British conduct and policy. While considering and conjecturing who could be its Author, I happened to cast my eye on the few words of superscription, and thought the handwriting not unknown to me. I turned to my letters of correspondence and found its tally; which left me no longer at a loss to whom my thanks should be addressed; and to return these thanks is the object of this letter.

* * * * *

I am long since withdrawn from the political world. I think little, read less, and know all but nothing of what is going on; but I have not forgotten the past, nor those who were fellow-labourers in the gloomy hours of federal ascendancy, when the spirit of republicanism was beaten down, its votaries arraigned as criminals, and such threats denounced as posterity will never believe.

My means of service are slender; but, such as they are, if you can make them useful to you in any solicitation they shall be sincerely employed; in the mean time I assure you of my continued friendship and respect.

TH. JEFFERSON.

13.—*General Henry Dearborn to Colonel William Duane.*

BOSTON, July 25th, 1810.

DEAR SIR :

I am highly gratified with the explicit frankness of your reply, and with the general tenor of your observations; how far we are to impute our present degraded situation to intrigue, or unfair management, I cannot pretend to say; but I am yet of the opinion, which I formed at Washington in the Winter of 1808-9; and which I then on all occasions expressed without reserve, and on some occasions, with more freedom than was acceptable; viz: that a strict and rigid adherence to the embargo was the only safe, sure, and effectual course that we could contemplate, short of actual War. Many of our Eastern Republicans at home were frightened, and by their communications to our members of Congress produced first, doubts, and ultimately, such a general panic, as damaged all our measures; how far that panic was supported by any individual at Washington, I possess not the means of knowing, but since

that unfortunate period we have been *falling back* to take better ground, as certain military men have done in Europe, until we have no ground to form upon, but I am satisfied that most of those men who, in or out of Congress, were induced from fear or other considerations, to abandon our strong position, were and are, honest and true at bottom, and will I presume act better in future. In all associations or societies where the members agree in sentiment on great leading principles, it can never be expected that they will agree in all the details that relate to their system, there will be some difference in opinions among the most honest and best informed, and some will act from motives that are selfish, and some, perhaps, from those of a more criminal nature, but we must take society for better or for worse, and endeavor to make the best we can of it, but I think we ought to be tender and as charitable as circumstances will permit, and to make all reasonable allowances for the common weaknesses and frailties of our associates. *But never pardon or wink at deliberate intentional crimes, especially those that partake of Treason against the society.* But we should forgive a thousand indiscretions and weaknesses, and not destroy ourselves and society, by a too stern and rigid treatment of those we might reclaim and save, by kind and charitable treatment. The foregoing remarks are intended only in relation to such members as have generally professed a full belief in our political creed.

I am not yet satisfied that it is useful or expedient to endeavor to run down Mr. G. I am apprehensive that frequent divisions and sub-division will ultimately create such *[a word illegible]* and conflicting parties as would afford some popular, unprincipled, ambitious man the means of success in an attempt at over-setting our excellent system of Government, and as evidence in point, that gentlemen of honest intentions whose political sentiments and general opinions on Government measures coincide with each other, may, nevertheless, differ in opinion on minor points, take the case of W. D. and H. D. I presume we as generally coincide in opinions on the great leading points in politics, as any men usually do, on any important subject; and yet we may probably disagree in relation to the sentiments I have hinted at in the course of this letter, but I shall not consider you the less honest or less a gentleman of sound understanding because you think it proper to pursue a particular line of conduct that I may not approve. On the whole, I think it more safe and more commendable to err on the side of charity and forgiveness, towards those we have once considered as brothers, than on the other extreme.

Your's with esteem,

H. DEARBORN.

14.—*The Emperor Yturbide to Colonel William Duane.**

MEXICO, 4th May, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR AND ESTEEMED FRIEND :

With the correspondence brought by the Schooner *Yguale* from Philadelphia, I have received letters from Mr. Richard Meade and Don Eugenio Cortes, Captain of the Imperial Navy. Both contain assurances of the good offices you have rendered to the advantage of my nation, as well in forwarding the Ammunition entrusted to the latter, as in establishing our credit, rectifying the public opinion with respect to us, and endeavoring to obtain from the commencement, the recognition of our Independence. These services which the Empire owes to your signal disinterestedness, to your humanity, and which evince a predilection for the Country in whose favor they are directed, have excited in me the most profound gratitude and impel the offer of my friendship and respect. Have the goodness, Sir, to consider these expressions as emanating from the sincerity of a frank soul.

With due consideration, Sir,

Your affectionate and faithful servant,
whose hands I kiss,

AUGUSTIN DE YTURBIDE.

15.—*Letters from Robert Morris to John Nicholson.†*

HILLS, Nov. 16th, 1797.

JOHN NICHOLSON, Esq.

DEAR SIR :

It is now 7 o'clock in the evening and I have not written you one line in all this long Cold, Chilling, Merciless day; Merciless to me for I have been unhappy on Mr. Cottringers Account. There is another *Casa* out against him and he is gone from hence. I must bring him off clear, but how to Accomplish it is the difficulty in this instance, as indeed it is in all the unfortunate cases in which you and I are involved & others with or for us. I have this Evening rec'd your notes No. 1 to 6 of this day. I am pleased that you determine to see me on Sunday and hope nothing will happen to prevent. William searched the Docket to discover the Notes on which Hunt's suits were founded in which Higbee was bail, they are not to be found there, he then applied to Mr. Tilghman, he had not them, but said he would send to Hunt for them & write to William and there the matter now rests, probably Mr. Hunt has sent them to Mary¹ against poor Boone, in that case could we not get the Action

dismissed as no Cause of Action appears on the Docket or elsewhere. I wish you would find out the Person that will advance Money to relieve Dunlap & Carleton upon an assignment of the Security they hold & a Bonus, for I don't know one that will lend a Doll^r. You say we must pay Martin & Key, but you forget that I have paid my part, being I believe all they have received. I shall be glad to have a Copy of the list of Suits & defence that you mention in No. 2 to be making out for Mr. Gibson, as my defence in most of my suits must be the same as yours.

I observe by No. 3 the course you are taking with Charles Young, but I do not know what you mean by our joint letter as I have not rec'd any from you intended for him unless one Some time ago which was then sent. I agree that the Subject of the Trustees shall as you propose in No. 4, be referred to Sundays Conference. I am glad your Family is so near you & wish mine were near me for the intercourse begins to be difficult. I have rec'd Mr. Bronson's Protests in No. 5, have signed them and enclosed the same to him at New York. Poor G. C. is so far clear but I am trembling for him.

You ask a hard question in No. 6. how shall we stop the Sale of our property, I don't know, is the only answer I can give. I suppose it must go sooner or later for we can get no help and the Cormorants must have food. Good night.

Yours,

ROB'T MORRIS.

Dec^r 4th, 1797.

D^r SIR :

What do you think of a fresh alarm now at 6 o'clock in the Evening of this Cold Night, an officer who calls himself Donaldson, Piloted by Crouch's Boy came here just now, the Dogs gave the alarm & I spoke to him out of the Window, He says he is employed by Dunwoody, so that Mr. D—— seems determined to have me if he can, I sent my Comp^{ts} to him, saying, "have patience and I will pay thee all." It seems as if I should have hot work this Week, I am however more Anxious about Jn^o Baker than any other, I wish he was clear of us & we of him.

R. MORRIS.

JN^o NICHOLSON. Esq.

16.—*Letter from William J. Duane to Henry Clay.**

PHILADELPHIA, February 5, 1825.

HON. HENRY CLAY,

Washington, D. C.

SIR :

Although I had the honor to become personal-

* The following translation was made shortly after the receipt of this letter, which was written in the Spanish language.

† From the originals in the possession of William Duane.

* From the copy in the possession of William Duane, Esq.

ly known to you, several years ago, I cannot persuade myself to address you in a manner more familiar than that here adopted, lest you should suppose me indifferent about the distinction, which even republicans recognize, between great talents and services on one side and humble efforts to be useful on the other. Indeed in writing to you at all at the present time, and especially such a letter as this may be, I fear I commit so great a trespass that I am bound to offer an apology. The only excuse, however, that I can offer is the truth, that my motives are pure even if my sentiments shall be deemed erroneous.

Indisposition has confined me to my bed for a week past. My thoughts, however, have in that time been directed towards affairs at Washington, more entirely than if I had been engaged in business. Friends who have called to see me have made known to me the current rumours of the day, and I now employ my first moment of release from a sick chamber to perform what I consider a duty to the public and to you—assuring you most truly that this letter is the spontaneous act of my heart and head.

If Gen. Jackson had never been named a candidate, I should have thought it a duty as well as a pleasure to employ every faculty that I possess to promote your elevation to the executive chair, and such would have been the case with the great mass of the people of Pennsylvania. But in Gen. Jackson I beheld a man who had fought in the two wars of the republic—who had risked life and fortune for his country; and I thought it a lesser evil that you should wait a while, than that the stain of ingratitude should be stamped upon the character of freemen. Besides it was well-known that Mr. Adams and Mr. Crawford had been for many years preparing for the campaign; and it was believed by me, and by thousands of others friendly to you, that Mr. Crawford or Mr. Adams would be elected, in consequence, unless the generous feelings of the people could be aroused for some one else. Now, however distinguished your talents and services were, they were of such a nature that we could only reason about them and appeal to the *head*, but how were the *hearts* of the people to be reached? Only by appeals to them in favor of a man who had risked his life for their lives, and his peace and fortune for theirs.

To Mr. Adams (and I am sure I speak the voice of Pennsylvania) I could not give a vote. He is considered insincere in his politics and uncertain in his views of domestic policy. To Mr. Crawford objection was not made so much on his account, as because he was the avowed candidate of a caucus—a cabal at which freemen ought to shudder.

What then was Pennsylvania to do? Could she refuse her support to the veteran Jackson?

Not without shame. She respected you, sir, for your talents and for your efforts for manufactures and internal improvements, but she said, "Mr. Clay is young; he cannot become unpopular in a few years; he will grow in usefulness; he has already a high station, and has been highly honored; we will obey the dictates of our hearts now, and those of our heads may be followed hereafter."

Such were the sentiments which made the will of Pennsylvania a torrent, carrying away all minor factions and calculating considerations. Nor is this all—After Pennsylvania had declared her wishes, although she had no right to suppose that Mr. Adams or Mr. Crawford would give up the darling object, which had been for years the subject of their own thoughts and of the exertions of their friends, it certainly was said by many Pennsylvanians, "Mr. Clay will surely not oppose Gen. Jackson, the only candidate really nominated by any portion of the people; he will support him and thus add one more claim to our regard."

These hopes, however, were unfounded; at a late hour some of your friends put you before the people of Pennsylvania, not only without a hope in that quarter but really to your prejudice everywhere. What, then, is the result? The people, so far as they have been allowed to express themselves, have declared for Gen. Jackson; but, as in some of the States the people were not allowed to obey the dictates of their hearts, the decision now rests with Congress.

The moment I found that Gen. Jackson, Mr. Adams and Mr. Crawford had been returned to Congress, I said, "Now Mr. Clay has a glorious opportunity to rivet the affections of the people in his favor; he can now show that he nearly knows and respects the popular wishes; he can now rise above the disappointment of not being one of the three returned; he can now shew that he sacrifices all private views for the public good; he will not countenance but check the intrigues which the friends of Mr. Adams or Mr. Crawford may employ to control the popular will; he will stand in the enviable position, not of a dictator or a creator of a president, but of the pronouncer of the will of a free people! What a lesson to kings—to the enemies of republics! What an example of republican virtue! What a beacon to ambitious men!"

Such, Sir, were my thoughts—thus did I anticipate safety for the republic and honor for yourself; when rumor after rumor reached this city to this effect—that Mr. Clay's friends were complaining; that they were complaining of Gen. Jackson's friends; that they were seeking to coalesce with the friends of Mr. Crawford to exclude Gen. Jackson and Mr. Adams; that they were—

trying to unite with Mr. Adams's friends to exclude Gen. Jackson and Mr. Crawford; that Mr. Clay was to be made Secretary of State, or ambassador to the republics of the South, in consequence of his throwing his influence into Mr. Adams's scale; that Mr. Clay had said that "if Gen. Jackson were president, he, Mr. Clay, would be nothing;" that Mr. Clay had told Mr. Cocke that he "had deliberately determined to give his influence to Mr. Adams."

These were the rumors, not quoted from one man or one letter, but buzzed about by every mouth; until at length some of them acquired so tangible a shape that you resolved to contradict, and did contradict them, publicly; and now the assertion and the contradiction are under the consideration of the House of Representatives. Thus, sir, be the event of any investigation there what it may, a crisis in your political life has arrived—the present is a most interesting one not only to you but to your country and the cause of liberty itself.

Suppose a committee of congress shall censure Mr. Kremer, and yet you shall with your friends afterwards coalesce with others and exclude Gen. Jackson—will suspicion be put down or complaint be silenced? If such a coalition, however honest in its views shall be formed, will not the people look with suspicion upon any honor which you may afterwards obtain? If you and your friends shall in a body oppose Gen. Jackson, and you or they shall afterwards obtain appointments from Mr. Crawford or Mr. Adams, will not such a result have a greater effect than any present vote of Congress in your favor? So that the country is in danger of losing your great and useful services, and you are in danger of losing public confidence. If you accept any high station, no argument, no vote will be able to remove popular suspicion. If you refuse any station your country will suffer, and yet you will be looked upon with jealousy.

How, Sir, would a skilful pilot guide your barque between that Scylla and this Charybdis? Allow me, however humble I may be, to point the way—*Confirm what the people have done.* They have declared for Gen. Jackson in a voice so audible that it cannot be mistaken. If they had directly voted, they would have put his election beyond doubt. What, then, can be more correct, more magnanimous than for you to say—"It may be supposed that I opposed Gen. Jackson, because, as he is a western man, his election would diminish my chances hereafter—I refute this by now saying that I sacrifice myself to the public will."

"It has been said that I opposed Gen. Jackson because I was promised a high station by his competitor—I refute this by concurring in the public sentiment."

"In short I have private objections to Gen. Jackson, but it is my duty to forget them when my country's good requires it. If another should be chosen who had a less number of electoral votes, think or speak as we may, the public will suppose that our institutions are corruptible. It is dangerous in times like these to confirm the dislike of the opposers of republics, or to create doubts in the minds of their friends. I will not be the man who will confirm the one or create the other. I vote, therefore, for the highest of the candidates on the return, for such seems to be the will of the people."

Can you doubt, sir, the result of such a course? Would it not shut the mouth of calumny? Would it not win for you the attachment of every generous heart? Whereas if a contrary course shall be pursued, and Mr. Adams or Mr. Crawford shall be elected by any coalition, no past services, no talents, however splendid, no arguments, however strong, no evidence, however clear, will be sufficient to convince the bulk of the people that the result was the effect of high considerations or honest purposes.

And thus suspicion will become confirmation strong amongst the scoffers at republics, while the honest lover of freedom will begin to doubt whether indeed republics are not as subject to decay as other forms of government. Doubt creates indifference, and indifference must end in ruin.

But if, overlooking considerations for the republic's safety, the question is asked what will be Mr. Clay's future prospects? I reply that if Mr. Clay indulges the laudable ambition to become President, he must move with the current of public opinion: if he and his friends, by voting for another, shall exclude Gen. Jackson, the result will be attributed, whether truly or not, to a coalition on conditions, and then all who formerly wished Mr. Clay well will become his most bitter enemies. They will regard him, however unjustly, as a deserter never after to be trusted; a result which many of the very persons, whom Mr. Clay may now please by opposing Gen. Jackson, will hereafter take pains to produce. Thus Mr. Clay will disappoint old friends and lean on those who will abandon him as soon as they find it their interest to do so.

But, on the other side, if Mr. Clay shall go with the people, he will disarm opposition, and enable his friends to proclaim him magnanimous and patriotic. So that, in the scale of ambition, any co-operation against Gen. Jackson must be pernicious and forever exclude Mr. Clay from the Presidency—whilst the honest, straightforward proceeding with the people must in four years put Mr. Clay where Gen. Jackson is now.

Trusting, sir, that you will excuse my frankness

in making this appeal, and that you will not consider it unworthy of consideration.*

I am with great respect, y^r ob^t s^t

W. J. DUANE.

17.—*Letter from Henry Clay to William J. Duane, in reply to the above.*†

WASHINGTON, 12th Feb. 1825.

DEAR SIR:

I received your letter of the 5th inst., which I perused with the same spirit of frankness and friendship in which it was dictated. My mind had been previously brought to a conclusion different from that at which you had arrived; and notwithstanding my high respect for you, and for your opinions, the reasoning of your letter did not vary that conclusion. I regret extremely that the subject is one on which so much diversity of opinion exists among my friends, as well as the rest of the community. Finding it utterly impossible to satisfy all even of those whom I regard, I have earnestly sought to ascertain, within myself, what it was my duty to do. And I feel entirely contented with that course which it appeared to my judgment I ought to pursue.

I remain, with much respect,

Your obedient servant,

H. CLAY.

18.—*Colonel William Duane to the Emperor Yturbe.*

PHILADELPHIA, 4th July, 1822.

Anniversary of 46th year of Independence.

N. A.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR:

I have received the flattering testimony which you have been pleased to communicate to me by your letter of the 4th of May last,‡ through the hands of Col. Eugenio Cortez, Envoy of the Mexican Empire, in the United States. To be distinguished by a vote of thanks from the Congress of the Columbian Republic, and to obtain the applause of the Supreme Chief of Mexico, its Liberator, and the friend of liberty and humanity, are to me very grateful occurrences, and call for my warmest acknowledgements.

In this eventful age, when more great men have appeared within half a Century, than in any ten Centuries preceding, at the head of nations, it is

your high fortune to stand in the same elevated rank with Washington, Napoleon and Bolivar. The name of the first will live in the admiration of all posterity, for noble self-denial, for disinterested virtue, the model of all men placed in eminent power, who shall appreciate durable glory founded in the freedom and happiness of their country, compared with the fleeting gratifications of a temporary and vain ambition, or the subjection and ignorance of their countrymen.

In your memorable address of the 27th of September, 1821, in the City of Mexico, I thought I perceived the evidence of a great and generous mind, and that, like your excellent contemporary, Bolivar, you had resolved that the new world should [*word illegible*] the example of these great men, equally illustrious, and the more illustrious from being contrasted with the old world.

The station to which good fortune, your own genius, and the hopes of the Mexican nation have elevated you, is arduous; but it requires only virtuous constancy to sustain it. The path is glorious, but its difficulties must disappear where the soul is generous and the views of the patriot are directed to secure and perpetuate the happiness of the people. No government can endure, no glory can be permanent, where the benignity of the Creator is disregarded by holding men in bondage and ignorance. The brightest glory and the best security of rulers, is the happiness of the people.

Governments which lose sight of these first duties may remain awhile, as Spain and Portugal have remained for two Centuries, the rulers existing without love, or respect, or security, living in fear and feared, dying detested, and only remembered to be execrated.

Men who are not so fortunate as to gain that eminence of confidence by which they may consecrate their renown in establishing the freedom and happiness of their Country are the most to be envied of mankind: the example of the good and the warnings of bad rulers are before them and he must be insensible to true glory, who will not choose between the benefactors and the oppressors of mankind, or who cannot enjoy that purest of all human delights which is derived from conferring happiness on millions.

I pray you, most excellent Sir, to excuse the zeal that urges these ardent sentiments, and permit a man, whom you have been pleased to say you esteem, the opportunity thus to show you that he is not indifferent or unworthy of your regards.

The first steps in all great undertakings, and in the founding of nations, above all others, are the most important, and are attended with greatest responsibility. The nation at the head of which you are placed, requires only to be made happy; what is first proposed ought therefore to be pro-

* The predictions in Mr. Duane's letter were fulfilled. Mr. Clay's friends having made Mr. Adams the President, and Mr. Adams having made Mr. Clay the Secretary of State, their administration was defeated in 1823; and Mr. Clay never succeeded in becoming President.

† From the original in the possession of Wm. Duane, Esq.

‡ Vide p. 67, ante.

foundly meditated and so adapted as to secure the objects desired; for after institutions are once laid so many interests are created by them, that even for obvious improvement the obstacles will become almost insuperable.

Another primary care of the founders of nations is that of education. The knowledge of letters, arts and sciences, is essential in the present age beyond all others, and it is by this knowledge alone that virtue can be understood or appreciated, laws and authorities apprehended and respected, and public security and happiness assured without violence and without cruelty. The most intelligent people will always be the happiest: they will be the least liable to evil dispositions; and they will be at once the most respectable and powerful.

Rulers pass away, but nations are perpetual. You possess the richest country in the universe, and your finances are not in prosperity. Intimate with fiscal affairs, I shall take the liberty of presenting in a separate memorial some ideas on the subject, meriting your immediate regard, along with some others, and should be happy to promote them by every means within my capacity.

The interests of all the nations of America are in their nature common. The nations of the Old World are jealous of the New; but the New is destined to regenerate the Old; and the powers of Europe anticipate and fear it: their efforts will be directed to retard the progress of freedom in America, to distract and divide them, and thus enfeeble and reduce them by contention. It is in the power of the nations of the New World not only to avoid these evils, but to hold the nations of Europe on their own good behaviour. Peace is the true policy of every nation; but not nation should be unprepared for War, until nations universally agree to abandon it; but it will be at all times in the power of the American nation to avert hostility and to compel the nations of Europe to be pacific towards America, by making a common American cause, and by making any injury or wrong done to one of the American Nations a wrong done to the whole, and employing not arms but other means to assure justice. The habitual state of society is a perpetual succession of exchanges, and refinement in civilized society has made the power of Commerce paramount to all others in modern times. The New World holds the keys of universal Commerce—the products of the mines of the New World are those keys—and whenever any nation of the Old World aggrieves any nation of the New, the suspension of the export of the precious metals would inflict a more grievous punishment than could be effected by any military or naval force.

Concurrent with this general and common interest of the nations of the New World, there is another great and fundamental regulation which is called for, as well for the good of your own coun-

try and the other States of America as for the benefit of universal commerce and honesty among men. It is the peculiar interest of America that the purity of the coins of the world should be maintained, because they are the standards and measures of value: they are the keys that unlock the wealth of the world; and those who hold those keys are, above all others, bound to use every precaution against the false keys, or debased coin—or that paper be not brought to supercede the precious metals. For these ends, the new States of Colombia, Peru, Chili and La Platta, as well as Gautemala have a common interest and ought to have a common compact and rule; their coins of gold and silver, whatever may be their denomination, should be of equal purity and equal weight, in the corresponding pieces. There is no motive for changing the denomination of Dollar, but all should concur in their proportional parts to the decimal ratio; and the principle of Decimals should extend to weights and measures of every kind. By these means you would save the Mexican people from all the frauds to which other nations are exposed, by discordant systems of coins, weights and measures; and they must follow in a reasonable time and order, which, whoever has the honor of first putting them in force would for that alone, merit immortality.

On these subjects, the ancient Philosopher and Naval Officer of Spain, *Viscar*, has made an effort to produce the system in Spain; and the Minister of the Colombian Republic, Don Manuel Torres, who is, perhaps, on these subjects, the ablest man living, contemplates introducing the system when he returns home, as he is expected to do, to take charge of the fiscal department of that Republic.

I have trespassed perhaps, more than I ought on your attention, but my views are directed to your true honor and glory—and may you obtain it by true wisdom; and in the establishment of that most glorious of all the monuments of human renown, the happiness, liberty and prosperity of the Mexican people, accomplish this, and no earthly felicity can be greater than your's, nor heaven hereafter.

I am, most excellent Sir,

With the highest consideration,

Your most obedient

and obliged humble Servant,

WILLIAM DUANE.

A citizen of U. S., North America,

Sometime Adj^t Gen^l in the Army.

19.--*Thomas Paine to Colonel William Duane.*

NEW ROCHELLE, NEAR N. YORK,

Sept^r. 19, 1804.

CITIZEN :

Mr. Crowninshield who is gone to Salem called

on me at New Rochelle and staid a week. He appears a sensible well disposed young man. He had a letter from you to me, but had lost it. He tells me he is to return to Philadelphia and study Physic under Dr. Rush.

This is accompanied by a piece, signed *Common Sense*, addressed to the people of New Orleans. The *Aurora*, for several weeks past, has been so filled with wrangle and dispute and that in coarse language that I had intended sending it to the *National Intelligencer*; but I see by the last three or four papers that you are again getting into your former habit of devoting the *Aurora* to useful information; a thing necessary to that paper as it is considered by distant subscribers as next to official, and therefore ought not to be blemished by disgusting personalities.

In the last piece I sent you, signed *Comus*, you abridged some of the expressions; and in the letter to the people of England, the whole of the last paragraph was omitted. You were then at Washington, and I intended writing to you about it.

Yours in friendship,

THOMAS PAINE.

20.—*Hon. Robert R. Livingston to Colonel William Duane.*

CLERMONT, 26th Sept. 1811.

SIR:

I have received your favour of the 10th inst. It would afford me great pleasure to give you any information that might contribute to vindicate the character of the statesman and philosopher in whom as an American I feel a pride, and to whom I was personally attached, having while I served with him in Congress enjoyed as much of his society as was compatible with the difference of our ages. Your letter is the first intimation I have had that his character would require support or illustration, having considered it as sealed by the confidence that his country had so often manifested in his talents and integrity, and by the general applause of Europe. When I left France, I determined to give up political pursuits, and to devote what remained of my life to those which without being quite useless to society, would leave me the tranquility suited to my age, and not call forth those irascible passions that is difficult for one much engaged in politics totally to suppress.

I have not therefore extended my inquiries into the politics of the day beyond what I find in the *Intelligencer* and the papers of this State, and have not seen that to which you allude, so that I know not on what points Dr. Franklin has been arraigned, or of course how to reply to your inquiries. All I can say therefore is, that there was,

during his mission in France, a small party in Congress to whom he was not perfectly agreeable, and, as I then believed rather on the score of little differences that had originated in our corps diplomatic in Europe (several of whom had returned and had seats in Congress) than for any public cause, for I never heard any assigned, but that his age unfitted him for the activity necessary to his station, and that it was proper, on that account, to give him a coadjutor, which it was often pressed upon me to be, and as often publicly declined from a conviction of the perfect competence of the Minister to the performance of any duty required by his situation. To remove him was never thought of, nor have I ever heard the slightest surmise of his wanting the skill, the patriotism, and the independence of his station. His success and his public letters will be lasting monuments of his talents and his address. The character of the Congress of that day will, I think, be fully vindicated by the difficulties they surmounted and the firmness by which they established their independence without the smallest sacrifice, either to their enemy or their ally, of the rights of their constituents.

The papers of the office for Foreign Affairs having been handed over to my successor, I have none that can be of use on this occasion, but the mass of my public letters and my private correspondence; and these having been boxed up for more than 20 years, I cannot immediately refer to them, and the rather as I am just setting out for New York. Should I have leisure on my return from Washington, in the course of the winter, to examine them, if I find anything that may in any way be useful to you I will take pleasure in transmitting it to you.

Be so obliging as to send to your correspondent at New York the volumes that are already, and such as may be, published, (bound and lettered) with directions to let me know (p^r steamboat) of their arrival, that I may send for them, as I am impatient to run them over.

I am, Sir, with esteem,

Your most ob. hum. Serv^t

ROB. R. LIVINGSTON.

21.—*Hon. Samuel Smith to Colonel Zebulon M. Pike.*

BALT^d 4 Aug^t 1812.

DEAR SIR:

I received your note, *en passant*, and regret I had not the pleasure to see you. We have had an outrageous affair here; it is now over and our city is again in peace and quiet, and will so remain if those gallant spirits, (who have been rioting and feasting on the characters of our best men for four years past) do not, by their folly and presumption, create some new excitement. It is a

pleasing fact that no injury to any man's property has been attempted, nor to the persons of any person except those actually engaged in shedding the blood of innocent, unarmed people, not even to those persons who escaped from the armed castle before the firing commenced. A statement of all the circumstances is now preparing by the proper authority and will soon be made public, by which it will appear that a combination was made under a full expectation of resistance; and in that case, a determination to fire on the populace.

The killed on the part of the people is an old man, a stranger, Doct^r Gales; wounded Mr. Williams, an English stone-cutter, two balls in his groin; Smith, a German baker, has lost his left arm and has two balls in his body. Others are wounded, but not seriously. On the part of the Band (as they are called) Gen. Lingan, of Montgomery-county, killed; Gen. Lee, Messrs. Hanson, Murray, Kilgore, Thompson, Hoffman, much beaten, some others injured; 15 escaped unhurt from prison. No bones broken and all will recover. They have paid dearly for this foolish frolick, and have fixed a stigma on the city that will not soon be forgotten. Gen. Hull acts like a man; he loses no time and deserves success. The grand army collects slowly; to what does it amount? The Maryland Regiment, about 356, are gone to Carlisle!!! for what? Surely that must be the wrong course, unless they should be going up the Susquehannah to meet you at Niagara. We hear no recruiting now, and I began to think that the repeal of the Orders in Council will lead to an immediate peace. I do not hear of any troops moving from Virginia, southward. I shall be glad to hear from you often, and am—

Your friend,
S. S.

22.—Colonel William Duane to Colonel Zebulon M. Pike.*

PHILA. Jan. 11. 1813.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I am not the only one who has been extremely anxious for some time and greatly gratified by the receipt of your note on the margin of the paper, by which I learn that you are up and about.* * *

Take care of yourself for every reason. Your honest Sergeant Major called to-day on his return. What a love there is in that breast! his affection for you is endearing. I need not comment on the campaign. It is now [a word illegible] a man of mind and a soldier is to be at the head of the War Department. Armstrong was proposed by the President to the Senate on Friday last, and Capt. Jones (Brearley's brother-in-law) for the

Navy; perhaps two men more capable and qualified for their respective stations could not be selected. I now hope Wilkinson will come to you as Major-general. You will, I trust, have a brigade. Cushing will also have a brigade. I wish you would send me your manuscript to aid me in ideas for the staff; you ought to publish it. I will aid you in counsel and personal aid to publish but could not undertake it as I have embarrassed myself of all books but those of my own composition, and shall not again embark in book business. * * * *

Col. Chrystis is now here, returned from Washington, full of fight. Poor Fenwick with an eye lost and right arm broken has passed off for Washington, but in excellent spirits.

* * * *

Farewell,
W^m DUANE.

23.—Hon. Pierce Butler to Colonel William Duane.

DEAR SIR:

I have been prevented by indisposition from earlier thanking you for the letter to Col. Gray,—* * * *—for your opinion on Balance of Exchange with England—the political effects—the policy of supporting the Mexican patriots—and lastly, your objections to establishing the Bank of the United States. I read, at all times, your opinions on public measures or political economy with gratification and benefit.

Your opinions on balance of exchange have long appeared to me self-evident. I am not able to comprehend how they can be questioned; yet in trying to enforce them at the Bank I have not been successful. I must believe that self-interest (unknowingly) influences the judgment of a few. As regards the policy of giving aid and support to the Mexican Patriots, the feelings of good men would soon decide, but the beneficial effects have not made the same impression on me that they appear to have made on you—first, on the ground of interest, an open generous support of them would probably bring on us a war with the LEGITIMATES; in which we would expend more dollars than the present generation would repay us. The succeeding generation (as your own experience, I believe, has told you) would not be alive to the extent of the FRIENDSHIP. There is to my mind another objection—if we are to believe the accounts from that quarter, party spirit, party feelings in the Kingdom of Mexico are nearer a balance than in other parts of Spanish America; whatever benevolent feelings may urge, policy, I suspect, can give no weight to the scale. Your excellent paper has left me no stranger to your dislike to anything in the form of a National Bank. I have, more than once, been desirous

* From original in the possession of William Duane, Esq.

of reasoning with you on that subject. As a Senator, I was one of the opponents to a National Bank.

You know enough of my character to know I am no half-way man. The scenes I have witnessed for some years past—the iniquity of money-changers, compelled me to turn my mind to some relief for the uninformed, the well intentioned part of society. I had not depth of understanding to find it anywhere but in the establishment of a moneyed institution that would give an equal value to the circulating money or paper of the country, that would equalize exchange between the different States, that would rescue the innocent and helpless from being a prey to the usurer, and would compel such infamy as the *forty banks** to hide their heads.

Allow me, as a small elucidation, to state what I experienced. When the specie payment of my first instalment to the Bank of the United States became due, I applied to a person by name Marks, to procure \$5000. He replied, "I am at present engaged, Sir, to furnish a China ship with specie." I resorted to a broker—he undertook to get the specie from New York—to shorten my narration, I had to pay eleven per cent for a bill on New York—seven and a half for turning the bill into specie—then brokerage, land carriage and insurance. So that my first payment to the Bank stood me in nineteen per cent, and this occasioned by such a system as the establishment of *Forty Banks*.

I fear I have tired you. I will close with good wishes for your welfare.

P. BUTLER,
BUTLER PLACE, June 26, 1817.

24.—Hon. Richard Rush to Colonel William Duane.

WASHINGTON, September 15, 1817.

DEAR SIR :

There is foundation for the rumours you hear. The President has seen fit to signify to me his intentions to put me in the place Mr. Adams has vacated. I have not yet been left at liberty to make it public; but feel that I do not violate the spirit of a proper reserve in thus replying to your favour of the 11th. I will confess that with my very many solitudes, I am, nevertheless, keenly alive to the distinction of being permitted to represent abroad a country whose institutions and character present so many commanding titles to our veneration. I hear so much, even from prudent men, of the oppressive costliness of the Eng-

lish mission, that I sometimes startle at the subordinate, though necessary, part of the prospect before me. Thus much to open the way for adding that, in order that my family may stand at the minimum of size and expense, I have fixed it as part of my plan to be my own private Secretary, not feeling able to take with me even a brother, whom, on other accounts, I should like to have. Next to him, I beg to assure you that I know of no one, in the whole circle of our country whom I would so soon take to England in capacity of juvenile friend and companion on such an occasion, as a descendant of Dr. Franklin's; and the more especially when, as I am sure from your description and the advantages of education which I take it for granted he has had, that I should find in Mr. R. Bache,* an amiable and accomplished young gentleman. It is, indeed, not improbable that a couple of young gentlemen may go out with me, nominally as private secretaries; but they will not be of my roof, and are to stand, if they go, upon their own independent footing in all things. I feel a confident hope that you will pardon and approve the candor which I have thus ventured upon of using with you.

* * *

A frank and friendly spirit breathes in your letter, which is really gratifying to me. It vividly recalls professional recollections by much the most interesting of my life, and produces on the spur this reply in the midst of occupations that are pressing upon me. However we may at any time find ourselves on opposite sides of a political struggle, nobody ever stands more constantly ready than I to do justice to the zeal of your motives and to your virtues as a man.

I beg you to accept the assurances of my constant respect and esteem.

RICHARD RUSH.

25.—William Maclure † to Colonel William Duane.

PARIS, 22 September, 1818.

DEAR SIR :

Knowing that you have a wish for the propagation of Pestalozzi's system of education in the United States, and thinking that it might facilitate your intention of transporting and publishing the books wrote upon that system, I have to inform you that at present it seems to take root in Ireland, and I'm informed that they have a public school in Dublin and many other private schools among the nobility in the country; that some one has translated all or most of the books

* Reference is here made to the *Forty Banks* chartered at a single session of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, most of which broke in a few years afterwards.

* Lieutenant Richard Bache (8d) of the U. S. Army. He died in 1836, being then a Captain of Ordnance.

† Mr. MACLURE was the Founder of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia.

published on the system, and that they are printed in Dublin.

* * * * *

A great inequality of property must, in the present state of society, produce a great inequality in knowledge, and the unequal divisions of those two great foundations of society, must produce an inequality of power, that is, change the elective into hereditary. Taxation is the pivot on which turn all the great changes in the division of property; if it is in proportion to each man's property, and no bar by entails, &c., to the division of property, nature is an equalizer; but if it is by indirect taxation, falling principally upon the labourers and comparatively adds every day to the property of the rich, as in England, where all society is thrown into the two extremes of poverty and excessive riches. We have copied the English in our taxation, as with us in many things else, and almost all our taxes are indirect on coats, stockings, and which the labourer wears as many of as the rich, while the rich man's stock and lands pay nothing. In case of war, the never-failing cause of taxation, the labourer is obliged to fight the battles, while the rich make their fortunes, by posts, places, contracts, &c., &c., which their influences procures them, and which is denied to every man in the state of a labourer. Now to see how rapidly we have progressed in the sublime art of taxation, you have a comparison between the taxes paid by the subjects of four great continental powers and the citizens of the United States, viz :

Population.

1816—Russia,	45,000,000.
“ Austria,	27,715,000.
“ Prussia,	10,000,000.
1817—France,	28,000,000.

Revenue in paper.

1816—Russia,	136,000,000 rubles.
“ Austria,	125½ millions florins.
“ Prussia,	42½ millions rix dollars.
1817—France,	—

In Specie.

1816—Russia,	34,000,000 rubles or—\$25,500,000.
“ Austria,	42,000,000 florins \$21,000,000.
“ Prussia,	42½ millions rix dollars \$28,500,000.
1817—France,	550 millions francs—\$100,000,000.

by which it appears that the Russian pays a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ a dollar per head per annum; the Austrian about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar per head per annum; the Prussian a little better than $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per head per annum; and the Frenchman about $3\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per head per annum; and this [*is*] all their taxation, as all goes into the public treasury and all the expenses are paid out of the same.

The United States, population 10 millions, 24 millions taxation, equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per head per

annum, besides the State Taxes, the County taxes, the township taxes, and the town taxes, which I value at $1\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per head per annum—a greater tax than any nation in the world pays except Great Britain. You might add the tax put by the banks, by forgeries, torn and defaced paper, &c., at as much, as one individual with another does not lose less than 4 dollars per annum by taking false and bad bank notes.

The present situation of France is a strong proof of the truth of the axiom that the division of property divides the knowledge. Nine hundred schools have been founded for the education of the working people, meeting every day, without the aid and against the will of the priests. It is probable that France in twenty or thirty years will be the best informed nation in Europe. The quantity of books that are sold is another proof.

I remain, with esteem,

Yours sincerely,

WM. MACLURE.

IV.—ROBERT EVELYN, EXPLORER OF THE DELAWARE.

By REV. E. D. NEILL.

ANACOSTAN HEIGHTS,

NEAR WASHINGTON, D. C.

HORATIO GATES JONES, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR:—As my classmate at the University of Pennsylvania, and because of your interest in antiquarian research, and activity as an officer of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, I address to you this communication relative to an early explorer of the Delaware, of whom I find no record in Proud, Hazard, or any of the standard histories.

Before Calvert and his Colony sailed for the Chesapeake, Captain Thomas Young of London, a gentleman of influence, received a special Commission from the King, dated the twenty-third of September, 1633, and published in RYMER'S *Fœdera*, authorizing him to fit out ships, appoint suitable officers, and explore all territories in America, with the understanding that his movements were not to be impeded by any, who had received Patents for portions of the country.

Among the officers appointed were ROBERT EVELYN, as Lieutenant, a nephew of Young, and a cousin of John Evelyn, the celebrated author of *Sylva*; Alexander Baker of St. Holborn's Parish, Middlesex, released from prison, where he had been confined as a recusant, to become cosmographer of the Expedition, because “skilful in mines and trying of metals;” and also a person by the name of Scott, commissioned as Surgeon.

In July, 1634, with two ships, Young reached Jamestown, Virginia; and, in a few days, constructed a shallop for small streams; and, soon after, sailed up the Delaware, and established a Post at *Eriwomek*, which, in Speed's Map, is not far from the mouth of the Schuylkill. Early in 1635, Lieutenant Evelyn was sent to England on special business, while Young continued to seek for a navigable inland route from the Atlantic to the South Sea. In September of this year, our historian tells us, George Holmes and others seized Fort Nassau, near the site of Gloucester, on the New Jersey side of the Delaware; were taken prisoners by the Dutch; and carried to Manhattan, whence they were carried to Jamestown, in the vessel of Captain DeVries.

After Captain Young had passed eighteen months in search of the South Sea passage, supposed to be somewhere about the fortieth parallel of North Latitude, he returned to England and requested the King to give him and his associates the right to such inland countries as they might discover. In 1637, the Governor and Council of Virginia chose Robert Evelyn, Surveyor of the Colony in the place of Gabriel Hawley; but the appointment does not seem to have been confirmed. In 1641, Evelyn was again in England, and stated in a publication, that he had, with fifteen men, traded near the Schuylkill. The next year, he came back to America and was appointed by the Province of Maryland "to take charge and command, of all or any of the English in or near about Piscattaway, and to levy, train and muster them."

Piscattaway was the locality where Father White had labored with the Indians, one hundred and twenty miles from Saint Mary, perhaps Palmer's Isle; described in a pamphlet of that day, as "containing 300 acres half mead, half wood, in it a rock forty feet high like a tower, fit to be built on for a trading house for all the Indians of the Chesapeake Gulf and lieth a mile from each shore in Susquehannock's river north."

Sir Edward Plowden, whose wife was Isabel, daughter of Peter Mariner, of Wanstead, Hampshire, England, treated her so cruelly, that twenty-five years after marriage, she was obliged to leave her husband's roof. Soon after, this family unpleasantness, Plowden arrived in Virginia; and, in 1642, visited *Eriwomek*, near the Schuylkill, "the fort given over by Captain Young and Master Evelyn." On the twenty-third of May, the sloops *Real* and *St. Martin* were sent from Manhattan to Fort Nassau, with orders to the Commissary of the post to go aboard, and enter the Schuylkill and approach the place where the English had taken possession.

If you know anything about Evelyn, let me hear from you, and believe me.

Yours truly,
EDWARD D. NEILL.

V.—THE BAPTISTS IN PENNSYLVANIA. BEING A SKETCH OF THE PENNE- PEK OR LOWER DUBLIN BAPTIST CHURCH.

By HORATIO GATES JONES.

I.—SKETCH OF THE CHURCH.

The religious Freedom which William Penn, the Founder of Pennsylvania, proclaimed as one of the organic Laws of his Colony, attracted, at the very outset, from Great Britain and also from the Continent—chiefly from Germany—persons of every religious faith. They were assured, from the well-known character of that disinterested philanthropist, who had been imprisoned for his adhesion to the doctrines of the Quakers, that they would find in his Colony protection from all persecution. Hence, we find Quakers and Church-men, Baptists and Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, and even the strange ascetic Pietists of Germany, among the earliest settlers of Pennsylvania, and all living together in harmony.

This same plan had been tested nearly half a century before, by Roger Williams, in his Colony of Rhode Island, under far more disadvantageous circumstances, and where he had advocated the grand doctrine of "soul-liberty," at a time when such a principle was regarded as one of the worst forms of heresy, and the maintenance of which was one cause of his expulsion by the authorities of Massachusetts.

Both Williams and Penn had been sorely persecuted for conscience sake; and both were, therefore, the better able to appreciate the importance of allowing every one to think and act as he thought right in matters relating to religious concerns. Penn, at the beginning of his legislation in Pennsylvania, had passed by the Assembly, the "Great Law," the first Section of which had regard to religious matters; and, among other things, provided that no person then or thereafter living in the Province, shall "at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry, whatever, contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in that respect, without any interruption or reflection; and, if any person shall abuse or deride any other for his or her different persuasion and practice, in matter of religion, such shall be looked upon as a disturber of the peace, and be punished accordingly."*

* Janney's *Life of Penn*, 211.

It is creditable to both of these noble men—living at the time they did—when religious persecution seemed to be the very essence of orthodoxy in most Churches, that although entrusted, in the organization of their Colonies, with vast powers, they incorporated in their Charters the doctrine of Religious Freedom, and never permitted any of their fellow-colonists to suffer for their religious tenets.

This principle, for which Williams, in New England, and Penn, in Great Britain and Pennsylvania, contended so nobly, has at last become universal in this country, and one of its features is incorporated in the Constitution of the United States.

Let the names of these men, who were once despised as heretics and fanatics, be written in letters of gold, for their noble advocacy of a doctrine which is now so dear to every citizen of our great Republic.

The first Baptist clergyman in Pennsylvania of whom there is any account was the Rev. Thomas Dungan, who settled at a place called Cold Spring, between Bristol and Trenton, in Bucks County. The Rev. Morgan Edwards says,* "Of this venerable father I can learn no more than that he came from Rhode Island about the year 1684; that he and his family settled at Cold Spring, where he gathered a Church, of which nothing remains [*in 1770*]" "but a grave-yard and the names of the families which belonged to it, viz, the *Dungans, Gardeners, Woods, Doyle, &c*; that he died in 1688, and was buried in said grave-yard."

This small Church disbanded in the year 1702; and its members either moved to other places or became connected with the Church whose history is now to be sketched.

The *Lower Dublin*, or *Pennepek*, Baptist Church—the first permanent Church of that faith in Pennsylvania, is situate in what was formerly the Township of Lower Dublin, now forming part of the Twenty-third Ward of the City of Philadelphia, about eleven miles North-westwardly from Independence Hall. At first it was called the *Pemmepeka*,† *Pennepek*, or *Pennypack* Church, from a small stream of water bearing that name, which runs near the Meeting-house; and it was so designated in the *Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association*, until the year 1794.

This Church may be regarded as the mother Church of the Baptists in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Delaware and Maryland, as its early Pastors were accustomed to preach

the Gospel in all of these Colonies; and hence its early history is of more than ordinary interest. The Records have been carefully preserved, and are contained in a large folio volume, which is still used for the purpose of keeping the Minutes of the Church-meetings. The Records state that "By the good Providence of God, there came certain persons out of Radnorshire in Wales, over into this Province of Pennsylvania, and settled in the Township of Dublin, in the County of Philadelphia, viz: *John Eatton, George Eatton and Jane*, his wife, *Samuel Jones*, and *Sarah Eatton*, who had all been Baptized upon Confession of Faith and Received into the Communion of the Church of Christ meeting in the Parishes of Llandewi and Nantmel, in Radnorshire, Henry Gregory being Chief pastor. Also *John Baker* who had been Baptized and a member of a congregation of Baptized believers in Kilkenny, in Ireland, Christopher Blackwell, pastor, was by the providence of God settled in the Township aforesaid."

"In the year 1687 there came one *Samuel Vaus* out of England, and settled near the aforesaid Township and went under the Denomination of a Baptist and was so taken to be."

These parties were settled in Lower Dublin, as early as 1687. The previous year, Elias Keach, a son of the famous London divine, the Rev. Benjamin Keach, an eminent author among the English Baptists, came to America. He was a gay, wild, thoughtless young man; and was converted in a most extraordinary manner.

Morgan Edwards gives the following account of Mr. Keach: "On his landing he dressed in black, and wore a band in order to pass for a Minister. The project succeeded to his wishes, and many people resorted to hear the young London divine. He performed well enough till he had advanced pretty far in the sermon. Then, stopping short, he looked like a man astonished. The audience concluded he had been seized with a sudden disorder; but, on asking what the matter was, received from him a confession of the imposture with tears in his eyes, and much trembling. Great was his distress, though it ended happily; for from this time he dated his conversion. He heard there was a Baptist Minister at Cold Spring, in Bucks County, to whom he repaired to seek counsel and comfort, and by him was baptized."*

Mr. Keach at once devoted himself to preaching the Gospel; and, in 1687, visited the region of Pennepek, and preached as opportunity offered. His labors were greatly blessed; and on

* *History of American Baptists*, 1, 10, Note.

† This is an Indian word, and, according to Heckewelder, in the language of the Lenni Lenape, or Delawares, signifies "A pond, lake or bay; water not having a current." *Bulletin Historical Society of Pennsylvania*. Vol. I. No. II, p. 122.

* *Edwards's History of American Baptists*. i, 9-10.

the twenty-first of November, 1687, he baptized four persons, viz: Joseph Ashton and Jane Ashton, his wife, William Fisher, and John Watts. These, so far as is known, were the first persons ever baptized in Lower Dublin Township.

In the month of January, 1688, the following persons organized themselves into the Pennepek Baptist Church, viz: Rev. Elias Keach, John Eaton, George Eaton and Jane, his wife, Sarah Eaton, Samuel Jones, John Baker, Samuel Vaus, Joseph Ashton and Jane, his wife, William Fisher, and John Watts.

The church book gives the following account of its constitution:

"Sometime after, about the 11th month, [January, 1688], by the advice of Elias Keach and with the aforesaid Baptized persons consent, a day was set apart to seek God by fasting and prayer, in order to form ourselves into a Church state. Whereupon Elias Keach was accepted and received for our Pastor and we sat down in communion at the Lord's table. Also at the same time Samuel Vaus was chosen and by Elias Keach with laying on of hands, ordained to be a Deacon."

Such was the founding of what may properly be regarded as the first Baptist Church in Pennsylvania. There was no pomp or ceremony; there were no white-robed priests; no letters permissory from Archbishop or other prelate. There was only the plain apostolic giving of themselves to each other and the Lord. And the little band of disciples, thus organized as a Christian Church, has continued to prosper and increase, and for a period of one hundred and eighty-one years has maintained an active and visible existence.

Mr. Keach, with that earnest zeal which characterized most of the early Baptist Ministers, traveled extensively and preached at the Falls of the Delaware, (Trenton), Philadelphia, Chester, Burlington, Middletown, Cohansey, Salem and other places, baptizing such as gave evidence of true piety. These, with such other Baptists as he found among the new emigrants, joined the Pennepek Church, so that, at one time, all the Baptists of Pennsylvania and New Jersey were regarded as general members of this Church.

For the convenience of the brethren residing in the places named, the Church appointed "General Meetings," so that opportunity was offered for closer acquaintance, communion, and fellowship. In regard to this practice, the Records state, as follows: "But however when Elias Keach was with us, we commonly acted as a particular Church, and at the general meetings all the Brethren from all parts of the

Provinces, were desired generally to come together to hear the word &c and to communicate at the Lord's Table. These general meetings were appointed twice in the year; once in the spring, about the 3d month, [May], and one time in the fall, about the 8th month. [October]. In the Spring at Salem and in the fall at Dublin or Burlington. But it is to be noted that in these times of beginning, we had not opportunity to be formed into particular Churches, for want of persons fitly qualified to oversee a Church or to carry on the work of the ministry."

It would seem that at these General Meetings, even when held out of Pennsylvania, ordinary Church business was transacted, for, at Salem, New Jersey, in May, 1688, Joseph Ashton was chosen a Deacon of the Church at Pennepek, and was ordained there, by Elias Keach, with laying on of hands.

Mr. Edwards remarks, "They were all one Church and Pennepek the centre of union, where as many as could, met to celebrate the memorials of Christ's death; and for the sake of distant members, they administered the ordinance quarterly at Burlington, Cohansey, Salem and Philadelphia; which quarterly meetings have since transformed into three yearly meetings and an Association."*

As the number of baptized believers increased in places at a distance from Pennepek, it was considered best to form separate Churches; and, hence, in New Jersey, the following were constituted, viz: Middletown, in the Winter of 1688; Piscataqua, in the Spring of 1689; and Cohansey, in the Spring of 1690; while, in the City of Philadelphia, no attempt was made by the few Baptists there, to form a Church until the second Sunday in December, in 1698, when four persons who had been baptized, in 1697, by John Watts, and five others—among them the famous John Holme, Esq.—who had been baptized in Great Britain, met in a house on *Barbadoes Lot*, at the North-west corner of Second and Chestnut-streets, and, in the words of Edwards, "did coalesce into a Church for the communion of Saints, having Rev. John Watts to their assistance."

It seems, however, from the Pennepek Church Book, that in the Spring of 1688, Elias Keach held several meetings and preached several sermons in Philadelphia; but as no mention is made of his having baptized, it is reasonable to suppose that the first baptism was by John Watts.

As Elias Keach was at first the only Baptist Minister in Pennsylvania, the brethren at Pennepek were often left without any preacher, as

* History of American Baptists, i. 8.

Mr. Keach was compelled to visit the numerous branches of the Church, in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In such emergencies, the Church held meetings for prayer and exhortation, then, as now, called "meetings for conference." Originating as they did in Pennsylvania with the Church at Pennepek, it may not be uninteresting to give the following account of their commencement, as detailed in the Church Records, viz:—"About the same time, that every Brother might have opportunity to exercise what Gifts God had been pleased to bestow upon them, for the edification of one another, with the advice and consent of our said pastor, we appointed meetings for Conference, to be held on the fifth days of the week in which this order was observed. *First*, That at one meeting, sometimes one Brother and then another and so round, used to make choice of some place of holy scripture as they pleased, to be conferred upon the next time, which in the meanwhile was left to consideration. *Secondly*, When the appointed time came, the Brethren being assembled, the usual custom observed was, for one Brother and then another to begin with prayer and then to deliver their judgment on the text appointed and our Pastor concluded. The Brethren who used most commonly and constantly to speak at these meetings were Samuel Jones and John Watts."

These exercises had the effect to bring forward such brethren as possessed gifts for prayer and exhortation, and to them the Church was accustomed to look for assistance, when Mr. Keach was absent, which, as stated, was often the case. On one occasion during his absence, the Church formally agreed that John Watts should administer the ordinance of baptism, which he accordingly did; but the candidate was not received into the Church, and soon after she became a Quaker. The administration of the Lord's Supper was however left to Mr. Keach, as his proper work.

In the year 1689, difficulties having occurred about Laying on of hands in the reception of members after baptism, Predestination, and other matters, the pastorate of Mr. Keach was brought to a close; and John Watts was chosen in his stead, being assisted by Samuel Jones, Evan Morgan and Thomas Wood, thus following, as will be observed, the custom which obtained in the apostolic times.

It seemed to be a common event, in those days of primitive simplicity, to have in the Pennepek Church, a number of gifted brethren on trial, so that the Church was seldom at a loss for a Pastor. Meetings in the week were also regularly kept up; and these "gifted brethren" were accustomed to officiate on such occasions.

Thus this little band of disciples continued

to prosper; and, in the year 1700, their number, had increased to forty-six.

Among them, as in Churches at the present day, were some troublesome and perverse spirits, tainted with peculiar views about Gospel truth. The chief one at Pennepek, was a certain *William Davis*, who at first was a Quaker preacher, then a Keithian, and finally a Baptist. He held *Sabbellian* views, which he endeavored to inculcate; but the Church, after several admonitions, were compelled to exclude him. He afterwards became a Seventh-day Baptist. To counteract the errors of Davis, and also other heresies, and to instruct the children of the members in the true Faith, John Watts was requested by the Church to prepare a Catechism, "such a one as might 'also be of use for a Confession of our faith.'" This he did, and it was published in the year 1700.

The Church, at first, was wont to meet at the houses of different members; but, about the year 1707, a house of worship was erected on a lot near the Burial-ground, the gift of Samuel Jones, one of the early Pastors. In subsequent years, additional land was presented to the Church, and some was bought, so that now there is a fine glebe attached to the building, on which sheds are erected for the accommodation of those driving to Church. There is also a grove of noble oak-trees, affording delightful shade in Summer. The Meeting-house is situated in the enclosure devoted to the Burial-ground; and is separated from the grove by a public road.

The first Meeting-house was twenty-five feet square; but, in 1760, it was repaired, and, in 1770, there was a neat stone building erected, thirty-three feet by thirty, with pews, galleries, and a stove, which latter accommodation was not to be found in all the early Meeting-houses. The present edifice was built in 1805.

The Faith of this ancient Church has always been that of the New Testament, as set forth in the "Philadelphia Confession," which was adopted by the Association, in 1742.

For some years, the ancient rite of Confirmation, or the Laying on of hands on newly baptized members, on being received into the Church, was practised; but it was afterwards regarded as a matter of indifference, and hence was discontinued. This question of "Laying on of hands" occasioned sharp disputes between them and a Welsh emigrant Church, which came from Wales, in 1701, and settled near Pennepek. The Welshmen insisted on the rite as of great importance; but finding they were opposed, in 1703, the major part of them purchased a tract of land in Newcastle-county, Delaware, whither they removed and settled—and named the place "Welsh Tract." The Church assumed

the name, and is still known as "The Welsh Tract Baptist Church."

Pennepek Church also had, for many years, *Ruling Elders*—a species of officers which most of the early Baptist Churches of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware had among them, as the early records show.

The Minutes of the Church contain the following action on the subject of Ruling Elders:

"1715. June 19th. A proposal was made for "having Ruling Elders in y^e Church; left to "consideration till next Quarterly Meeting."

"1726. June 17th. At same time y^e Church "called forth brother John Holme to take upon "him the office of a ruling elder, to which he "answered he thought himself not fitly qualified "for a place of charge and weight y^e y^e place "did require."

"1747. June 18. Bro. Vansandt was called "to the office of Ruling Elder by prayer and "laying on of hands."

When this office was discontinued does not appear; but it is certain that it was not used in 1770. The latest mention of such is in a manuscript List of Members, for 1763, when William Marshall is named as the Ruling Elder.

As a mother Church, numerous branches have sprung from Pennepek, and maintain, even to the present day, in their ecclesiastical relations, an active and prominent position. Among these were those of Middletown, Piscataqua, Cohansey, Burlington, and Salem, in New Jersey; and Philadelphia, Montgomery, Southampton, Brandywine, Frankford, and Holmesburg, in Pennsylvania.

As is well-known, *The Philadelphia Baptist Association* originated under the auspices of this Church; and to its Records we are chiefly indebted for a knowledge of the date of the organization of the Association. The "Yearly Meetings," which were held with the different Churches, were chiefly for preaching—answering to the "protracted meetings" or "convocations" of the present day. They did not consist of Delegates or Messengers from particular Churches, but all who had leisure and were so inclined gathered together and spent several days in acts of religious worship. The brethren were thus made acquainted with each other; the spirit of piety was increased; the ungodly were often converted; and fraternal intercourse was greatly promoted. As the Churches increased in number, and also in membership, various questions arose both as to matters of Faith and Discipline. It was of course desirable for all the Churches to have the same Rules and to act in unity; and yet each Baptist Church being independent of all others, it was apparent to the Pastors and Brethren, that some general meeting was necessary where such questions

could be freely and amicably discussed, and where counsel and advice could be given. Hence, it was proposed to *associate*, once a year, for this purpose, by representatives from the several Churches. This annual meeting was therefore designated by the name of an "Association;" but it had no power or authority to bind the Churches composing it, and from the very first was regarded as an *Advisory Council*—and such is the character of all the Baptist Associations in America, as well as in all other parts of the world.

The Church Records of Pennepek contain the following items concerning the formation of the Philadelphia Association, which are deemed of sufficient importance to form part of this sketch.

"1706. At our yearly meeting held at Philadelphia the 21, 22 and 23d days of September, "it was agreed by our brethren from Middletown, "in East Jersey and us, that there should be a "meeting held yearly for as many of us as could "meet those with them at Middletown, with them "that could come there from other parts, to be "held on the third Lord's day in May."

"1707. Before our general meeting held at "Philadelphia in the 7th month [*September*] "1707, it was concluded by the severall congregations of our Judgment, to make choyse of "some particular Brethren such as they thought "most capable in every congregation & those "to meet at the yearly Meeting, to consult about "such things as were wanting in the Church "and set them in order, and those brethren met "at the said yearly meeting which begun the "27th of the 7th month, on the 7th day of the "week, agreed that the said meeting should "be continued till the third day of the week, "in the work of the publick ministry and by "whom the publick ministry of the word should "be carried on."

The Churches thus uniting in an Association—the first formed in America—were the *Pennepek*, in Pennsylvania, the *Welsh Tract*, in Delaware, the *Middletown*, *Piscataqua* and *Cohansey* in New Jersey.

From that day until the present time, the Pennepek, or Lower Dublin, Church has been a member of the Philadelphia Association, except during a period of fourteen years. After a connection of one hundred and twenty years, on the twenty-ninth of October, 1827, she withdrew from the Association, and for five years remained unassociated; but, in 1832, she formed one of the constituents of The "Central Union Association," which was organized in the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia, on the thirty-first of July, in that year. On the fourth of October, 1841, she withdrew from that body and united again with the Philadelphia Association, and is at the pres-

ent time, the only one of the original Churches connected with the Association.

The increase in membership by baptism was at first very gradual. Prior to the year 1800, the highest number baptized in one year, judging from the records, was six.

From 1798 to 1804—a period of six years—there were no baptisms, but the services of the sanctuary were faithfully kept up under the pastoral care of Dr. Samuel Jones. In the latter year, a glorious work of grace manifested itself and a revival commenced, continuing until the venerable man of God was removed from the Church militant to the Church triumphant. In 1804, twenty-two were baptized; in 1805, twenty-four; in 1806, ten; in 1807, seventeen; in 1808, twenty-five; and in 1812, seventeen. This precious ingathering of souls seemed a fitting close to the faithful and laborious pastorate of over half a century.

The whole number baptized from 1762, when the Minutes begin to give the numbers, to 1800, a period of thirty-eight years, was sixty-three; and the membership had increased from fifty to seventy-five; while during the next thirteen years, the number baptized was one hundred and twenty-eight, and the membership had increased to one hundred and twenty-eight. The largest number baptized in any one year was ninety, in 1850, during the pastorate of Rev. Richard Lewis; and the next largest number was seventy-eight, during the pastorate of Rev. Alfred Harris. The greatest number received during any one pastorate was one hundred and fifty-six, during the seven years' pastorate of the Rev. James M. Challiss.

The total number baptized into the fellowship of this Church cannot be ascertained, but it must be over eleven hundred. Of these, seventeen were baptized by Elias Keach; twenty-seven by John Watts; twenty-nine by Abel Morgan; ninety-two by Jenkin Jones; one hundred and thirty-eight by Dr. Samuel Jones; twenty-eight by Jacob Gregg; one hundred and twenty-eight by David Jones, Jr.; one hundred and fifty-six by James M. Challiss; one hundred and twelve by Richard Lewis; and eighty-nine by Alfred Harris.

The present Pastor (Rev. William E. Cornwell) has baptized about seventy persons.

It will thus be seen that this ancient Church, during the present century, has experienced an almost continuous experience of the Divine favor.

During her long existence as a visible Church, she has had but nineteen Pastors, and in her earlier history, she had two or three Ministers at the same time, who labored together in word and doctrine as occasion offered. This arose from the fact that the "gifted brethren" were

brought forward at the "Conference meetings." John Watts, Evan Morgan, Samuel Jones and Joseph Wood, were four brethren whose "gifts" were thus exercised, and who were ordained to the work of the ministry, and in turn were the Pastors of the Church. Eight of her Pastors were native-born Welshmen; and, for many years, Pennepek was the point to which the Welsh emigrants were accustomed to direct their steps, on their arrival in America.

As a Church, she has done much for the cause of Education; and one of her Pastors, the Rev. Samuel Jones, D.D., for many years kept a private school where young men were taught Theology. The name of Pennepek, or Lower Dublin, was known throughout the length and breadth of the land as the focus of Baptist influence. Twenty-two persons have been sent forth by this Church to preach the Gospel. The present membership of the Church is over two hundred and fifty. There are now in Philadelphia, forty Baptist Churches, with about fourteen thousand members, and in the entire State of Pennsylvania there are four hundred and fifty Churches, with fifty thousand, four hundred, and ninety-seven communicant members.

II.—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE PASTORS OF THE LOWER DUBLIN BAPTIST CHURCH.

I.—The founder and first Pastor was the Rev. ELIAS KEACH. He was born in Southwark, London, in the year 1666; and was the son of the famous BENJAMIN KEACH, Pastor of the Baptist Church, in *Horsely-down*. Of his early education we have no information, but it was no doubt liberal, as his father was a learned man. Like many young men of that day, Elias started off to see the world; and, in 1686, he arrived at Philadelphia, which had been founded four years. He was a wild, giddy fellow, and passed himself off for a Minister, dressing in black and wearing a band. Morgan Edwards, who relates the story, says that the project succeeded; and many people resorted to hear the young London Divine. In the middle of his sermon he suddenly stopped, as if attacked with illness; and, upon inquiry by the audience, he burst into tears and confessed with trembling that he was an imposter. From that hour he dated his conversion; and learning that there was a Baptist Minister at Cold Spring, in Bucks-county, named Thomas Dungan, he at once repaired to him for counsel and advice, and in due time was baptized by him.

The following year, we find him at Pennepek; and, in January, 1688, he was one of the constituents of the Pennepek Church, becoming its Pastor, and continuing in that relation until 1689, when the pastoral relation was dissolved.

He travelled extensively in Jersey and Pennsylvania, preaching the Gospel, until 1692, when he returned to England, and was not only a popular, but a very useful, Minister. He became Pastor of a Church, which he was instrumental in gathering, in Ayles-street, Goodman's-fields, London, in April, 1693; and so successful was he, that in February, 1694, he wrote to Rev. John Watts, that in nine months he had baptized about one hundred and thirty persons. He remained the Pastor of that Church until the twenty-seventh of October, 1699, when he died, after a brief illness, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by Rev. Nathaniel Wyles, and is entitled, *Death's Arrest, the Saint's Release*.

Mr. Keach wrote and published several works. First: Four Sermons preached prior to 1694, in Pinner's Hall. Second: A Confession of Faith, Church Covenant, Discipline, &c. Third: Two Sermons on *The Nature and Excellency of the Grace of Patience*.

While in Pennsylvania, Mr. Keach married Mary Moore, a daughter of the Hon. Nicholas Moore, who was Chief-justice of Pennsylvania, and after whom the Manor of Moreland was named, he being the owner of that tract of land. They had an only daughter, Hannah, who married Revitt Harrison, of England, and had a son, John Elias Keach Harrison, who came to America about the year 1734, and lived at Hathborough, and was a member of the Baptist Church of Southampton, in Bucks-county, Pennsylvania.

The widow of Judge Moore subsequently became the wife of John Holme, Esq., then of Philadelphia, but afterwards of Salem, N. J.

II.—REV. JOHN WATTS, the second Pastor, was born on the third of November, 1661, at Lydd or Leeds, in the County of Kent, England, and came to America about the year 1686. He was baptized at Pennepek, on the twenty-first of November, 1687, by Mr. Keach; and was one of the first four converts at that place, and a constituent of the Church. He early gave evidence of decided talents; and the same year the Church was organized, he was called to the ministry. His labors proved so acceptable, that when Mr. Keach resigned, Mr. Watts was chosen Pastor. He was assisted in his duties by Messrs. Evan Morgan, Samuel Jones, and Joseph Wood—the latter brethren officiating when Mr. Watts was called to other places.

Mr. Watts was a sound Divine, and a man of some learning. He wrote a book, called *Davis Disabled*, in reply to the heresies of a person named William Davis, who had been a member of Pennepek. This work was never printed. He also wrote a Catechism and Confession of Faith, which was printed in 1700.

The pastorate of Mr. Watts continued from the tenth of December, 1690, to the twenty-seventh of August, 1702, when he died, in the forty-first year of his age. He was buried in the grave-yard in the rear of the Meeting-house; and his tombstone has on it the following acrostical inscription:

"Intered here I be
 "O that you could now see,
 "How unto Jesus for to flee
 "Not in sin still to be.
 "Warning in time pray take
 "And peace by Jesus make
 "Then at the last when you awake
 "Sure on his right hand you'll partake."

III.—The Rev. EVAN MORGAN, the third Pastor, was born in Wales, and came to America at an early period. He was a Quaker, but left with George Keith's party, in 1691. He was baptized, in 1697, by Thomas Rutter, a Keithian Baptist Minister, at Southampton, Bucks-county; and, the same year, renouncing his Quakerism, he was received into Pennepek. He was called to the ministry in 1702, and was ordained, on the twenty-third of October, 1706, by Rev. Thomas Killingworth and Rev. Thomas Griffiths.

Mr. Morgan died on the sixteenth of February, 1709, and was buried at Pennepek. He was a smart, intelligent man.

IV.—The Rev. SAMUEL JONES, the fourth Pastor, was born on the ninth of July, 1657, in the parish of Llanddwi, and County of Radnor, Wales, and came to America about 1686. He was baptized, in Wales, in the year 1683, by Henry Gregory, of Radnorshire; and was a constituent of the Pennepek Church. He was called to the ministry in 1697; and was ordained on the twenty-third of October, 1706, at the same time Evan Morgan was, with whom he had joint charge of the Church.

Mr. Jones died on the third of February, 1722; and is buried at Pennepek.

The ground on which the Meeting-house stands was given by him; and he also gave to the Church a number of valuable books.

V.—The Rev. JOSEPH WOOD, the fifth Pastor, was born in 1659, near Hull, in Yorkshire, England, and came to America about the year 1684. He was baptized by Mr. Keach, at Burlington, New Jersey, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1691, and was ordained on the twenty-fifth of September, 1708, at which time he assisted Messrs. Morgan and Jones in the ministry. He died on the fifteenth of September, 1747, and was buried at Cold Spring, Bucks-county.

VI.—The Rev. ABEL MORGAN, the sixth Pastor, was born in the year 1673, at Alltgoch, in the parish of Llanwenog, Cardiganshire, South Wales, and entered on the ministry in the year

1692. He commenced preaching at the age of nineteen; and was ordained at Blaenewgent, in Monmouthshire. Enoch Morgan, the third Pastor of the Welch Tract Church, was his younger brother; and Benjamin Griffith, of Montgomery, was his half brother. They were all descended from Morgan Ap Ryddarch.

He came to America in 1711, reaching Philadelphia on the fourteenth of February, and was called to the care of Pennepek Church, preaching alternately there and at Philadelphia, with great acceptance.

In addition to his duties as a Minister, he gave himself to the work of an author; and prepared, in the Welch language, *A Concordance of the Holy Scriptures*. He did not, however, live to see it published; but it was printed in 1730, and contains an Introduction by his brother, Enoch. Mr. Morgan also prepared a Welsh *Confession of Faith*, which was published. He died on the sixteenth of December, 1722, at the age of forty-nine years. His remains are interred now in the lot of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia, in Mount Moriah Cemetery.

VII.—The Rev. JENKIN JONES, the seventh Pastor, was born about the year 1686, in the Parish of Llandudoch, Pembrokeshire, Wales, and came to America in 1710. He became Pastor of the Pennepek Church, on the seventeenth of June 1726; but resided in Philadelphia, and officiated for the Church there, which was styled a branch of Pennepek. He had William Kinnersley as one of his assistants, and also Joseph Wood, who aided as well as he could. Mr. Kinnersley was born near Leominster, in Herefordshire, England, in 1669; and came to America, on the twelfth of September, 1714. He was never ordained. He died on the thirteenth of February, 1734; and is buried at Pennepek. His son, EBENEZER KINNERSLEY, was baptized at Pennepek, and became a Minister; but was more distinguished as a Professor in the College of Philadelphia, and for his attainments as a philosopher, having made, in connection with Dr. Franklin, many important discoveries in Electricity.

Mr. Jones continued to be Pastor until the third of May, 1746, when he was dismissed to become one of the constituents of the Philadelphia Church, which was organized on the fifteenth of May, 1746. He became their first Pastor after their separate organization, and continued such until the sixteenth of July 1760, when he died at the age of sixty years. His remains now repose in the Mount Moriah Cemetery. He was a man of considerable abilities, and was the chief cause of having the law of Pennsylvania altered so as to enable dissenting Ministers to perform the marriage ceremony. He was, be-

sides, a generous man, leaving to the Church a legacy towards buying a silver cup for the Lord's table; and having also, partly at his own cost, built a Parsonage-house.

VIII.—The Rev. PETER PETERSON VANHORNE, the eighth Pastor, was born on the twenty-fourth of August, 1719, at Middletown, Bucks-county, Pennsylvania; and was bred a Lutheran. Having embraced the principles of the Baptists, he was baptized on the sixth of September, 1741; and having been called to the ministry, he was ordained, on the eighteenth of June, 1747. He became Pastor, on the thirty-first of October, 1747; and continued to labor with acceptance until the seventh of February, 1762, when he resigned; and on the twenty-third of June, 1764, he formed one of the constituent members of the Baptist Church at New Mills, now Pemberton, in Burlington-county, New Jersey; and became its first Pastor. He continued such until the second of April, 1768, when he resigned, and returned to Lower Dublin, Pennsylvania. On the seventh of April, 1770, he was chosen Pastor of the Cape May-church, but resigned in 1775.

In the year 1785, he became Pastor of the Salem Church, Salem-county, New Jersey; and continued in the pastorate until the tenth of September, 1789, when he died in the seventy-first year of his age.

IX.—The Rev. SAMUEL JONES, D.D., the ninth Pastor, was born at Cefen y Gelli, Bettus Parish, Glamorganshire, South Wales, on the fourteenth of January, 1735, and was brought to America by his parents, in 1737.

His father, Rev. Thomas Jones, was ordained, in 1740, as Pastor of the Church at Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania. Samuel received a liberal education at the College of Philadelphia; and obtained the Master's Degree, on the eighteenth of May, 1762. He at once gave himself to the work of the ministry; and on the eighth of January, 1763, he was ordained at the College Hall, at the instance of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia, of which he was a member. The same year, he became Pastor of the united Churches of Pennepek and Southampton; but, in 1770, he resigned the care of the latter and devoted himself entirely to Pennepek; and continued to occupy that position until his death—a period altogether of fifty-one years.

Dr. Jones was deservedly honored and esteemed by all the Churches of our faith in the country. His learning gave him a prominent position; and his counsel was sought, not only in the Association, but elsewhere. When Rhode Island College was projected, he repaired to Newport and aided in the preparation of the Charter; and when Dr. Manning died, the Presi-

dency of the College was offered to him; but he declined it. With the work of the ministry he connected that of a teacher of young men in Theology; and was equally distinguished in both capacities. His Academy was located on his farm, near the Church; and he sent forth many young men who became distinguished preachers of the Gospel.

Dr. Jones was the author of several small works; but, besides his Circular Letters, none were printed, except a Sermon, called *The Doctrine of the Covenant*, preached in 1783; *A Century Sermon*, preached in October, 1807, before the Association; and a small handbill, on *Laying on of hands*, which was replied to by Rev. David Jones, of the Great Valley Church.

Dr. Jones was honored with degrees from several Colleges. In 1769, Rhode Island College conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts; and, in 1788, the University of Pennsylvania that of Doctor of Divinity.

He died at Lower Dublin, on the seventh of February, 1814, in the eightieth year of his age, and was buried in the rear of the Church.

X.—JACOB GRIGG, the tenth Pastor, was born in England, and came to America in the early part of the present century. When very young, he professed religion, united with a Baptist Church in England, and commenced to preach. Soon after, he entered the Bristol Academy and there prosecuted a limited course of study; and left to accept an appointment, as a Missionary to Sierra Leone, Africa; but soon afterwards resigned and settled in America.

He first preached at Norfolk, Virginia, and at Portsmouth, and Upper Bridge. In a few years, he removed to Kentucky and became Pastor of a Church; but he soon left and went to Ohio. In 1808 or 1809, he returned to Virginia and opened a school in Richmond; and preached either in the vicinity of that city or for the First Church.

In December, 1815, he became Pastor of the Lower Dublin Church, and continued such until the first of September, 1817. He then, for about eighteen months, was Pastor of the new Market-street Church, in Philadelphia. Subsequently, he returned to Virginia; and was employed either in teaching or preaching as an itinerant. He died in Sussex-county, Virginia, after a few days' illness, in 1836. He possessed extraordinary powers of mind, and a most tenacious memory. As an evidence of the retentiveness of his memory, it is said that while on the ocean, after leaving his native land, he committed to memory the Old and New Testaments and the whole of Watts' Psalms.

XI.—The Rev. JOSHUA P. SLACK, the eleventh Pastor, became such, on the first of September,

1817, and remained until October, 1821. He was a student at Dr. Staughton's Theological School, in Philadelphia. He died at Cincinnati, Ohio, on the nineteenth of August, 1822. Nothing of his early history is known.

In the private Diary of Rev. David Jones, his successor, there is the following reference to his death, under date of the first of September, 1822: "This morning, after service, I announced to 'the people the unwelcome intelligence of 'the decease of Brother Joshua P. Slack, my 'predecessor in the ministry here. It was a 'great stroke to them generally, as they had not 'heard anything of his sickness. He died at 'Cincinnati, Ohio, on the nineteenth of August."

XII.—The Rev. DAVID JONES, JR., the twelfth Pastor, was born at Brachodnary, in the Parish of Llanbrynmair, Montgomeryshire, North Wales, April, 1785; and, in 1803, came to America. In early life, he lost both parents, and was placed under the care of aunts, whose indulgence had well nigh proved his ruin. He first settled on the Big Miami River, Ohio, being in the employ of a Mr. Hughes, who had brought him to America. He was then a Pædo-baptist; but removing to Columbus, where there was a Baptist Church under the care of Rev. William Jones, he became an attendant there. Thinking that he might be called upon to defend his views, he studied Dr. Lewis's *Body of Divinity*, in Welsh; but was soon convinced that his sprinkling was not Baptism; and, ere long, he was baptized by the Pastor of the Columbia Church. Having exercised his gifts, he was soon licensed by the Duck-creek Church; and then he became Pastor of the Beaver-creek Church, and at the same time taught a small school. In 1810, he resigned his pastorate; traveled extensively through several States; and, in October, attended the Philadelphia Association and visited Lower Dublin, the residence of Dr. Samuel Jones, under whom he studied Theology; and at the same time united with his Church. He then supplied the Church at Frankford; and, in 1812, became its Pastor, and so continued until 1814.

In January, 1814, he was called to the First Church, at Newark, New Jersey; and he remained there eight years. On the first of January, 1822, he became Pastor of the Lower Dublin Church, and sustained that position until his death, which took place on the ninth of April, 1833, at the age of forty-eight years.

Mr. Jones was the "*David*" in a small work on Baptism, entitled *Letters of David and John*. "John" was the Rev. John L. Dagg, D.D., then of Philadelphia, but now of Hopkinsville, Kentucky.

Mr. Jones was much beloved wherever known.

XIII.—The Rev. JAMES MILBANK CHALLISS, the thirteenth Pastor, was born in Philadelphia, on the fourth of January, 1799; was baptized in Salem, New Jersey, on the nineteenth of October, 1817, by Rev. Joseph Sheppard; and was licenced on the twenty-fourth of June, 1821, by the Salem Church.

Mr. Challiss was ordained by the Church at Upper Freehold, Monmouth county, New Jersey, on the seventh of December, 1822; but he had been preaching for that Church since June of that year. He remained as Pastor until March, 1838,—a period of about sixteen years.

Mr. Challiss became Pastor of Lower Dublin, on the thirty-first of March, 1838; and continued there until the first of April, 1845. He was subsequently Pastor at Moorestown, New Jersey, from April, 1845, to March, 1852; and at Cohamsey—one of the constituent Churches of the Philadelphia Association—from April, 1852, to March, 1860.

He retired from pastoral duties; and after residing for some years at Bridgeton, New Jersey, he died there on the fifteenth of April, 1868, aged sixty-nine years.

XIV.—The Rev. THOMAS ROBERTS, the fourteenth Pastor, was born in Denbighshire, North Wales, on the tenth of June, 1783; came to America in October, 1803; and settled in the State of New York. He was baptized by Rev. John Stevens, on the ninth of March, 1806; and by invitation of Rev. Dr. David Jones, Pastor of the Great Valley Church, Mr. Roberts became co-pastor with him, and was there ordained, in 1815, by Rev. Dr. Staughton and Rev. Messrs. David and Horatio G. Jones.

When the Mission to the Cherokee Indians was founded, Mr. Roberts went out as a Missionary with Rev. Evan Jones; and upon his return, he became Pastor at Lower Dublin, on the third of August, 1845, and so continued until the first of April, 1847. Although in the Minutes he is styled “a supply,” yet he was in effect their Pastor; and was so returned on the Minutes of the Association.

Mr. Roberts was also Pastor of the ancient Church at Middletown, New Jersey. He published a small treatise on Baptism.

He died at Middletown, on the twenty-fourth of September, 1865, aged eighty-two years.

XV.—The Rev. RICHARD LEWIS, M.D., the fifteenth Pastor, was born on the twenty-fifth of July, 1817, at Llanidolles, North Wales, but left that place when very young. He was baptized in the year 1833, when sixteen years of age, by Rev. Cornelius Morrell, Pastor of the Baptist Church at Stalybridge. The following year he was called to exercise his gifts, and was licensed to preach; and, at the same time, he became Principal of

a flourishing Seminary. Meanwhile he prosecuted his studies under Mr. Morrell.

In June, 1841, Mr. Lewis embarked for America; and, on his arrival, spent some time in New York, but eventually made Philadelphia his abode. In 1842, he became Pastor of the Mount Tabor Church, in Philadelphia, where he remained until 1847. On the twenty-seventh of April, 1847, he commenced his pastorate at Lower Dublin, but resigned in 1852, and left on the twenty-fifth of April, in that year. He then labored as Pastor of the Church at Holmesburg, until 1860, when he resigned.

Mr. Lewis afterwards studied medicine at the Pennsylvania, Jefferson, and Homeopathic Medical Colleges, and graduated at the latter as M. D. He now resides at Frankford and practices medicine.

XVI.—The Rev. WILLIAM HUTCHINSON, the sixteenth Pastor, was born in the town of Drumlample, County of Londonderry, Ireland, in 1794; and came to America in the year 1819.

He was baptized at Cazenovia, New York, in 1820, by Rev. John Peck, and was licensed, by the Cazenovia Church, in June, 1821. He entered Hamilton Institution, and graduated in 1824, and was ordained that year at Cazenovia. He returned to Ireland, and preached to his countrymen under the Patronage of “The London Baptist Irish Society.” In 1827, he again came to America; and, in 1828, became Pastor of the Church at Brandon, Vermont, where he labored for three years. While at Brandon, he established *The Vermont Telegraph*, a weekly religious newspaper, of which he became its first Editor. In 1831, he became Pastor of the Church at Amenia, Dutchess-county, New York, and continued there until 1833, when he removed to Fayetteville, Onondaga-county, and officiated for about three years as Pastor of the Church in that place. In 1836, he went to Oswego, and labored as Pastor of that Church, until the fifteenth of December, 1852, when he was chosen Pastor of the Lower Dublin Church, and remained such until December, 1856, when he resigned.

XVII.—The Rev. ALFRED HARRIS, the seventeenth Pastor, was born in 1829, at Bulchmawr, Pembrokeshire, South Wales; and came to America in 1841. He was baptized by his father at Remsen, Oneida-county, New York, in the Winter of 1842. He was licensed by the Remsen Church, of which his father was Pastor. He was educated at a Free Will Baptist Institution at Whitesboro', New York; and was ordained at the Berean Baptist Church, in the town of Marey, New York, for which Church he preached about six years. Mr. Harris was afterwards called to the charge of the Beakley-

ville and Upper Mount Bethel Churches in Pennsylvania, and remained with them one year, when he became Pastor of the Willistown Church. After serving that Church for two years, he became Pastor of Lower Dublin, on the sixteenth of March, 1857; and labored with much success until March, 1860, when he resigned, and took charge of the Church of Hoboken, New Jersey.

Mr. Harris has contributed numerous articles to the *Welch Magazines*, and is able to preach in that language.

XVIII.—The Rev. GEORGE KEMPTON, D.D., the eighteenth Pastor, was born on the twenty-ninth of August, 1810, in the Parish of St. Thomas, South Carolina.

He was baptized in February, 1832, and joined the Robertsville Church, by which he was licensed, on the twenty-second of December, in that same year.

In January, 1833, he entered Furman Theological Institution; where he remained two years. In October, 1835, he entered the Freshman Class, of Madison University, then called Hamilton Institution, and graduated there in the Arts, in August, 1839. In 1840, he was called as a supply by the Church at Smyrna, South Carolina, and while there was ordained; and the following year he became Pastor of the Robertsville Church, where he remained until 1844, when he was called to the Spruce-street Church, Philadelphia. In 1852, he removed to New Brunswick, and became Pastor of the Church at that place; and continued there until 1857, when he was called to the Pastorate of the Church at North-east, Dutchess-county, New York.

In 1852, the Honorary Degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon Mr. Kempton, by the University at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania; and in 1857, he received the Degree of Doctor of Divinity from Madison University, at Hamilton, New York. In October, 1860, he became Pastor of the Lower Dublin Church.

Dr. Kempton has preached several sermons which have been printed. He resigned the charge of the Church in 1865; and now resides at Hammonton, New Jersey.

XIX.—The Rev. WILLIAM E. CORNWELL, the nineteenth Pastor, was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1836. He was baptized at Bridgeton, New Jersey, on the thirteenth of February, 1853; and commenced to study for the ministry in the Spring of 1854; and on the twenty-eighth of July, 1859, he was graduated at the Theological Department of the University at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.

He was ordained on the twenty-sixth of Octo-

ber, 1859, at Woodstown, New Jersey; and was subsequently Pastor of the Church at Canton, Salem-county, New Jersey.

On the eighteenth of March, 1866, he commenced his labors as Pastor of the Lower Dublin Church, and still continues to hold that honorable position. During his pastorate he has baptized a large number; and a Mission Chapel has been built and dedicated, at Fox Chase, a few miles from the parent Church.

The following tabular statement will give a brief summary of the various Pastors, and the length of each pastorate:

ELIAS KEACH served the Church from January, 1688, to 1689.

JOHN WATTS, from December 10, 1690, to August 27, 1702.

EVAN MORGAN, from October 23, 1706, to February 16, 1709.

SAMUEL JONES, from October 23, 1706, to February 3, 1722.

JOSEPH WOOD, from September 25, 1708, to September 15, 1747.

ABEL MORGAN, from February 14, 1711, to December 16, 1722.

JENKIN JONES, from June 17, 1726, to May 3, 1746.

PETER PETERSON VANHORNE, from October 31, 1747, to February 7, 1762.

SAMUEL JONES, D.D., from January 1, 1763, to February 7, 1814.

JACOB GRIGG, from December, 1815, to September 1, 1817.

JOSHUA P. SLACK, from September 1, 1817, to October, 1821.

DAVID JONES, JR., from January 1, 1822, to April 9, 1833.

JAMES M. CHALLISS, from March 31, 1838, to April 1, 1845.

THOMAS ROBERTS, from August 3, 1845, to April 1, 1847.

RICHARD LEWIS, from April 27, 1847, to April 25, 1852.

WILLIAM HUTCHINSON, from December 15, 1852, to December, 1856.

ALFRED HARRIS, from March 16, 1857, to March, 1860.

GEORGE KEMPTON, D.D., from October 7, 1860, to April 1, 1865.

WILLIAM E. CORNWELL, from March 18, 1866.

III.—LICENTIATES.

The Church, during its long existence, has granted liberty or license to preach to the following persons, many of whom subsequently became eminent Ministers of the Gospel, viz:

JOHN WATTS,	EVAN MORGAN,
SAMUEL JONES,	JOHN HART,

JOHN SWIFT, WILLIAM KINNERSLEY,
 GEORGE EAGLESFIELD, GEORGE EATON,
 EBENEZER KINNERSLEY, JOSEPH BULL,
 PETER EATON, WILLIAM VANHORNE,
 PETER SMITH, JOHN PITMAN,
 BURGISS ALLISON, JOHN STANCLIFF,
 GEORGE GUTHRIE, CHARLES BARTOLETTE,
 JOHN BOOZER, DAVID BATEMAN,
 JOSEPH WRIGHT, CHARLES E. WILSON.

IV.—*RULING ELDERS.*

Messrs. John Holme, John Vansandt, and William Marshall were the only persons who were chosen to act as Ruling Elders.

V.—*DEACONS.*

The following persons have been elected as Deacons:

SAMUEL VAUS, January, 1687.
 JOSEPH ASHTON, May, 1688.
 SAMUEL JONES and JOSEPH WOOD, October, 9, 1699.
 GRIFFITH MILES, October 23, 1706.
 JOHN HART, June 16, 1721.
 DANIEL DAVIES, December, 1721.
 GEORGE EATON, June 17, 1726.
 ALEXANDER EDWARDS, August 2, 1746.
 CRISPIN COLLETT, May 2, 1747.
 THOMAS WEBSTER, June 6, 1758.
 JAMES DUNGAN, and JOSEPH ENGLS, March 30, 1775.
 JOHN WRIGHT, February 3, 1776.
 BENJAMIN DUNGAN, March 30, 1782.
 THOMAS HOLME, August 2, 1806.
 JOSEPH WRIGHT, October 1, 1814.
 THOMAS MILES, 1814.
 JOHN FOSTER, April 10, 1817.
 MORGAN HOLME and THOMAS SCATTERGOOD, October 10, 1831.
 JOHN NEVILLE and JACOB W. OTT, August 5, 1839.
 JOHN BLAKE and BENJAMIN M. DUNGAN, February 5, 1844.
 GEORGE SNYDER and SHADRACH MILES, December 25, 1849.

VI.—*ADDITIONS TO THE CHURCH BY BAPTISM; AND TOTAL MEMBERSHIP IN EACH YEAR.*

Year.	Bap.	Total.	Year.	Bap.	Total.	Year.	Bap.	Total.
1687	4		1750	2		1822	10	193
1688	3		1753	2		1823	5	192
1691	4		1755	4		1824	3	191
1696	2		1761	3	50	1825	2	188
1697	8		1763	6	58	1826	2	140
1698	2		1764	2	54	1827	5	143
1699	4		1770	1	50	1828	8	
1700	3	46	1771	1	47	1829	4	
1701	2		1772	5	54	1830	9	
1702	13		1773	6	63	1831	52	
1704	8		1774	1	63	1832	38	176

Year.	Bap.	Total.	Year.	Bap.	Total.	Year.	Bap.	Total.
1705	4		1776	5	69	1833	34	206
1706	6		1778	4	73	1834	8	204
1707	9		1781	2	58	1835	10	205
1708	11		1782	3	59	1836	17	210
1709	12		1783	5	64	1838	23	223
1710	24		1784	4	67	1839	21	219
1711	1		1785	4	69	1840	47	255
1712	1		1788	2	69	1841	18	273
1713	11		1789	1	68	1842	3	260
1714	13	187	1790	1	67	1843	42	302
1715	3		1794	1	62	1844	2	299
1719	1		1795	1	64	1845		281
1720	5		1796	3	70	1846	9	278
1722	4		1797	1	70	1847		254
1723	4		1800		74	1848	4	240
1724	2		1801		75	1849	2	235
1725	1		1802		73	1850	90	321
1726	2		1803		72	1851	16	325
1727	7		1804	22	95	1852		305
1728	7		1805	24	116	1853	5	299
1729	1		1806	10	124	1854	4	296
1730	3		1807	17	138	1855		283
1731	4		1808	25	155	1856	13	277
1732	5		1809	6	158	1857		267
1733	1		1810	3	160	1858	78	341
1734	6		1811	4	162	1859	8	352
1735	5		1812	17	178	1860	3	340
1736	1		1813	3	178	1861	9	339
1737	8		1814		170	1862	1	316
1738	9		1815	3	163	1863		311
1740	17		1816	11	157	1864	1	295
1741	4		1817	14	169	1865		262
1742	5		1818	5	172	1866	2	220
1743	4		1819	10	175	1867	52	252
1746	3		1820	1	174	1868	8	250
1748	6		1821	11	183			

VI.—UNPUBLISHED LETTERS BY WILLIAM HOOPER.*

I.

BALTIMORE, February 1, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR:

It was with singular pleasure that I read your two last very friendly letters, and I had long

* WILLIAM HOOPER was one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and was a Delegate in Congress from North Carolina. He was born at Boston, on the seventeenth of June, 1742. He was graduated at Harvard College, high in rank and education among his fellow-students. He studied law under James Otis; and from his preceptor imbibed those patriotic sentiments which distinguished him in subsequent years. He settled in North Carolina, and soon attained eminence at the bar.

In 1773, Mr. Hooper was chosen to represent Wilmington in the General Assembly; and, in 1774, he represented the County of New Hanover.

On the twelfth of September, 1774, he took his seat in Congress; and, in April, 1775, he was again elected a Delegate, to the Second Congress; and, on the twentieth of December, 1776, he was chosen a third time.

But, in 1777, he resigned his seat; and on his return to

ago gratefully acknowledged the receipt of them, if I had not met an insuperable obstacle in a fever which at this moment locks me up in my chamber.

After an illness of several days, an impatience to be in Congress drew me out on a very wet day. The consequences were what any man in his senses might have expected, a Relapse; and had I not been fortunate in a Physician, I perhaps had been measuring my length and breadth under ground—a situation bad enough indeed, but bad as it is, surely preferable to being *above* it for any term in this worst of all possible places. I am now recovering, and, God willing! propose moving Southward in a few days. Nelson by advice of a Physician goes to-morrow. He is in a bad state of health. Harrison is still ill, and unless he is more attentive to exercise and regimen, I fear the consequences will be serious.

With one united voice we ascribe this Catalogue of ills to this place. I declare to you, the Congress presents such a scene of yellow death-like faces, that you would imagine Rhadamanthus had shifted his quarters, & was holding Court in Baltimore. I believe, were it the case, he would soon be glad to get back to his friend Pluto's regions.

I have eased my Stomach, when Fancy is exhausted in blackness of description. When you are disposed to abuse my Carolina, spare every figure of Rhetorick and compare it to Baltimore.

I congratulate you on the new face which our affairs have assumed in the Jerseys, under every difficulty that a Military genius could possibly have to struggle with. General Washington, sometimes almost without an Army; at best with one composed of raw, undisciplined Troops, impatient of Command, and vastly inferior in numbers to the Enemy, has been able to check a victorious Army, with every thing that could afford a probability of success, thundering at the Gates of the Capital of America, force them to change their course, and is now pursuing them in turn to the only spot which they have possession of in America. Will posterity believe the tale? When it shall be consistent with policy to give the History of that Man from his first introduction into our service, how often America has been rescued from ruin by the mere strength of his Genius,

Carolina, he exerted himself with new zeal in support of the revolutionary cause.

On the twenty-second of September, 1786, he was appointed by Congress one of the Judges of a Federal Court to determine a controversy between New York and Massachusetts, relative to a territory which was claimed by each.

Mr. Hooper died at Hillsborough, N. C., October, 1790, at the early age of forty-eight years, leaving a widow, two sons, and a daughter.—H. G. J.

Conduct, and Courage, encountering every obstacle that want of money, men, arms, and ammunition could throw in his way. An impartial world will say with you that he is the greatest man on earth. Misfortunes are the elements on which he shines. They are the groundwork on which his picture shows to most advantage. He rises superior to them all, they serve as foils to his fortitude, and as stimulants to bring into view those great qualities which, in the serenity of his life, his great modesty keeps concealed. I could fill the side in his praise, but anything I can say cannot equal his merits or raise your Ideas of them.

I lament, my dear Sir, the very small representation which America presents in Congress. The members will soon be reduced to the number of 22—how unequal to the importance of its Councils! I am sorry to say that I think they already savour of the Truth of an observation contrasted to that in Holy Writ, "that in the multitude of Counsellors there is wisdom." Some of the Middle and Southern Colonies have much to answer for in their want of representation. It is a Crime however which carries its own punishment with it; and if there are two Interests in America that must necessarily prevail which always has its advocates on the spot to promote it, while the other is deserted by those whom every tie of honour, duty, and public virtue should lead to a different conduct, New York, Delaware and Maryland may almost as well desert the Cause as so lamely support it by this appearance in its publick Councils. I have the next delegation of your State much at heart and should be very sorry that any change should take place to the exclusion of Wilson. He is a character somewhat particular, but after a long and pretty intimate acquaintance with him, I am extremely deceived if pure integrity and love to America, a just and generous attachment to the State which he represents, a strong natural capacity improved by extensive reading, a very retentive memory, whose cool judgment has matured & digested what he has read, are not the genuine characteristics of my friend Wilson. His removal from Congress would, in my opinion, work an essential political evil.

Ross has, I think acted unexceptionally—Now & then he takes a whimsical turn, perhaps a wrong one, but to do him justice he does not persist in it. He is too much of a *character* not to be eccentric. He is a sincere friend to the Cause, and I think is independent in his Notions. Pardon this on internal domestic policy. I have the public good in view, which must prove my apology.

I am much pleased with our success against the foraging party, and the more so from Gen-

eral Dickinson's having the Command. He has laid up a fund of Reputation as a patriot and an Officer, which will be sufficient not only for himself for life, but upon which his brother, the Farmer, may make draughts to repair that that loss of Credit into which a constitutional weakness of nerves has betrayed him, and in which I sincerely believe his heart has no share.

What is the policy of quartering soldiers on the inhabitants of your City? Was not this one of the Great Evils which the Bill of Rights was intended to remedy in the Executive powers of the British Constitution? Was it not a grievance which we loudly clamoured against when subjects to G. B. I wish it may not lead to reflections injurious to our Cause, and give disaffected men reason to complain who have hitherto growled without it, and have in vain racked their inventions to sully our glorious cause, and call forth the censure of the World on those who support it? I would not wish wantonly to sport with mens feelings. There will be a time, and I hope it is not at a great distance when the distinction of Whig and Tory will be lost, & resolve itself into the common appellation of Citizens of the Independant States. All political grudges will die away, & harmony happiness cement the whole. I wish that no wound may be made among ourselves, that time and common interest may not at last heal. In so great a convulsion, sacrifices must be made, but it has been the policy of every wise Legislator to found the changes of Government on lenity and forbearance.

I have been led to this out of the way speculation from having heard that your Council of Safety had barracked soldiers upon your Citizens, & trusted the Execution of it to Melcher [?] I know your feelings will help me to an excuse for thus trespassing again upon your internal policy.

I wish some expedient could be fallen upon to put our money matters in a proper train. The demands upon us at present are immense, & must continue so. Like beginners in everything else we want oconomy, or rather, we want system. Unless officers are appointed competent to the management of our funds, we must be ruined. From a false parsimony in saving hundreds in salaries of proper Officers, we are sporting away millions in the want of them.

I wish the Loan Office may succeed at 4 per Cent. The Southern Colonies will not consent to raise it. They consider the Eastern Governments in possession of almost all the Continental Currency, and the rise to 5 as only a prelude to a higher demand, and that in proportion to our necessities.

But I have already trespassed too far upon

your patience, & proved to you perhaps that my Head has had it's share of my fever.

I will trouble you no further than to say, I shall be happy to hear from you while I am in Carolina, & to assure you on paper that which I hoped to have done in person before I left this part of the Continent that absent or present I am and shall ever remain

Yours, with the truest Affection.

W^m. HOOPER.

II.

CAPE FEAR, 27 May, 1777.

Yes, MY DEAR SIR, Thus long & faithful publick services are requited. Hewes has lost his election. The charge against him was too futile to be repeated, except to be despised. "That he was employed loading Vessels for the "Secret Committee, and receiving Commissions "as a Merchant, when he ought to have been "Congress as a delegate," tho', by the by, an ex-cruciating fit of the rheumatism incapacitated him for the and as you well know, it was in obedience to the earnest requisition of the Secret Committee, by your then representation, that he was employed on this very necessary business. It was lucky that Hewes had not begun his journey, or his removal might have been announced to him on the road, or in the exercise of his Delegatorial function in Congress.

I wish our Assembly may be convinced of their Error. I imagine that such a Certificate in Mr. Hewes' favour as you could draw, subscribed by all the members who served with him, and know his integrity and usefulness, would have an effect, which, as his friend, I wish to promote. Should this be your opinion, when you have effected it, forward it to me.

I was again appointed a Delegate, but the situation of my own private affairs, the impotunity of my wife and little ones, & that delicacy which I felt, as a friend, did not leave me a moment in suspense whether I should decline the honour intended me; and to you who feel the full force of conjugal and paternal affection, and are all alive to the wrong done your friends, sure I am, I stand justified.

As it deprives me of your Agreeable society and that of others it has its melancholy reflexion, but as it furnishes me with a consciousness of having done my duty, I endeavour to suppress them, and look forward to a future opportunity when I may be restored to you without violating the respect which I owe to my family and connections.

We hear nothing from Congress—and are kept in profound ignorance of the state and movements of our Army. The people here are

dissatisfied with this reserve, and loudly speak forth their complaints. Our Tories are ever ready to rouse or fan their suspicions; and the charitable construction they bestow upon your secrecy is that you are doing nothing, or engaged about what you dare not disclose. These infernal villains slyly insinuate that the Congress' attention is chiefly exercised to devise ways and means to continue in office or to amass money, and that they consider their constituents only as they as they are to contribute to support the expenses. That the battle against England is a blind, merely to conceal their true intention. This game has been too long played in this State with impunity. We have not yet been fleshed in Executions, but we have now a treason which [] may prevent, if it does not by Heavens it must punish.

I wish however the Journals of Congress were published from day to day, and compleat copies diffused through the several States. This would calm the suspicions of the credulous and ignorant, and make the mischievous intentions of our enemies prove abortive.

The condition of our Army should be frequently announced, although nothing material may happen. Yet it will give the lie to the various reports we have of battles fought and successes obtained by the enemy, which are furnished us by every travelling vagrant or deserter who makes his way hither from the Northward. These gentlemen who are generally flying from Martial punishment, as deserters, or from the Civil justice of the Country as Tories, bring their prejudices with them; and for one prosperous event that they ascribe to our Army, their lively imagination gives a dozen to Genl Howe.

We have a regular lie of the day, as well as our betters, and if I had not determined myself to a state of stoic incredulity, I should break my heart with the reports of miscarriages by sea and land. As a quondam brother, I pretend to profound sagacity, and pronounce everything a lie, tho' sworn to if it is not in our favor. If you could know how I thirst for a true statement of our publick affairs, you would steal some moments from business to gratify me.

Is Stockton, the delegate in Jail? Is the *Congress* Frigate taken? Has General Washington but 7000 men?

We make a blessed hand of recruiting here, of nine regiments we can bring scarce 2000 men into the field. The havock which the sickness that pervaded the Southern States last year made amongst them, and that horrid expedition which was undertaken against St. Augustine, in the most inclement season, thinned the Army of some of our best men, and has discouraged others from enlisting.

Every soldier has a little sphere of influence, within which he moves, and, as far as it extends, he disseminates his prejudices, and paints his wrongs and his sufferings. His friends have theirs, and thus a disgust to the service is promoted, and now almost universally diffused through this State. The impolicy of high bounties, given by our neighbours, has driven us to the imitation of them. This has served no purpose but to depreciate our money, and raise the ideal of importance of these who are fit for soldiers. I thought long ago that patriotism in the ranks of our Army was mere cant, but am now sorry to find that the absence of it, has not been supplied by its usual successor, Avarice. It is needless to say that the depreciation of money occasions this backwardness. It is a fact that we depreciate money by extravagant bounties, and increase the evil by attempts to remedy it. The Mines of Potosi are not equal to our present mode of conducting the war, and the weakest minds amongst us begin to reason upon the possibility of our not making good our engagements. To the enormous bounty given by the Continent, this State has added 10 dollars, and 150 acres of Land. We have been driven to it by the practice of other States. Those who first set the example have much to atone for.

The *Merlin* and *Bruin* Men of War came over Cape Fear Bar the other day, and burnt several outward bound vessels. We are totally defenceless here from the want of a few great guns and a small fort, and shall furnish a glorious harbor for the enemy, to refresh themselves and annoy the Southern States. Do exchange a little conversation with Mr. Hamit [?] on this subject. He is a judicious man and a sensible agreeable companion. He has acquired a fortune, and is somewhat conversant with trade. He will be useful to some of your Mercantile Committee. I beg your notice of him. He has a high opinion of our friend S. Adams, and my countrymen in general having been formerly acquainted in Boston.

I hope this will find you quietly settled with your family at Philadelphia, and that Mrs. Morris will not again have to expose herself and little ones to the fatigues of a flight. I sincerely felt for them the inconveniences which they suffered, and your anxiety from the separation.

I beg my most respectful compliments to your Lady, and am, Dear Sir, with Great respect

Your friend & most obedient servt,

WILLIAM HOOPER.

This is the 27 of May, and at Cape Fear in the latitude of 34. I am now writing before a large fire. Such a season was never known here. I dread the effects it will have on our crops.

To ROBERT MORRIS, ESQ.

VII.—ORIGINAL DEED OF THE NEWPORT (R. I.) "LIBERTY TREE."

To all People to whom these Presents shall come,

GREETING: I, WILLIAM READ, of Newport, in the County of Newport, in the English Colony of Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, in New England, in America, merchant, for and consideration of the love of my country and an ardent desire to perpetuate to the latest posterity the Liberties and Privileges handed down by my glorious Ancestors, and also for the further consideration of five shillings, Lawful money, to me in hand paid by Wm. Ellery, John Collins, Robert Crook, and Samuel Fowler, merchants, and all of said Newport, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, that this Deed may be held good and sufficient in all constructions of Law, have given, granted, sold, and conveyed, and do hereby give, grant, bargain, sell and convey to them, the said William Ellery, John Collins, Robert Crook, and Samuel Fowler, and to such other person or persons as shall or may be chosen by the Survivors of them, upon the decease of either of them, forever, in such succession, a certain large Button Wood Tree, standing at the North End of Thames-street, in Newport, aforesaid, and at the North End of my lot of Land there, being with the Land on which it stands, bounded as follows: Easterly, on Farewell-street, about twenty-six feet; Southerly by my said Lot of Land, about eleven feet; and Westerly on Thames-street, making a Point to the North, being in the form of a Triangle, with the Appurtenances—to have and to hold the same to them, the said William Ellery, John Collins, Rob't Crook, and Samuel Fowler, and their successors as aforesaid, to and for the uses, intents and designs as following, viz: That the said Tree, forever hereafter be known by the name of TREE OF LIBERTY, and be sett apart to them for the use of the Sons of Liberty, and that the same stand as a Monument of the spirited and noble opposition made to the Stamp Act, in the year One thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, by the Sons of Liberty in Newport, Rhode Island, and throughout the Continent of North America, and be considered as Emblematical of Public Liberty; of her taking deep root in English America; of her strength and spreading protection by her benign influence, refreshing her sons in all their just struggles against the attempt of Tyranny and oppression; and furthermore, the said TREE OF LIBERTY is destined and set apart for exposing to Public Ignominy and Reproach all offenders against the Liberties of their Country, and Abettors and Approvers of such as would en-

slave her; and that the same may be repaired to upon all rejoicings on account of the Rescue and deliverance of Liberty from any danger she may have been in of being subverted and overthrown. And furthermore, that the said TREE OF LIBERTY stand as a memorial of the firm and unshaken Loyalty of the American Sons of Liberty to his Majesty, King George the Third, and of their inviolable attachment to the happy Establishment of the Protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover; and, in general, said Tree is hereby conveyed to and set apart for such other uses as they, the true-born Sons of Liberty shall, from time to time, from age to age, and in all times and ages, forever hereafter, apprehend, judge and resolve may subserve the glorious cause of Public Liberty. And I, the said Wm. Read, do hereby covenant to and with the said Wm. Ellery, John Collins, Robert Crook, and Samuel Fowler, and their successors as aforesaid, that I am the true and lawful owner of said bargained premises; that I have good authority and full power to dispose, grant, sell, and convey the same as aforesaid; and that I will warrant and defend the same to them, the said Wm. Ellery, John Collins, Robert Crook, and Samuel Fowler, and their successors as aforesaid, against the lawful claims and demands of all persons forever hereafter.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I, the said Wm. Read, have hereunto set my hand and seal, this fourteenth day of April, in the Sixth year of his Majesty's reign, George the Third, King of Great Britain, &c. Annoqui Domini, One thousand seven hundred and sixty-six.

WILLIAM READ.

Signed, sealed and delivered
in presence of us:

JESSEPH G. WANTON,	GIDEON WANTON, Jr.,
JACOB RICHARDSON,	BENJAMIN HALL,
HENRY MARCHANT,	BENJAMIN ELLERY,
SAMUEL HENSHAW,	DAVID ANTHONY,
EBENZ'R DAVENPORT,	WILLIAM MERRISS,
ROB'T HULL,	PAUL COFFIN,
PHILIP PECKHAM,	JOHN BARKER,
LEWIS BULOID,	JOHN STANTON,
JONATHAN DAVENPORT,	JOHN READ,
AL. A. SCOTT,	DAN'L DENHAM, Jr.,
CHARLES COZZENS,	TIMO. BALCH,
CONSTANT BAILEY,	CHRIS'R TOWNSEND, JR.,
ROB'T TAY'R SHERMAN,	JOSHUA SAYER, JR.,
JEREMIAH CHILD, JR.,	BENJAMIN STANTON,
HENRY WARD,	SAMUEL WEEDEN.

COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND, &c.

NEWPORT, April 14, 1766.

Personally appeared Capt. William Read, and acknowledged the foregoing Instrument to be his voluntary Act and Deed.

Before HENRY WARD, *Just. Peace.*

[LAST CONVEYANCE OF THE DEED OF LIBERTY TREE.]

I, John F. Townsend, of the Town and County of Newport, and State of Rhode Island, &c. surviving Grantee to the last Deed of Liberty Tree and the Land there in described, do in pursuance of the authority with which I am by the said Deed invested, choose and appoint William A. Clarke, William Gardner, and George W. Ellery, all of said Newport, as Trustees of the said Tree and Land, in the Room and place of William Ellery, Samuel Fowler Gardner, and Benjamin Hazard, deceased.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this twenty-sixth day of April, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand eight hundred and forty-nine.

JOHN F. TOWNSEND.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us:

BENJAMIN ELLERY,
ISAAC S. FOWLER,
PELEG CLARKE.

We accept of the above appointment:

GEO. W. ELLERY,
W. A. CLARKE,
WM. GARDNER.

Received into my office for recording, Newport, February 22d, 1850, at 9 o'clock, A. M., and recorded in 28th Vol. Land Evidence, Newport, page 130, by

B. B. HOWLAND, *Town Clerk.*

As the present Board of Trustees of LIBERTY TREE have it in contemplation, on account of its blighted and decaying state, to cut down and remove it, and to plant out another in its place, they thought proper to publish above the Original Deed of Trust, and their own appointment as Trustees, in evidence of their right so to do.

JOHN F. TOWNSEND,
GEO. W. ELLERY,
W. A. CLARKE,
WM. GARDNER.

NEWPORT, Dec. 7th, 1850.

VIII.—A REVOLUTIONARY SERMON.

By REV. DAVID JONES, M. A.

[The following Sermon was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Jones, sometime during the Revolutionary War; but there is nothing in the MS. to fix the date. Mr. Jones subsequently became a Chaplain in the Continental Army, and served until the close of the War. He was afterwards Chaplain to General Wayne's "Legion of the United States," during the Indian War in Ohio; and when the last War with England occurred, he sought for and obtained the position of Chaplain, although he was then seventy-six years of age. He died on the fifth of February, 1820, in the eighty-fourth year of his age; and his remains are interred in the Cemetery of the Great Valley Baptist Church, Chester-county, Pennsylvania.—H. G. J.]

[SERMON.]

"And all the People arose as one man, saying, 'we will not any of us go to his Tent, neither will we any of us turn into his house; but now this shall be the thing which we will do to Gibeah, we will go up by lot against it.'" Judges, xx. 8, 9.

The great Apostle informs us that, "whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning," so that some account is to be made of every part of Sacred History. Since I received the request of this respected Battalion to serve you on this publick occasion, nothing has occurred to my mind better adapted to our condition, than the story of the Civil War which commenced among the Tribes of Israel. Here we find men descended from one common Parent, men possessing one land, men under the same laws and religion, yet at last engaged in bloody Battles. Such is the pernicious nature of sin that God will surely visit a dissolute People at last, tho' he bears long with their manners. The Tribe of Benjamin had descended a degree beneath brutes in vileness, their atrocious crimes cried to Heaven for vengeance, and Providence orders an event that should begin the quarrel. A Levite lodging in Gibeah received intolerable abuse by the death of his wife; and the manner in which it was perpetrated exceeded any crime before heard of in Israel. Yet, as it respected only a few, one might have expected that matters might have been accommodated without such effusion of blood; but when God in judgment designs to visit a vicious People, the things that belong to their peace, are always hid from their eyes. The injured Levite being fully persuaded that every mode in his power to obtain justice would be impracticable, applies himself for justice to all the Tribes of Israel. They view themselves bound both by the laws of nature and revelation to interest themselves in the cause and finally to prosecute every mode to bring such flagitious offenders to condign punishment. Therefore the whole Congregation, from Dan even to Beersheba, assembled at Mizpeh to consult on the important occasion; and their consultation we have in the words of the Text. From this part of Sacred History, we may very naturally deduce the following propositions, viz.:

I. That it has been the duty of People in ages past in order to obtain Justice, to take up arms even against such as were nearly allied by blood and interest. This was the case with the Tribes of Israel in the present dispute with Benjamin.

II. That when a People are thus called to arms, they should unite together as one man.

Thus it was in our Text: "*and all the People arose as one man.*"

III. That a People so engaged ought to be firmly and resolutely determined never to desert the cause 'till Justice is obtained. This was the united resolve of Israel: "*We will not any of us go to his Tent, neither will we any of us turn into his house; but now this shall be the thing, which we will do to Gibeah, we will go up by lot against it.*"

Many things which might be said on this subject are anticipated in a Discourse already in print, preached on the Continental Fast Day, to which I would refer you for arguments to demonstrate the sinfulness and justness of War in extreme cases.

To discuss the present propositions, the method proposed shall be,

1. To show when it is the duty of a People to forget and be deaf to the influence of natural ties and take up arms against an Enemy, tho' nearly connected by blood and interest.

2. Assign some reasons why such a People should be united as one man in defense of Justice.

3. And lastly, prove that a People thus engaged, ought to be firmly and resolutely determined never to desert the cause 'till Justice is obtained.

Curiosity, perhaps, may have brought some hither and others may have more religious motives to assemble at this time; but I must beg leave to let you know that I judge it not meet to blend State affairs and religion together, for everything is beautiful in its season, and things distinct in nature ought to be preserved so in time.

The way of Salvation, the things which are purely spiritual, the religious exercises of a yet gracious soul, tho' the most pleasing themes, are not the subjects demanding our present attention. We are now united in defence of our Liberty and Country, as men, resolved to maintain our cause against the unrighteous claims of Great Britain, tho' she is nearly allied by blood and interest; nor would we stand in a cause, if it was not clear both from reason and revelation. But as this is a point now little disputed, I would therefore,

I. Show when it is the duty of a people to be deaf to the influence of natural ties and take up arms against an enemy, tho' nearly connected by blood and interest.

1. It must be confessed that War of any kind is to be esteemed in itself a very great calamity. Every method should be prosecuted to prevent it, and above all, a Civil War, if possible, ought to be avoided; but when great injuries are received, when repeated offences are given, then we are to become deaf to the Power of natural connections and appear in defence of Jus-

tice. This was the case with the Tribes of Israel. A Levite's wife was murdered in the most savage manner. Tidings came to all Israel, of this great wickedness wrought in the land. No doubt but their consciences were as binding on them to arm themselves on this occasion, as they can possibly be against it in any among us. In the Mosaic law, there are some Cases of the natural connection wherein a father was deaf to the influence of an obstinate son; therefore he was to bring his rebellious son before the Elders & witness against him that he would not obey his voice; he was both a glutton & a drunkard (Deut. xxi, 20, 21) & you know the Elders were to stone him to death. We see when the provocations are great, when the injuries are intolerable, the love of Justice is to bear the sway against all connections.

And now to attend to our own case. The injuries sustained by the arbitrary acts of the Parliament of England, the provocations we have received by their hostile invasion of our land, are so very well known, that it is scarcely necessary to repeat them, especially as these have been principally considered in another Discourse;* yet it may not be amiss to bring to mind a few particulars of our grievances.

According to history, America at first was settled by persons wearied of oppression in Great Britain. They sought a retreat in the wilds of a heathen land, esteeming it better to live near Savages than Tyrants. The Kings of England being sometimes cloyed a little with the blood of Persecution, favoured these adventurers with Compacts or Charters. Here our forefathers thought themselves safe; but we see to our sorrow in our days, these solemn agreements are dispensed with at Pleasure. To enforce cruel, unjust, and unconstitutional acts, armies are sent against us to destroy at pleasure. Boston made no resistance to the admission of the Troops, not supposing that Britain was capable of so much Barbarity as experience has taught them since. Many are kept as prisoners in that City, and none can come out without being robbed. No regard is paid to private property. Ships are seized, cattle and provisions are taken by violence. In short, my countrymen, such are the grievances that no flesh can bear it, if possessed of spirit or virtue.

When this is the case, we see our duty is to be deaf to our former connections, and gird on our arms against an enemy so unjustly engaged

* The Discourse referred to was preached by Mr. Jones in the Fall or Winter of 1775, before Colonel Dewees' Regiment, in the Baptist Church of Great Valley, Chester-county, Pennsylvania. It was entitled *Defensive War in a Just Cause Sinless*. In it Mr. Jones took high ground in favor of Independence, at a time when that was dreamed of by only a few. The Sermon was printed, and extensively circulated, and did great good.

against us. We shall leave the event to God. We believe our cause is good.

2. When a people have used every reasonable means to accommodate matters, and all attempts prove abortive, it is then their duty to be deaf to the ties of blood or other connections, and seek for justice in the only mode by which it can be obtained. In this point we have for our example the conduct of the Tribes of Israel. Even after they were at the great expence of assembling the whole Congregation at Mizpeh, they sent men through all the Tribe of Benjamin, making the reasonable request to deliver up the sons of Beliel which were in Gibeah, that they might be put to death; but to no purpose, for "the children of Benjamin would not hearken to the voice of their Brethren the children of Israel." When they had thus essayed to accommodate matters by requesting the life of the guilty Murderers and were repulsed, then they esteemed all their abettors equally criminal, for their defending the villains made the cause their own. In this Point we have carefully copied after the example of Israel; we have tried every mode of reconciliation, & hitherto with the same success of Israel, for the Children of Britain will not hearken to the voice of their Brethren, the Children of America, but call the injuries "pretended grievances." No doubt last Fall our Congress thought the measures consulted, if duly pursued, would be attended with salutary effects, but, by experience, we are taught the reverse, for our antagonists resolve on every measure to enforce their iniquitous laws. What could be done now? Petition after Petition has been made in vain. We then resolved not to trade with them till our grievances are removed. They resolve that we shall trade with none else, and carefully strive to prevent every State from trading with us in such articles as our present circumstances require. Now even when blood has been already shed, we still continue our suit for an honorable reconciliation, but we have no reason, from any former Conduct, to think that we shall be heard. Is not our News constantly filled with fresh accounts of large reinforcements getting ready to sail against us? Tho' we may fight with our blood relations, the present case is such that we must be deaf to the influence of such connections and unite in the common cause of our own defence, which brings us to the second thing proposed which was,

II. To assign some reasons why such a People should be united as one man in defence of Justice.

The reasons are many and very important.

1. Unity is the great means of strength. The Scriptures inform us that a threefold cord is not easily broken. Josephus thinks that Jerusalem could never have been taken had not di-

visions taken place. Unity gives strength many ways, not only from the consideration of numbers, but when some desert or will not appear in the good cause, it tends to dishearten others, & the business falling on a few, it makes their struggle very hard & attended with innumerable disadvantages. In building the walls of Jerusalem the work went on rapidly because all were intent on their business. We are taught in Scripture that a house divided against itself cannot stand. This must be the case if dissensions were to take place among us. We should soon fall victims to our enemies' rage.

2. Unity always strikes Terror in our enemies. We have reason, good reason, to believe that matters would never have been in their present state, had it not been for the representation given by some dissatisfied persons, that many of us would join the Ministerial Army on their arrival; therefore all the blood which is or shall be shed in the present Dispute, lies at the door of such imprudent or wicked persons. Were Administration fully persuaded that we are resolved to live or die as one man, matters would be soon accommodated; but still they hope to divide us & therefore persevere in their barbarous Measures. They dreaded our unity, & therefore strove to divide the Colonies by pretended favours to any that would comply with their measures; but our Colonies are not to be thus deceived. They had virtue enough to disregard the injurious proposal, resolving to live or die together. Nor are we to suppose their Schemes are at an end. Endeavours will be made, no doubt, either by seeming favours or terrible threats to divide us, but we hope that our God will give us virtue enough to withstand all their devices.

3. Another reason why we should be united as one man is, we are all interested in the cause. Every man ought to consider himself so connected that his happiness stands or falls with the present Dispute. We are not fighting to gratify the pride or ambition of tyrannical Taskmasters. No; every man is fighting for his own Liberty & Property; and surely it is an ungenerous conduct for any to prosecute their worldly business, & perhaps reproach the very men who are nobly defending their rights. This, my Countrymen, I confess, is very provoking & yet I hope that patience may be sufficient to bear it & pay a due regard to that Text which says, "Be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil with good." If we consider the Cause in this point of view, we may be fully persuaded that unity will more and more prevail throughout all the Colonies.

4. Another argument to unite us as one man may be taken from the consequences of Discord. Divide & destroy is a good maxim in State policy. The Scripture informs us that a house

divided against itself cannot stand. We have reason to fear, if Discord takes place, that after our best opposition, the Colonies will finally in part be subdued. The marine Coasts will be obliged to submit to the arbitrary measures of their enemies. Governments will be changed & modified agreeably to the tyrannical pleasure of Despots. It was a remark of one of the wisest kings that ever the world knew, that "a prudent man foreseeth the evil & hideth himself; but the simple pass on and are punished." The evil that is before us, every prudent man must foresee; for were we to submit at pleasure, the Consequence will be to keep a standing Army, not to defend us but to keep us in Slavery. If we are overcome, the case will be the same. An army we shall have, ready with violence to enforce any barbarous measure on pain of Death; so that matters are in such a condition now that we have no other redress, but under God to unite as one man in defence of all that is near & dear to us as men born free and who mean to die so.

Some may flatter themselves with hopes of milder measures, but such justly merit the appellation of the simple that pass on and are punished. Some there are among us, who tell us that their conscience will not allow them to pay a Provincial Tax, which is levied only to support defensive War. What will they do when their Tax shall be to support soldiers only to keep them in Slavery? "The simple pass on and are punished." Let these now consider what they do & say before it is too late; for if we come under arbitrary government, no regard will be paid to conscience. We may be so unhappy as to see these yet lamenting their obstinacy & folly when it is too late. Let us now therefore, unite as one man in defence of ourselves, our liberties, & our properties. Let no religious distinction sway us. Let former injuries be forgotten, & let us appear as one man in the glorious Cause of LIBERTY.

III. The third & last particular was to prove that a people thus engaged, ought to be firmly & resolutely determined never to desert the Cause 'till justice is obtained.

1. No great deeds can be accomplished without a firm perseverance in all proper means; nor is an undertaking of great importance and which requires great resolution, on many accounts. There are many calamities attending it, and if we were not firmly and resolutely determined never to desert the Cause till justice is obtained, we should be discouraged. When we go forth in War, we should first consider the calamities attending it, that we may never desert the Cause.

One of the evils attending War is, loss of Estate, especially in such circumstances as the pres-

ent. What great expense, in loss of time or otherwise, have many gentlemen already sustained? We must expect the expenses to be great; our Taxes for a time must be heavy; but we still have this hope that time will diminish them—a hope which could not be indulged in Slavery. We shall by & by repent, if we are not determined never to desert the Cause till justice is obtained.

2. Another great calamity attending War is, the great slaughter of men. The Prophet says, "every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood." Tho' our cause is just, yet great slaughter may be made before a victory is obtained or the contest otherwise decided. This was the case with Israel in their very first battle, when twenty-two thousand were slain. This was enough to cause them to return, were they not resolute in their dispute. But even the next battle was with the loss of eighteen thousand; yet they continued & gained a complete victory in their third engagement. This it is not more probable may be the case with us. We have indeed proved successful hitherto; but we must remember that our antagonists are only preparing for War. We may expect much more bloody battles than any which have been fought, if matters are not soon accommodated. If this should be the case, men that are firmly & resolutely engaged, are in a great measure invincible. This was the case with the ancient Britons. They never could, by force of arms, be entirely conquered by the Saxon Kings. They found it necessary to retreat to the more inaccessible parts of the Island called WALES, esteeming it better there to live free, than to possess the best part of the Island, in Slavery. We are better situated, for were we at last obliged to retreat, our retreat would be an advantage. We should make a happy change in moving to the wilds of Ohio—a land equal to any on the globe for fertility, & only wanting a brave people to enjoy the bounty of creation. But at present we hope to be able to retain our land, and therefore we should make a firm and resolute opposition.

3. Firmness to persevere in the good Cause will be an evidence that we fight from Principle, but if we desert the Cause, it would argue that we were not men of conscience but were actuated by passions or other motives which were bad. Let us therefore never desert the Cause but stand firm even unto Death. If this should be the case, we die in a good cause, & no good man can have any pleasure with the prospect of out living the liberty of his country.

4. Lastly, another argument why we should be determined never to desert the Cause is, tho' we may meet with repulses, we know not how soon God may appear for us & give success to

our noble Struggle for that Liberty which is His own gift unto us. The tribes of Israel met with defeats, multitudes were slain; but this might be to prevent them from ascribing victory to themselves & to place their dependence on God. In their third engagement a final victory is obtained. By their example, we see men should be firmly & resolutely determined never to desert the good Cause, for God will give success in His own time. We see also that in War it is right to take all advantages. Israel fixes some in ambush & used a stratagem to draw Benjamin from their town. This was effected, & when the Benjamites knew it, their hearts fainted with fear & amazement. They flee in great precipitation towards the wilderness, but the battle overtook them, and all fell save six hundred who fled to the rocks for refuge.

INFERENCES.

I. Seeing that we are come to the unhappy period that it is our Duty to take up arms against England, let us avoid all things that would prevent oneness of mind—lay aside bigotry in religion, forget former abuses, & strive as one man for the liberty of our Country. * *

[*The remainder of the Sermon has been lost.*]

IX.—PRICES OF LANDS IN PENNSYLVANIA AT VARIOUS PERIODS.

PRICES UNDER PENN AND HIS HEIRS, PER HUNDRED ACRES.

Previous to the twenty-seventh of December, 1762, fifteen pounds, ten shillings, or forty-one dollars and thirty-three cents per hundred acres, with the exception of a few Warrants in the lower Counties at three pounds, ten shillings, or nine dollars and thirty-three cents per hundred.

From the twenty-seventh of December, 1762, to the fifth of August, 1763, nine pounds, or twenty-four dollars per hundred acres.

From the fifth of August, 1763, to the sixth of August, 1765, fifteen pounds, ten shillings, or forty-one dollars and thirty-three cents.

Locations and Warrants, from the sixth of July, 1765, to the first of July, 1784, five pounds sterling, or twenty-two dollars and twenty-two cents.

PRICES UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH, PER HUNDRED ACRES.

From the first of July, 1784, to the third of April, 1792, ten pounds, or twenty-six dollars, and sixty-six and two-third cents per hundred acres.

New purchase, 1784.—From the first of May, 1785, to the first of March, 1789, thirty pounds, or eighty dollars.

From the first of March, 1789, to the third of April, 1792, twenty pounds, or fifty-three dollars and thirty-three and one-third cents.

From the third of April, 1792, to the first of September, 1817, five pounds, or thirteen dollars and thirty-three and one-third cents, for land in the purchase of 1784, East of the Alleghany-river and Conewango-creek, unimproved.

Purchase of 1768, and the previous purchases.—From the third of April, 1792, to the twenty-eighth of March, 1814, unimproved, at the rate of fifty shillings, or six dollars and sixty-six and two-thirds cents per hundred acres.

Lands in the purchase of 1784, lying North and West of the Ohio and Alleghany-rivers and Conewango-creek, seven pounds, ten shillings, or twenty dollars.

Undrawn donation lands, from the first of October, 1813, at the rate of one dollar and fifty cents per acre.

Donation lands reduced, from the twenty-fifth of February, 1819, to fifty cents per acre.

From the twenty-first of March, 1814, lands within the purchase of 1768, and the previous purchases, to be at the rate of ten pounds, or twenty-six dollars and sixty-three and two-third cents per hundred acres.

From the first of September, 1817, lands within the purchase of 1784, East of the Alleghany-river and Conewango-creek, at the rate of ten pounds, or twenty-six dollars and sixty-six and two-third cents, except such as have been settled on, agreeably to the Act of the third of April, 1792, between said third of April and the first of September, 1817.

Seventeen townships in Luzerne-county—Prices fixed by the commissioners: First class, two dollars per acre; second class, one dollar and twenty cents; third class, fifty cents; fourth class, eight and one-quarter cents.

PRESENT PRICE, PER HUNDRED ACRES.

The price of all vacant and unimproved land is now at the rate of ten pounds, or twenty-six dollars and sixty-six and two-third cents per hundred acres, except the following:

Lands lying North and West of the Ohio and Alleghany-rivers and Conewango-creek, at twenty dollars per hundred acres.

Reserve tracts near Erie, Waterford, etc., price fixed by Commissioners.

Lands improved agreeably to the Act of the third of April, 1792, fifty shillings, or six dollars and sixty-six and two-third cents, and five pounds, or thirteen dollars and thirty-three and one-third cents per hundred acres.

Lands held by Virginia Warrants, in the Southwest part of the State—the Warrants show the terms. Lands were taken under Virginia Warrants as low as ten shillings per hundred acres.

It is the practice in the Land Office to charge for the excess of land above *ten per cent.* on fifty shilling Warrants, at the rate of ten pounds per hundred acres.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. IV. SECOND SERIES.]

SEPTEMBER, 1868.

[No. 3.]

This number of the Historical Magazine has been edited by William H. Whitmore, Esq., of Boston.

I.—BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE VARIOUS HISTORICAL SOCIETIES THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

[It has seemed desirable to attempt to construct a list of the principal essays contained in the printed Collections of our various Historical Societies. In some cases, owing to the long periods during which the volumes have appeared, in other cases owing to the number and value of the volumes, these collections of papers are known thoroughly to very few students.

It has therefore seemed to the writer that an attempt, even an imperfect one, to prepare a General Index of these Collections must be a service to the community. It has been his object to give the titles of the more important articles in each volume, but considerations of time and space have made it obligatory on him to exercise the right of selection. Very many interesting and important documents are thus uncalendered; but the reader is reminded that this list is to be but an aid to his memory, not a substitute for the labor of a personal examination of the original volumes. The titles of a few general histories are added.—W. H. W.]

COLLECTIONS OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME I. 1831. pp. 416.—History of Portland; of Limerick, and of Wells; Extracts from York-county Records; Depositions concerning Robert Nash, 1645; Godfrey's Petition, 1654; Petition to Cromwell, 1656; Petition to Charles II., 1680; Governor Lincoln's Remarks on Indian Languages and Account of the Romish Missions in Maine; Letters from Benedict Arnold in 1775; Montresor's Journal, 1760; Account of Arnold's Expedition.

VOLUME II. 1847. pp. 303.—Discourse by George Folsom, 1846; Reprint of Sir F. Gorges's *Brief Narration*, 1658; Reprint of C. Levett's *Voyage in New England*, 1628; History of Bakerstown, Poland and Minot; of the seven Narragansett townships; of North Yarmouth; of Bath; of Pemaquid; Usher Deeds, 1678; Account of the Kennebec Purchase.

VOLUME III. 1853. pp. 447.—History of Scarborough; History of Bunker Hill Monument; History of Bath; Account of Popham's Colony,
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by Bartlett; Settlements at Sagadahock; Wharton's Patent, 1686; Indian Troubles, 1702-4; Indian Treaties in 1717, 1726 and 1727.

VOLUME IV. 1856. pp. 414.—Willis's Address; Sandy River Settlements; Letter from Washington to Knox; Bishop Burgess's Address; Language of the Abnequi Indians; Indian Treaties, 1735, 1749, and 1752; Memorial of Kittery, 1751; Ancient Settlement at Sheepscot; Memoir of Rev. Paul Coffin, and Journals; Letter of Bridget Phillips to Edward Rishworth, 1684.

VOLUME V. 1857. pp. 450.—Biographies of the Presidents of the Society; Pemaquid Papers, from the New York Archives; Thornton's History of Pemaquid; Remarks on Weymouth's Voyage; Letter of Popham, 1607; Journal of Governor Pownall's Voyage, in 1759; Cooke and Oakes's Reply to Andros's Account of the Troops, 1690; The German Settlement at Waldoborough; Lithgow Genealogy; Destruction of Falmouth, 1775.

VOLUME VI. 1859. pp. 435.—The Scotch-Irish Immigrations; Biographies of the early Lawyers of Lincoln and Kennebec counties; Memoirs of Benjamin Vaughn; of Albert Gallatin; of Rev. John Murray; of Parker Cleveland; and of deceased members of the Society; Notes on Castine and the coins found there and at Portland; Early History of the Episcopal Church in Maine; The Abneki Indians; Acadia and New England, 1692; Voyage of Captain Weymouth; General Waldo's Circular, 1753; French Neutrals in Maine; Pownall's Possession of the Penobscot Country, 1759; Oyster-shell Deposit on Damariscotta River.

SECOND SERIES.

VOLUME I. 1869. pp. 535.—Documentary History of the State of Maine. Edited by William Willis. Volume I. containing a History of the Discovery of Maine, by J. G. Kohl, with an Appendix on the Voyages of the Cabots, by M. D'Avezac. Illustrated with numerous Maps of the early Navigators.

ALLIED WORKS ON THE HISTORY OF MAINE.

I.—Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration. 1863.—pp. 368 and 144.

II.—The History of the State of Maine, by William D. Williamson. 1832, 2 vols.—pp. 696 and 727.

III.—Ancient Dominions of Maine, by Rufus King Sewall. 1859.—pp. 366.

IV.—A History of the Law, the Courts, and the Lawyers of Maine, by William Willis.—1863. pp. 712.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME I. 1824. pp. 336.—Reprint of Penhallow's *History of the Indian Wars*; Address to Queen Anne, 1707; Papets concerning Fort Dummer; Indian Deed to Wheelwright, 1638; History of Concord; Note on the Penacook Indians; Early Broadside; Letter from I. Mather, 1689; Grant to John Mason, and papers relating to Mason's claims, collected by William Plumer.

VOLUME II. 1827. pp. 300.—Wheeler's Narration, 1675; Indian Attack at Walpole in 1755; Longevity in New Hampshire; Annals of Keene; Letters relating to the War of Independence from Washington and others; Letters of Cranfield and others, 1684-5; List of Representatives in the General Court, Massachusetts, 1634-1649; New Hampshire, 1650-1680; Memoirs of Nathaniel A. Haven, Jr., and James F. Dana; Indian Treaties of 1693, 1702-3, 1717, 1727; Sketch of the Northern boundary of New Hampshire.

VOLUME III. 1832. pp. 304.—Memoirs of Samuel Dana; of Wyseman Clagett; of Captain John Pickering; of Abel Parker; of Federal Burt, and of Oliver Peabody; Journal of Rev. John Pike, 1682-1709; Sketch of Northwood; Dartmouth Graduates, 1771-1777; Hale's Address, 1828; Letter from Cotton Mather, 1716; Uring's Notices of New England, 1709; Atherton's Address, 1831; History of Warner; Penacook Papers, 1659-1668; White Mountain Slides in 1826; Destruction of Willey Family.

VOLUME IV. 1834. pp. 301.—Bouton's Address, 1833; Graduates of Harvard, by John Farmer; Earthquake of 1727; Annals of Charlestown, New Hampshire; Convention of Ministers of New Hampshire, 1761; Constitutions of the State of New Hampshire; Sketch of Canterbury; Endecott Rock; Abner Clough's Journal, 1746; History of Antrim; Governor Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln,

1631; Memoirs of Rev. Nathan Parker, and of David Barker; Graduates of Dartmouth.

VOLUME V. 1837. pp. 307.—Bartlett's Remarks on the Public Archives; History of Amherst; of Durham; of New Ipswich; and of Hampstead; Journal of Captain Stevens, 1749; and of Captain Melven, 1748; Memoir of William Cogswell; of Nathaniel Folsom; of Meshech Weare; and of Samuel Livermore; Counsellors of New Hampshire, from 1680 to 1837; Genealogy of the Wentworths; Daniel Oliver's Address, 1836.

VOLUME VI. 1850. pp. 336.—Account of the Society; Memoir of John Farmer; Letters of Benjamin Franklin, 1770-1788; History of Atkinson; Charles Burnough's Address, 1843; The Bradley Monument; Memoir of Joseph Badger; Levi Woodbury's Address, 1845; Smith's Centennial Address at Exeter, 1838; Memoir of Samuel Abbot; History of Croydon; Centennial Celebration at Exeter, 1823; New Hampshire Society of the Cincinnati; Livermore's Journal, 1779.

VOLUME VII. 1863. pp. 442.—Records of the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, 1775-1784; History of Chester; Joseph B. Walker's Address, 1860, relating to the Merrimack Valley.

VOLUME VIII. 1866. pp. 484.—Provincial Papers, 1680-1692, (by N. Bouton, making 300 pages); Notices of the early Councillors; Mrs. Cristina Baker and the Massacre at Dover, 1689; Character of the Penacook Indians.

ALLIED WORKS ON THE HISTORY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

I.—Farmer and Moore's Collections, Volume I. 1822. pp. 304.—Sketch of Andover; Lovewell's Fight; Memoirs of Jeremy Belknap; History of Wilton; of Gilmanton; and of Peterborough; Memoir of Mathew Thornton; of General John Stark; of Josiah Bartlett; of John Dudley; of Colonel Winthrop Hilton; Mrs. Shute's Captivity, 1755; Census of 1767; Captivity of Mrs. Johnson, 1754.

II.—Do. Volume II. 1823.—pp. 388 and 100. Short articles mostly.

III.—Jeremy Belknap's History of New Hampshire. Three Volumes. 1784, 1791, and 1792.—pp. 361 and 84, 493, and 480.

IV.—George Barstow's History of New Hampshire. 1842.—pp. 456.

V.—Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College, by Rev. George T. Chapman, 1867.—pp. 520.

VI.—Provincial Papers. Volume I. Documents and Records from 1623-1686. Compiled by N.

Bouton, and published by authority of the Legislature. 1867.—pp. 629.

VII.—Provincial Papers, &c., compiled by N. Bouton, Volume II. Part I. Being Part I. of the papers relating to the period from 1686 to 1722. 1868,—pp. 764.

VERMONT.

COLLECTIONS OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

We believe there have been no published Collections of the Vermont Historical Society.

ALLIED WORKS ON THE HISTORY OF VERMONT.

I.—The Natural and Civil History of Vermont, by Samuel Williams, 1794.—pp. 416.

II.—History of Vermont, by Zadock Thompson. 1842. Natural History, pp. 224; Civil History, pp. 224; Gazetteer, pp. 200.

III.—History of Eastern Vermont, to the close of the Eighteenth Century; by Benjamin H. Hall. 1858.—pp. 799.

IV.—Vermont State Papers; compiled by William Slade, Jr.. 1823.—pp. 568.

MASSACHUSETTS.

COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

FIRST SERIES.

VOLUME I. Published in 1792.—pp. 288.—Letters relating to the Expedition against Cape Breton, in 1745; Apthorp's Description of Surinam, 1790; Weare's Letter concerning the British Colonies; Examination of Dr. Benjamin Church, in 1775; Tenney's Account of the Dark Day, 1785; Reprint of Higginson's *New England Plantation*, 1630; William Morell's Poem on New England, Latin and English; Daniel Gookin's Historical Collections of the Indians of New England, 1674, from the MS; A part of *New England's First Fruits*, 1643.

VOLUME II. 1798. pp. 246.—Mainly filled with Pemberton's Journal of the American War.

VOLUME III. 1794. pp. 304.—Governor Bradford's Letter Book, 1624–1630; Bradford's Account of New England, in verse; Two Letters of Franklin to Thomas Cushing, 1774; Letters of I. and C. Mather to Governor Dudley, 1704, with his reply; Rev. John Eliot's Letters to Boyle, 1670–1688; Reprint of part of Roger Williams's *Key to the Indian Language*; Pemberton's Description of Boston, 1794.

VOLUME IV. 1795. pp. 298.—Account of the Church at Plymouth, 1760; John Bulkeley's

Inquiry into the Rights of Indians to lands in America, 1724; Slavery in Massachusetts, by Dr. Belknap, 1795; Roger Wolcott's Account of John Winthrop's Agency to England, *in verse*.

VOLUME V. 1798. pp. 292.—Brattle's Letter concerning the Witchcraft Delusion, 1692; Remainder of Roger Williams's Key; Account of the state of Virginia under Andros, 1696–8; *Abstract of the Laws of New England, as printed in London in 1641*.

VOLUME VI. 1800. pp. 288.—The State of Quebec in 1787; Colman's History of Trouble with the Indians, 1726; Letter from Governor Trumbull, 1780; Bently's Description of Salem. Also many letters relating to the affairs of Canada, 1745–1765.

VOLUME VII. 1801. pp. 280.—Abiel Holmes's History of Cambridge; Review of the Military Operations in North America, from 1753–1756; Marshe's Journal of the Treaty with the Six Nations, 1744.

VOLUME VIII. 1802. pp. 284.—A Biography of Rev. John Eliot; Governor T. Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, 1631; Account of Marblehead; Biographies of Marston Watson, Thomas Brattle, Ezekiel Price, and George R. Minot, members of the Society; Description of Barnstable-county; Reprint of Mourt's Relation abbreviated, 1622; and one of Winslow's *Good News from New England*, 1625.

VOLUME IX. 1804. pp. 283.—An Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts; Memoirs of Ebenezer Marsh and William Fisk, members of the Society; Poem by Parmenus, in honor of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, 1583; Account of the Mohegan Indians; Journal of the Siege of York, Virginia, 1781; Harris's Account of Dorchester; Sullivan's History of the Penobscott Indians; Notes by Israel Mauduit, *circa*, 1764.

VOLUME X. 1809. pp. 314.—Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts; Account of the Societies in Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Notes relating to Indians; Chauncy's Sketches of Eminent Men, 1768; Barnard's Memoirs of Eminent Ministers, 1767; Memoirs of Rev. Andrew Elliott and Thomas Pemberton, members of the Society; Table of Contents of the ten volumes.

SECOND SERIES.

VOLUME I. 1814. pp. 260, and xxxi.—Davis's Discourse, 1813; Account of Bacon and Ingram's Rebellion in Virginia; Account of Fires in Massachusetts; Dr. Bartlett's Sketch of the progress of Medical Science in Massachusetts; Memoirs of Rev. Charles Morton, of Rev. John

Lothrop, of Rev. John Elliott, (Author of the *Biographical Dictionary*), and of Isaac Lothrop.

VOLUME II. 1814. pp. 202.—Schermmerhorn's Report on the Western Indians; Reprint of Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence* (begun); Reprint of part of John Dunton's *Life and Error*; Episcopacy in Connecticut in 1722; History of Brookline and Charlestown; Episcopacy in the Colonies, 1740; General Gage's Account of the Lexington Fight; Meigs's Journal of the Expedition against Quebec, 1775.

VOLUME III. 1815. pp. 296.—Description of Marshpee; of Nantucket; of Duke's county; of Lancaster, Plymouth, and Wolfesborough, New Hampshire; Continuation of Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence*; Notes on Plymouth and Kingston, Massachusetts; Memoir of General Benjamin Lincoln; Reprint of Major Savage's Account of Phips's Expedition to Canada, 1691.

VOLUME IV. 1816. pp. 308.—Continuation of Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence*; The Non-conformist's Oath, (in verse) 1666; Reprint of Childs's *New England's Jonas*, 1647; Sketch of Amherst; of Haverhill; of Saco, Freeport, &c.; Narrative of Affairs about Boston, in 1775; History of towns in Plymouth Colony.

VOLUMES V. and VI. 1815. pp. 768.—Reprint of William Hubbard's *History of New England*.

VOLUME VII. 1817. pp. 308. Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence* (continued); Rhode Island State Papers, 1638-1682; Description of Abington and Bridgewater; Memoir of Rev. Peter Whitney; Account of the Prince Library; Reprint of the Second Part of Prince's *Annals of New England*.

VOLUME VIII. 1818. pp. 332.—Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence* (concluded); The Danforth Papers, 1662-66; Reprint of Mason's *History of the Pequot Wars*; Memoirs of Joseph McKean; of Caleb Gannett; and of William Tudor; Letters on the Abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania; Reprint of *The New Life of Virginia*, 1612; Pyncheon Papers; Memoir of Father Rasles.

VOLUME IX. 1819. pp. 372.—Reprint of the *Relation of the Plantation of New England*, 1623; Reprint of *Mourt's Relation*, 1622; Reprint of Winslow's *Good News from New England*, 1624; Reprint of *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, 1649; Accounts of Middlebury, Vermont, and Providence, Rhode Island; Reprint of Eliot's *Indian Grammar*, 1666, with Notes, by John Pickering.

VOLUME X. 1823. pp. 397.—Memoirs of Joshua Thomas and James Winthrop; E. Turell's Detection on Witchcraft; Boston Representative, 1634-1774; Notes on Rochester and Duxbury; Reprint of Edwards's *Observations on Indian Languages*, 1788; The Hutchinson Papers; General Index of the Second Series.

THIRD SERIES.

VOLUME I. 1825. pp. 299. — The so-called Hutchinson Papers, containing Letters to John Winthrop and many miscellaneous letters and papers—Also Account of New England in 1689; C. Mather's Political Fables, &c.—in all 150 pages—Census of Boston in 1742; Ministers in New Hampshire; Letters of Roger Williams; Letter of Jo. Maidstone, 1659; Memoir of Gamaliel Bradford; Early History of the Narragansett Country; Letters of Henry Jacie, 1633; Charlestown Church Affairs, 1678; Memoir of William J. Spooner; List of Members; Boston Bills of Mortality, 1818-1824.

VOLUME II. 1830. pp. 368. French Protestants, 1686; History of Cohasset; Reprint of Winslow's *New England's Salamander Discovered*, 1646, Cotton's Indian Vocabulary, from MSS., 1756; Plymouth Colony Records; Memoir of Dudley Atkins Tyng; New Hampshire Ministers; MS. Journals of the Long Parliament.

VOLUME III. 1833. pp. 408.—Reprint of Captain John Smith's *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England*, with Map, 1631; Reprint of Lechford's *News from New England*, 1642; Lion Gardiner's Pequot Wars, from MS.; Salem Witchcraft; Ministers in New Hampshire; Memoir of Christopher Gore; Reprint of Joselyn's *Two Voyages to New England*, 1676, and his *Chronological Observations*.

VOLUME IV. 1834. pp. 336.—Reprints of books relative to the Indians in New England, viz.: Eliot's *The Day-breaking*, 1647; Shephard's *Clear Sunshine*, 1648; Winslow's *Strength out of Weakness*, 1652; *Tears of Repentance*, 1653; Eliot's *Confession of the Indians*; Eliot's *Progress of the Gospel*, 1655; Also List of Massachusetts Representatives, 1689-1692; Description of American Medals.

VOLUME V. 1836. pp. 300.—Journal of the Congress at Albany, 1754, from the MS; Journal of a Treaty with the Six Nations, in 1775, from MS; Gist's Journal of a Visit to Ohio, in 1753; General Lincoln's Journal of an Indian Treaty, in 1793, with an Engraving; Autobiography of Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead, 1766; Memoirs of Rev. John Allyn, Samuel Davis, Rev. James Freeman, Rev. John Prince, and Rev. Ezra Shaw Goodwin.

VOLUME VI. 1837. pp. 300.—Reprints of Underhill's *History of the Pequot War, 1638*, P. Vincent's *History of the Pequot War, 1638*; Sir F. Gorges's *Description of New England, 1658*; Captain John Smith's *Description of New England, 1616*; Account of Hugh Gibson's Captivity, 1756–1759; Niles's History of the French and Indian Wars, from the MS; Description of American Medals.

VOLUME VII. 1838. pp. 304.—Account of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Bradford's Word to Boston; Governor Winthrop's Model of Christian Charity; Records of the Post Office, 1639–1760; D'Aulnay and La Tour; Whalley and Goffe; Instructions to Edward Randolph; Andros's Commission; Papers relative to Andros's Government; Higginson Papers, 1692–1700; Colonel Quarry's Memorial on the American Colonies, 1703; Memoirs of Isaac Allerton, Rev. John Hale, and Rev. Abiel Holmes; List of Portraits belonging to the Society.

VOLUME VIII. 1843. pp. 348.—Extract from Bernaldez History; Reprint of Gosnold's Letter, 1602, and Archer and Brereton's Accounts of his Voyage, and Tracts appended; Reprint of Rosier's *Account of Waymouth's Voyage, 1605*; and of Levett's Voyage, 1628; Gray's Remarks on the Early Laws of Massachusetts, with the Code of 1641, called *The Body of Liberties*, now first printed; Savage's Gleanings for New England History, containing Lists of Emigrants, &c.

VOLUME IX. 1846. pp. 301.—Memoir of James Graham; Account of the Pilgrims at Leyden; Memoir of Dr. Gamaliel Bradford; Indian Tribes in New England; Instructions to Governor Dudley, 1702; Memoir of Leverett Saltonstall; Reprint of Eliot's *Christian Commonwealth, 1661*; Semi-Centennial Address before the Society, by Palfrey; Adams's Discourse on the New England Confederacy of 1643; Memoir of James Bowdoin; Winthrop Papers; Letters to Governor John Winthrop, 1628–1651, from Roger Williams and others.

VOLUME X. 1849. pp. 360.—Winthrop's Papers, continued; Savage's Gleanings; Hunter's Suffolk Emigrants; Biography of Lion Gardiner; Memoirs of Hon. John Davis, Hon. John Pickering, and William Lincoln; Index, Table of Contents, &c., for the Series.

FOURTH SERIES.

VOLUME I. 1852. pp. 295.—Memoirs of Rev. William Adams, Rev. Eliphalet Adams, Philip Vincent, Rev. John Robinson and Rev. John Pierce; Hunter's Founders of New Plymouth: Savage's Gleanings, (continued);

Reprints of Robinson's *Manumission to a Manduction, 1616*; and of *Good News from New England, 1648*; and of Strachey's *History of Travaile in Virginia, 1609*; Letters from Dunster to Ravius, 1648; and Danforth, 1720, to C. Mather; Newell's Journal of the Siege of Boston, 1775–6.

VOLUME II. 1854. pp. 308.—Reprint of Clark's *Ill. News from New England, 1652*; Letters to Cromwell, 1650; Letter from C. Mather, 1720; Memoirs of Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, Thomas L. Winthrop and Rev. Alexander Young; The First Plymouth Patent; Letters of Dr. William Douglass, 1720–1728; President Dunster's Papers, 1640–1657; Memorials of Rev. John White and John White; The Leverett Papers, 1655; The Dudley Papers, 1685–1702; Judgment vacating the First Massachusetts Charter, 1684; Orders in Council, 1660–1693.

VOLUME III. 1856. pp. 476.—Governor Bradford's *History of Plymouth Colony*, from the MS. Edited by Charles Deane.

VOLUME IV. 1858. pp. 514.—Correspondence in 1774–1775, about Sufferers by the Boston Port Bill, 278 pages; Reprint of the *Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony, 1694*; Washburn's Account of the Extinction of Slavery in Massachusetts; Letters of Thomas Cushing, 1767–1775; Gage's Answers to Chalmers; Destruction of Tea at Boston; Letter from Andrew Elliott to Thomas Hollis; Notice of D'Aulnay; Roger Williams' Petition, 1651; Phineas Pratt's Narrative, 1668; Memoirs of Nathaniel M. Davis, Hon. Abbott Lawrence, and Rev. William P. Lunt.

VOLUME V. 1861. pp. 600.—Papers of Governor Thomas Hinckley, of Plymouth, 1676–1699, containing numerous letters, Commissions, &c., 308 pages; Niles's History of the French and Indian Wars, concluded.

VOLUME VI. 1863. pp. 602;—VOLUME VII. 1865. pp. 647.—The Winthrop Papers; being Letters preserved in the Winthrop family, and written from 1613–1675; Among the writers were John Humfrey, Hugh Peter, John Endecott, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Roger Williams, Theophilus Eaton, John Haynes, Edward Howes, John Winthrop, Jr., Peter Stuyvesant, John Wilson, Nathaniel Ward, Samuel Symonds, Herbert Pelham, Ezekiel Rogers, Richard Saltonstall, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, John Higginson, John Davenport, William Hooke.

VOLUME VIII. 1868. pp. 736.—The Mather Papers, consisting chiefly of letters written to Increase Mather. Among the writers may

be named Nathaniel Mather, John Cotton, John Higginson, Thomas Cobbett, John Bishop, Richard Blinman, Jonathan Tuckney, Joseph Eliot, Cotton Mather, Joseph Dudley, John Richards, Samuel Sewall, Edward Randolph, Simon Bradstreet, Samuel Willard, Abraham Kieck. Also many papers relating to the Regicides, Goffe and Whalley. The originals are in the Prince Collection of Papers, now deposited in the Public Library in Boston.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME I. 1855-58.—Memoir of Samuel Appleton, by Samuel K. Lothrop; Memoir of Abbott Lawrence, by Nathan Appleton; The opening of the Dowse Library; Hutchinson's Historical Publications, by Charles Deane; The Extinction of Slavery in Massachusetts, by Emory Washburn; Memoir of William P. Lunt, by Nathaniel L. Frothingham; Report on the Belknap Donation, by Charles Deane; Eulogy on Thomas Dowse, by Edward Everett. ILLUSTRATIONS: Portraits of Samuel Appleton, Thomas Dowse, Jeremy Belknap, George Washington, and Edward Everett; The Washington Chair; The Berkley Chair; Facsimile of Bradford's MS.—pp. 412.

VOLUME II. 1848-60.—Letters of Edmund Quincy; Meeting at Washington's Headquarters in Cambridge; The Golden Melice, by Robert C. Winthrop; Early Charters of Massachusetts, by Emory Washburn; Tribute to the Memory of William H. Prescott,—Remarks by Robert C. Winthrop, Geo. Ticknor, Josiah Quincy, Jared Sparks, James Walker, Edward Everett, and others;—Diary of Thomas Newell, 1773-74; Report on the "Heath Pers," Naturalization in the American Colonies, by Joseph Wallace; Proceedings on the death of Washington Irving. ILLUSTRATIONS: Portraits of Sir Richard Saltonstall and William H. Prescott; Washington's Headquarters at Cambridge; Facsimile of Signatures of French Protestants.—pp. 465.

VOLUME III. 1860-62.—Extracts from Bennett's MS. History of New England; The Ancient Stewards of Harvard College, by Lucius R. Paige; Memoir of Nathan Appleton, by Robert C. Winthrop, Report on the Exchange of Prisoners; Memoir of Samuel Hoar, by William Minot; O. W. Holmes on Ancient Medical Receipts; Memoirs of John Codman, D.D., and Charles Lowell, D.D., by William Jenks; Memoir of Nathaniel I. Bowditch, by Samuel N. Lothrop. ILLUSTRATIONS: Portraits of Nathan Appleton and N. I. Bowditch.—pp. 530.

VOLUME IV. 1862-63.—Report on the names of Streets, by Thomas C. Amory; The Narraganset Patent, by Thomas Aspinwall; Historical Research on Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens, and as Soldiers, by George Livermore; Memoir of Daniel A. White, by James Walker; Harvard College Accounts; General Knox on the General Arrangement of the Militia; Mather's *Magnalia* and Diary, by Charles Deane; Memoir of William Appleton, by Chandler Robbins, &c. ILLUSTRATIONS: The Great Seal of New England; Portraits of Daniel Appleton White and William Appleton; Facsimiles of Early Provincial Currency and of a Letter of Charles II.—pp. 503.

VOLUME V. 1863-64.—Memoir of Luther V. Bell, by George E. Ellis; Memoir of Charles Mason, D. D., by Andrew P. Peabody; Eliot's Account of the Physicians of Boston; Diary of Ezekiel Price, 1775-6; Letters, &c., of Phillis Wheatley; Villenage in England, by Emory Washburn; Remarks, by Robert C. Winthrop, on the Tercentenary Commemoration of Shakspeare; Tribute to Josiah Quincy,—Remarks, by Robert C. Winthrop, George E. Ellis, Edward Everett, and Richard H. Dana, Jun.;—Memoir of William Sturgis, by Charles G. Loring, &c. ILLUSTRATIONS: Portraits of Luther V. Bell and Charles Mason; The Seal of Louis, Duke of Orleans, 1405; Facsimile of Signatures of Privy Councillors, 1664; Facsimile of Bonner's MS. Plan of Part of Boston, 1714.—pp. 508.

VOLUME VI. 1864-65.—Sibley's Account of the Cambridge Triennial Catalogues; Memorial to Pishey Thompson; Portrait of Sebastian Cabot; Tribute to Edward Everett; Memoir of Professor Rafn, by Dr. Webb; Letter of B. Swartz, from Lima, 1724; Letter of Rev. Dr. Zubly, of Savannah, 1773; Dr. Stiles's Account of Rev. Samuel Lee, of Bristol; Memoir of Rev. Convers Francis, by Rev. William Newell; On the Death of President Lincoln; Notice of Joseph Willard; On the Origin and Sources of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, by Hon. Emory Washburn; Letters of John Andrews, of Boston, 1772-1776; Papers of Sir John Eliot; The First Letter of Columbus; List of Centennarians, by Dr. Joseph Palmer; On the Death of George Livermore; Hancock Memorials; Early Vessels sent to America—an Essay by Charles Deane; Letter to Franklin from the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1771; Letters from J. H. Trumbull and S. Alosfen; Portrait of Rev. Dr. John Elliott; Gift of the Plates of the Memoir of John Quincy Adams. ILLUSTRATION: Portrait of Everett; Facsimile of a Letter from Hampden to Eliot.—pp. 510.

VOLUME VII. 1866-67.—Letters of Rufus King;

Essay on the Origin of Towns in New England, by Joel Parker; Letters to Sir John Temple; Memoir of Josiah Quincy, by Dr. J. Walker; Tribute to Jared Sparks; The Early Painters and Engravers of New England, by W. H. Whitmore; Vote on Conway's Motion for Peace, 1782; On the Death of General Scott; Manuscript of Bacon's Rebellion; Death of Hon. Lewis Cass; Rev. John Wheelwright's Sermon, 1636; Memoir of Joseph Willard; Letter from Charles Deane; Sword of General Warren; Seal of the United States, 1782; Peabody Museum of Archæology; On the Death of Rev. William Jenks; On the name, Shawmat, by J. H. Trumbull; Vindication of General John Sullivan, by T. C. Amory; The Peabody Donation; Will of Captain John Smith; On George Herbert and John Cotton, by Rev. R. C. Waterston; Seal of the Council for New England, by Charles Deane; Journal of an Expedition from New London to Woodstock, 1699; Account of the Destruction of Deerfield in 1704; John Campbell's Letters, 1708; Installation of President Leverett, 1703. ILLUSTRATIONS: Portrait of Josiah Quincy; Engraving of Seal of the Council for New England.—pp. 524.

VOLUME VIII. 1867-1869.—Early New England Portraits, by Dr. Appleton; Memoir of Chief-justice Shaw, by Judge Thomas; Seals of Massachusetts, by T. C. Amory; Memoir of Rev. William Jenks, by Rev. G. W. Blagden; Report on the Hutchinson Papers; On the name of Flint's Pond, Worcester-county, by William Brigham; Letters from Hon. R. C. Winthrop; Memoir of Judge Story, by G. S. Hillard; Memoir of Jared Sparks, by Rev. G. E. Ellis; List of MSS. owned by the Society, in 1792; Bibliographical note, by W. H. Whitmore; Memoir of C. C. Felton, by G. S. Hillard; On the qualification of Voters under the Second Charter, by Ellis Ames; Colonial Papers, communicated by W. Noel Sainsbury; Harvard College Monitor's Bill, 1664-67, by F. B. Dexter; Memoir of George Livermore, by Charles Deane; Letter of Nathan Dane, relating to the Ordinance of 1787; Portrait of Governor Hutchinson; Will of John Eliot's father discovered.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I.—A Catalogue of its Library, in two Volumes.—pp. 732 and 651.

II.—1869.—Lectures delivered in a Course before the Lowell Institute, in Boston, by members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, on subjects relating to the Early History of Massachusetts; The subjects are as follows:

1.—Introductory Lecture, by Hon. R. C. Winthrop. 2.—The Aims and Purposes of the Founders of the Massachusetts Colony, by Rev. George E. Ellis. 3.—Treatment of Intruders and Dissentients by the Founders of Massachusetts, by G. E. Ellis. 4.—History of Grants under the Great Council of New England, by S. F. Haven. 5.—The Colony of New Plymouth and its relations to Massachusetts, by William Brigham. 6.—Slavery as it once prevailed in Massachusetts, by the Hon. Emory Washburn. 7.—Records of Massachusetts under its First Charter, by Hon. C. W. Upham. 8.—The Medical Profession in Massachusetts, by Dr. O. W. Holmes. 9.—Early Relations with the Indians, by Dr. Samuel Eliot. 10.—The Regicides sheltered in New England, by Rev. Chandler Robbins. 11.—The First Charter and the Early Religious Legislation of Massachusetts, by Dr. Joel Parker. 12.—Puritan Politics of England and New England, by Rev. E. E. Hale. 13.—Education in Massachusetts: Early Legislation and History, by Dr. George B. Emerson.—pp. 498.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, published quarterly, under the care of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. A list of the principal genealogies published in this magazine is given in the *American Genealogist*. The principal papers on other subjects are as follows:

VOLUME I. 1847. pp. 400.—Memoir of John Farmer; Graduates of Harvard; Ministers in Rockingham-county; Passengers in the *May Flower*; Courts in Merrimack-county, New Hampshire; Massachusetts Physicians; New England Alumni; Memoir of Judge Sewall; History of the Pilgrim Society; Memoir of Enoch Parsons; Memoir of Governor Endicott; Heraldry; Boston Ministers; Governor Hutchinson; Memoirs of Rev. Z. S. Moore and Dr. A. S. Upham; List of Scotch Prisoners sent here in 1652.

VOLUME II. 1848. pp. 417.—Memoirs of Rev. Increase Matther, Sir Henry Vane, John Bowles, Roger Conant, Dr. John Pomeroy, and Brant, the Indian Chief; The Roll of Battle Abbey; First Settlers of New Hampshire; Early Settlers at Reading, at Barnstable, at Hingham, and at Gorham; Roxbury Record; Epitaphs at Cambridge, Dorchester, Woburn, and Norwich, Connecticut; List of Passengers to New England and Virginia; Abstract of Wills for Suffolk-county, Massachusetts.

VOLUME III. 1849. pp. 418.—Memoirs of Sir Martin Frobisher, Rev. Benjamin Colman, Edward Rawson, Charles Frost, and Rebecca Rawson; Records of Boston; Early Physicians of Marietta, Ohio; Settlers at Salisbury; Marriages at Andover, Massachusetts; Weymouth Records; List of Massachusetts Freemen; Indian War Papers; Suffolk Wills; Northampton Deaths; History of Middleborough; Settlers at Barnstable.

VOLUME IV. 1850. pp. 488.—Memoirs of Oliver Wolcott, John Carver, Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, and Samuel Gorton; Ipswich Physicians; Letter of Rev. Thomas Mayhew; Records of Saybrook; Massachusetts Freemen; Records of Dover; Abstracts of Plymouth Wills and of Suffolk Wills; Records of Boston, Weymouth, Wrentham, Middleborough; Marshfield Epitaphs; Registers of Austerfield, England; Extracts from Candler Manuscripts; Tax-payers and soldiers in Plymouth Colony; Memoirs of Johnson, Willard, and Sheaffe; Registers of Cranbrook, Kent, England; Memoir of Eleazar and Richard Davenport, and Samuel Wright; Settlers at Gloucester.

VOLUME V. 1851. pp. 486.—Memoirs of Hugh Peters, Nathaniel Rogers, General Artemas Ward, and Rev. Thomas Prince; Stoddard's Journal; Salem Graduates; Colman Papers; Passengers for Virginia; Records of Windsor, Hingham, and Dover; Epitaphs from York, Dorchester, and Charlestown; Springfield Settlers; Rochester Settlers; Lynn Records; Boston Records; Wills at Plymouth and Suffolk; Dorchester Records; Letters of John Adams.

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VOLUME VII. 1853. pp. 388.—Memoirs of Governor Benjamin Pierce, of New Hampshire, General John Sullivan, and General John Stark; Epitaphs from S. Reading, Massachusetts; Suffolk Wills; Will of Thomas Appleton, 1504; Spurious Adams Pedigree; Items relating to Dover, New Hampshire;

Diary of Noadiah Russell, 1682; Adventures of Captain Lovewell; Ipswich Records; Settlers of Chatham, Salisbury, Essex, and Old Norfolk; New Hampshire, Dover, Wrentham, Boston, Nantucket, and Milton Epitaphs; Address, by William Whiting; Wells (Me.) Epitaphs; Plymouth Wills; Rev. Thomas Cobbet's Narrative of New England's Deliverances, 1677; Elegy on Rev. John Higginson; Researches among Funeral Sermons; Memoirs of Prince's Subscribers; Sewall's Interleaved Almanacs.

VOLUME VIII. 1854. pp. 388.—Memoirs of Samuel Appleton, Governor Increase Sumner, Peter C. Brooks, Captain Joshua Eddy, and Isaac Allerton; Sewall's Almanacs; Researches among Funeral Sermons; Prince's Subscribers; Suffolk Wills; Wills of Daniel Denison, Gregory Stone, and Sarah Stone; Danvers Epitaphs; Orders in Council, 1630 to 1641; John Dane's Narrative; Petition of New Hampshire Settlers, in 1689; West Roxbury Epitaphs; Indian Children put to service, 1676; Freetown Epitaphs; Bradstreet's Journal, 1664-1683; Massachusetts Colony Records; Settlers at and Records of Boston, Bradford, Dover, Marshfield, Provincetown, Salisbury, Essex, and Old Norfolk.

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mon; Records of Rowley; Essex Wills; Notes on Captain Kidd; Prosecution of Ann Pu-deator, 1692; Salem Records; Letter of the Salem Church to Andover and Methuen, 1734; Book of Salem Grants; Essex Probate Office; Balch Family; Whipple's Records, 1725-1738; Puritans and Separatists contrasted; History of Rockport; Philosophical Library at Salem; Will of Anne Bradstreet; Memoir of William Symmes; Notes on Ipswich and Hamilton; Journal of Samuel Page, 1779.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

VOLUME I. contains—Proceedings of Meetings at Trenton to organize the Society, January and February, 1845; Proceedings at Newark, May 7th, 1845; Discourse by Charles King, Esq.; Proceedings at Trenton, September 4th, 1845; Journal of Captain John Schuyler, on an Expedition to Canada, in August, 1690; Three Letters from Rev. Samuel Davies, President of Princeton College, 1759-60; Address by Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D.; Proceedings at New Brunswick, November 6th, 1845; Three letters from Governor Franklin to his Father, June and October, 1767, and May, 1759; Letter from William Strahan, London, 1766; Proceedings at Trenton, January 15th, 1846; Letter from Lord Cornbury to the Inhabitants of Bergen, 1706; Proceedings at Burlington, May 7th, 1846; Letter from William Doekwra, Proprietaries' Register, to Governor Andrew Hamilton, April 1st, 1693; An Account of a Journey in the Southern States in 1781, by Abel Thomas; An Account of the capture and death of the refugee John Bacon, by George F. Fort, M.D.; Extracts from a Paper on the Discovery and Settlement of Monmouth-county, by Rev. A. A. Marcellus; Proceedings at Salem, September 3d, 1846; Corrections of errors in Mr. King's Discourse; Exports of Salem-county; Criminal Statistics of Essex County; Proceedings of the Committees of of Freehold and Shrewsbury, on the opening of the Revolution; Index.

VOLUME II. contains—Proceedings of Society at Elizabethtown, November 5th, 1846; Proceedings of the Government of New York, December, 1675, to December, 1678, in relation to the settlement and jurisdiction of Major John Fenwick, in West Jersey; Journal of Lieutenant William Barton, during Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians, in 1779; Extracts from Journal of Doctor Ebenezer Elmer, during the same Expedition; Proceedings at Newark, May 27th, 1847; Second Annual Address, by Joseph C. Hornblower, LL. D., President of the Society; Proceedings at Newark, May 27th, 1847; Diary of Events in Charleston, S. C., from March 20th to April 20th, 1780, during the Siege by the British, by Samuel Baldwin; Proceedings at New Brunswick, June 25th, 1847; Journal of an Expedition to Canada, in 1776, by Lieut. Ebenezer Elmer, of the New Jersey Forces; Proceedings at Freehold, September 16th, 1847; Letter from Richard Stockton to Robert Ogden, about public affairs, 1765; Index.

VOLUME III. contains—Proceedings of the Society at Trenton, January 20th, 1848; Letter from James Logan to Colonel Cox, June, 1719, relative to the Dividing line of East and West Jersey; Journal of Ebenezer Elmer, (continued from Vol. II.); Proceedings at Newark, May 25th, 1848; Letter from David Ogden, February 20th, 1767, to the Claimants under Indian Purchases; Memoir of Rev. James Caldwell, by Rev. Nicholas Murray, D.D.; Extract from a Diary of Mr. Jacob Spicer, 1757; A brief Account of the Swedish Mission in Raccoon and Penn's Neck, by Rev. Nicholas Collin, D. D.; Proceedings at Princeton, September 27th, 1848; A Biographical Sketch of Governor William Franklin, by William A. Whitehead; Proceedings at Trenton, January 18th, 1849.—Letter from Governor Franklin to his Father, December 24th, 1774; Journal of Major William Gould during an Expedition into Pennsylvania, 1795; Index.

VOLUME IV. contains—Proceedings of meeting at Newark, May 17th, 1849; Memoir of Governor Lewis Morris, by Rev. Robert Davidson, D. D.; Census of Northampton, Burlington County, 1709; List of Judges, Clerks, Sheriffs, Surrogates and Attorneys of Salem County, from the settlement; Memoir of John Fenwick, chief Proprietor of Salem Tenth, by Robert G. Johnson; Letters from William Strahan to David Hall, describing the trial of John Wilkes; Proceeding of meetings at Freehold, September, 1849; State of Religion in the Provinces of East and West Jer-

sey, in 1700; The Battle of Monmouth Court House, by Charles King, Esq.; Letters from William Peartree Smith, to Elias Boudinot; Proceedings of Meetings at Trenton, January 17th, 1850; Letter from Rev. Uzal Ogden, Missionary to Sussex-county, July, 1771; Lease for a year from Dame Elizabeth Carteret, to the Twelve Proprietors, for East Jersey; The Aborigines of New Jersey, by Archer Gifford, Esq.; Index.

VOLUME V. contains—Proceedings of meeting at Newark, May 16th, 1850; Letter of Major-general Boron Steuben to Officers of the New Jersey Line, July 19th, 1793; Tables of the Sittings of the Provincial Assemblies, and names of members; Orders of Generals Schuyler and Sullivan to Colonel Jonathan Dayton, 1776; Proceedings of meeting at Morristown, September 12th, 1850; The Robbery of the Treasury in 1768, by W. A. Whitehead; The Hollanders in New Jersey, by Rev. Abraham Messler, D. D.; Proceedings of meeting at Trenton, January 22d, 1851; The American Union, and the Perils to which it has been exposed; by J. P. Bradley, Esq.—Letters of Joseph Sherwood, Provincial Agent; Proceedings of meeting at Newark, May 15th, 1851; Letter from Major F. Barber, 1776; Letter from Joseph Shippen, Jun., 1752; Selections from Correspondence of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling; Index.

VOLUME VI. contains—Proceedings of meeting at Somerville, September 11th, 1851; Letter from Robert Morris, 1781; Journal of Andrew Bell, Secretary of General Clinton, kept during the march of the British Army through New Jersey, in 1778; Inquiry into the location of Mount Ployden, by Rev. George C. Schanck; Review of the Trial of the Rev. William Tennent, in 1742, by Richard S. Field; Selections from Correspondence of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, in 1755; Proceedings of meeting at Trenton, January 15th, 1852; Selections from Correspondence of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, in 1755; Proceedings of meeting at Newark, May 25th, 1852; The Uses and Benefits of Historical Societies, by Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, LL. D.; Selections from Correspondence of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, in 1755; Proceedings of meeting at New Brunswick, September 8th, 1852; Description of site of Fort Nassau on the Delaware; by Edward Armstrong; The Pennsylvania Insurrection of 1794, by Rev. James Carnahan, D. D.; Proceedings of meeting at Trenton, January 15th, 1853; Report of the Corresponding Secretary on the Belcher Pa-

pers; Report of Committee authorized to examine supposed site of Fort Nassau; The Discovery of the Northmen: by Charles C. Rafn, Secretary of the Society of Northern Antiquaries; The History and Location of Fort Nassau on the Delaware, by Edward Armstrong; Index.

VOLUME VII. contains—Proceedings of meeting at Newark, May 19th, 1853; Letter from Tierwin, "ye Sachem of Pau," relative to "Cooks of Doging," in Collections, Volume I.; Biographical Sketch of General William Winds, by Rev. Joseph E. Tuttell; Selections from Correspondence of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, Major-general serving in the Revolution; Proceedings of meeting at Trenton, January 19th, 1854; Proceedings on announcement of Death of Hon. James G. King; "The Iron State, its natural Position, Power, and Wealth"; an Address, by Hon. Jacob W. Miller; Proceedings of meeting at Newark, May 18th, 1854; Diary of Joseph Clark, attached to the Continental Army, from May, 1778, to November, 1779; Proceedings of meeting at Trenton, January 18th, 1855; Letter from Rev. Dr. Hopkins to Rev. Dr. Bellamy, July 20th, 1758; Proceedings of meeting at Newark, May 17th, 1856; Index.

VOLUME VIII. contains—Proceedings of meeting at Trenton, January 17th, 1856; Drawings and Papers of Robert Fulton, in the possession of the Society; Account of the Establishment at Morristown of the First Academy, Library, and Printing Press; Proceedings of meeting at Newark, May 15th, 1856; Supplement to the Act of Incorporation; Proceedings of meeting at Jersey City, September 25th, 1856; Extracts of Manuscripts of Samuel Smith; Proceedings of meeting at Trenton, January 15th, 1857; Proceedings of meeting at Newark, May 21st, 1857; Field and Staff Officers, New Jersey Regiments in Revolution; Appointment of Nathaniel Jones as Chief-justice, in 1759, W. A. Whitehead; Journal of Captain David Ford, during the Expedition into Pennsylvania, in 1794; Proceedings of meeting at Trenton, January 21st, 1858; Proposals of Colonel Mawhood to the Militia of Salem-county, in 1778, and answer of Colonel Hand; Female Suffrage in New Jersey, by W. A. Whitehead; Brief History of the Boundary Disputes between New York and New Jersey, by Hon. James Parker; Staten Island part of New Jersey; Proceedings of meeting at Newark, May 20th, 1858; Extract from the Journal of Lieutenant Isaac Bangs; Proceedings of meeting at Trenton, January 20th, 1859. Proceedings of meeting at Newark, May 19th,

1859; The Circumstances leading to the Establishment, in 1769, of the Northern Boundary Line between New Jersey and New York, by W. A. Whitehead; Index.

VOLUME IX. contains—Proceedings at Trenton, January 19th, 1860; Extracts from Manuscripts of Samuel Smith; Marriages of Friends in Philadelphia, 1682-1714; Proceedings of meeting at Newark, May 17th, 1860; Origin of the name "Pavonia," by Solomon Alosfen; Memoir of Samuel G. Smith, by John Jay Smith; Project for raising money, in 1716, by William Pinhorn; Proceedings at Trenton, January 17th, 1861; Extracts from the minutes of New Jersey Supreme Court, 1765; Battles of Trenton and Princeton, by C. C. Haven; Proceedings at Trenton, January 16th, 1862; Announcement of Deaths of Rev. Dr. Murray and John P. Jackson, Esqr.; Memoranda relating to Dr. Franklin's Administration of the Colonial Post-office; Memoir of Mrs. Abigail Stafford and her times; "Proprietors' Order" respecting "Perth Tonne," 1683; Affairs of New York and New Jersey under the Joint Governors, by Cadwallader Colden; Letter to Governor Franklin from Hon. H. S. Conway; Under-Secretary of State, 1765; Proceedings at Newark, May 15th, 1862; Steamboat controversy between New York and New Jersey, 1811 to 1824, by John D. Ward. Proceedings at Trenton, January 15th 1863; Scandinavian Settlements in New Jersey; Proceedings at Newark, May 21, 1864; Proceedings at Trenton, January 21, 1864; Papers of General Elias Dayton; Proceedings at Newark, May 19th, 1864; Index.

VOLUME X. contains—Proceedings at Trenton, January 19th, 1865; Address on the Life and Character of the Hon. Joseph C. Homblower, LL. D., of the Hon. Richard S. Field; Proceedings at Newark, May 18th, 1865; Sketch of the McWhorter family, in New Jersey, by George C. McWhorter; Proceedings at Trenton, January 18th, 1866; Description of an Ancient Brass Tobacco box, by S. Alosfen; Instructions of Freeholders of Hunterdon to the Representatives of the County, 1771; Papers on the Eastern Boundary of New Jersey, by W. A. Whitehead; Proceedings at Newark, May 17th, 1866; Communication from Asher Taylor on the derivation of "Neversink;" Letter to Dr. Benjamin Franklin from the House of Assembly of New Jersey, December 7th, 1769; Account of the Portrait of Aaron Burr, in the possession of Society, by David A. Hayes; Objections of New Jersey to the Articles of Confederation submitted to Congress, June 23d, 1778; Re-

port of the Commissioners of the States at Annapolis, September 14th, 1786, relative to a better system of government for the States; Act of Incorporation of the Society; Members of the Society, December, 1866; Index.

SECOND SERIES.

VOLUME I. contains—Proceedings at Trenton, January 17th, 1867; Presentation of Sword of General James Giles of the Revolutionary Army; by Hon. Thomas P. Carpenter, with a sketch of his Life, by Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer. Proceedings at Newark, May 16th, 1867; Pedigree of Governor Philip Carteret; Staten Island and the New Jersey Boundary; Regimental Returns, December, 1776; Letter from David Ogden, of Newark, to Philip Kearney, of Perth Amboy, relative to the resumption of legal business without Stamps, in 1766; Proceedings at Trenton, January 16th, 1868; Proceedings at Newark, May 22d, 1868; Report of Committee on the Library, respecting the MS.—Minutes of the House of Commons, in the possession of the Society; Correspondence relative to a De Fleury Medal found at Trenton; Inscriptions on Tomb-stones in Topanemus Graveyard; Letter from General George Washington to Dr. Benjamin Franklin; Notes on the State of New Jersey, written August, 1776, by John Rutherford; Officers of Colonel Peter Schuyler's Regiment, 1759; Proceedings at Trenton, January 21st, 1869; Address on the Life and Character of Hon. James Parker, by Hon. Richard S. Field; Proceedings at Newark, May 51st, 1869; Paper, or some of the circumstances connected with the settlement of Elizabeth, New Jersey, by W. A. Whitehead; Index.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S MEMOIRS.

VOLUME I. Part I. 1826. pp. 228.—Inaugural Address, by William Rawle; Memoir on the Locality of Penn's Treaty with the Indians; Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania; Controversy between Penn and Lord Baltimore; Original Letters from William Penn.

VOLUME I. Part II, paging from 232-430.—Papers relative to Washington's Valedictory Address; Vindication of Heckewelder's History; Account of the towns of Buckingham and Solebury; On the Discovery of Anthracite Coal; The Medical History of Pennsylvania; Notes on Negro Slavery in Pennsylvania; Memoirs of Robert Proud and Sir William Keith; Original Letters of William Penn.

VOLUME II. Part I. 1827, pp. 247.—Anniversary Discourse by Roberts Vaux; Communication from Roberts Vaux, on the subject of two medals struck in Philadelphia, in 1757; Narrative of an embassy to the Western Indians, from the original MS. of Hendrick Aupaumut, with prefatory remarks by Dr. B. H. Coates; an account of the Settlement of the Dunkers at Ephrata, in Lancaster-county, Penn., by Redmond Conyngham, with a Short History of that Religious Society, by the late Rev. Christian Endress; History of the Introduction of Anthracite Coal into Pennsylvania, by Erskine Hazard, and a Letter from Jesse Fell, on the discovery and first use of Anthracite in the Valley of Wyoming; Sketches of the History of Byberry, by Isaac Cornly; an historical anecdote of Mr. John Harris, Sen., who was the first person of European origin that settled on the spot where Harrisburg now stands, by Samuel Breck; Instructions given by William Penn, in 1681, to his Commissioners for settling the Colony; a List of the Instructions, Letters, &c., from Thomas and Richard Penn, Proprietaries and Governors of Pennsylvania, to James Hamilton, by Joshua F. Fisher; Letters of William Penn to King Charles II. and to the Earl of Sunderland.

VOLUME II. Part II. 1830. pp. 221.—Notice of Life of Doctor Samuel Powel Griffith, by B. H. Coates, M. D.; Narrative of Sir William Keith's coming to the Government of Pennsylvania, with his conduct in it, by J. F. Fisher; Report of Committee appointed to examine the Minute Book of the Society for Political Inquiries; Some account of the Early Poets and Poetry of Pennsylvania, by J. F. Fisher; Life of Thomas Mifflin, by William Rawle, LL.D.; An Examination of the various charges brought by historians against William Penn, by Job R. Tyson; Memorials of Country towns and places in Pennsylvania, by John F. Watson; Speech of William Penn, addressed to the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, April 1, 1700; Colonel Robert Quarry's Information against the Government of Pennsylvania with William Penn's Answer thereto; Minutes of a Conference held by William Markham Lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania, with several Delaware and Susquehanna Indians, July 6, 1694; Officers of the Society 1830; Members elected since January, 1827; Honorary Members.

VOLUME III. Part I. 1834. pp. 292.—Translation of *A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden*, by Holm, 1702; History of the University of Pennsylvania; Letters of William Penn.

VOLUME III. Part II. 1836. pp. 248.—Dis-

course, by Dr. Coates, on the Origin of the Indians; Fisher's Discourse on the Private Life of William Penn; Memoir of Dr. Thomas C. James; Indian Treaty for Philadelphia; Indian Treaty at Schackamaxon, 1682; Lawton's Memoir of William Penn.

VOLUME IV. Part I. 1840. pp. 212.—Inaugural Address, by Duponceau; Memoir of William Rawle; Indian Inscrptions; Memoir of Robert Vaux; The Description of New Albion; Letters of William Penn.

VOLUME IV. Part II. 1850. pp. 391.—Tyson's Address, 1842; Remarks on Mercer-county; Translation of Pastorices' *Description of Pennsylvania*; History of Crawford-county; Indians of Lancaster-county; Catalogue of Papers relating to Pennsylvania and Delaware, in the State Paper Office, London.

VOLUME V. 1855. pp. 423. The History of an Expedition against Fort Du Quesne, in 1755, under Major-General Edward Braddock, by Winthrop Sargent.

[*This was the first volume issued at the cost of the Publication Fund.*]

VOLUME VI. 1858. pp. 429 and 7.—Account of the Society of the Cincinnati; Journal of the Meeting of the Cincinnati, in 1784; Insurrection of 1794; Penn's Treaty of 1682; The Acadian Exiles; Case of Major André.

VOLUME VII. 1860. pp. 498.—The Record of the Court at Upland, in Pennsylvania, 1676 to 1681; Major Denny's Journal, 1781 to 1795.

VOLUME VIII. 1867. pp. 428.—Minutes of the Committee of Defence of Philadelphia, 1814-1815.

COLLECTIONS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME I. 1853. pp. 426.—Conrad Weiser's Narrative, 1737; Proclamation; Overseers of the Poor of Philadelphia; Memoir of Charles Thomson; Morris Papers; Muhlenberg's Journal; History of Mooreland; Loxley's Journal; Germantown Courts, 1691 to 1707, &c.

ALLIED WORKS.

I.—Hazard's Annals of Pennsylvania, 1609-1682. 1850, pp. 664.

MARYLAND.

ALLIED WORKS.

I.—The History of Maryland, by John Leeds Bozman. 1837, pp. 728.

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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INSTITUTED AT THE CITY OF WASHINGTON, October 12TH, 1835.

VOLUME I. 1839. pp. not numbered. Address by Lewis Cass, pp. 58. Address by Levi Woodbury, pp. 63.

PETER FORCE'S COLLECTION OF TRACTS, ETC.

VOLUME I. 1836. pp. not numbered consecutively. Montgomery's Discourse about Carolina, 1717, pp. 24; Establishment of Georgia, 1733, pp. 16; State of Georgia, 1742, pp. 20; Historical Narrative of Georgia, 1741, pp. 80; Trustee's Account of Georgia, 1741, pp. 56; Nova Britannia, (concerning Virginia) 1609, pp. 28; The New Life of Virginia, 1612, pp. 24; Account of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, pp. 26; Mrs. Cotton's Account of the Troubles in Virginia, 1676, pp. 12; A List of those Executed for the Late Rebellion in Virginia, by Sir William Berkeley, pp. 4; Narrative of the Wars in Virginia, in 1675-6, pp. 48; Rev. John Higginson's New England's Plantation, 1630, pp. 14; Petition of W. Castell to Parliament, for the Propagation of the Gospel in America, 1641, pp. 12.

VOLUME II. 1838. Smith's Description of New England, 1616, pp. 48; Smith's New England's Trials, 1622, pp. 24; The Planter's Plea, 1630, pp. 56; Governor Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, 1631, pp. 20; Morton's New English Canaan, 1632, pp. 128; Annals of Virginia, for 1642, pp. 12; Description of New Albion, 1648, pp. 36; A Perfect Description of Virginia, 1649, pp. 20; Virginia and Maryland, 1655, pp. 48; Narrative of the Proceedings in South Carolina in 1719, 1726, pp. 40; Purry's Description of South Carolina, 1732, pp. 16; Description of Georgia, 1741, pp. 8.

VOLUME III. 1844. A True Declaration of the State of Virginia, 1610, pp. 28; Laws for the Colony of Virginia, 1612, pp. 68; Plain Description of the Bermudas or Sommer Islands, 1613, pp. 24; News of Sir Walter Raleigh, with the True Description of Guiana, 1618, pp. 28; The State of Virginia with the Names of the Adventurers in that Action, 1620, pp. 44; Orders and Constitution of the Company of Virginia, 1619-20, pp. 26; Shrigley's True Relation of Virginia and Maryland, 1669, pp. 8; Nath. Ward's Simple Cobbler of Agawam, 1647, pp. 60; Abstract of the Lawes of New England, 1641, pp. 20 (never passed but proposed by John Cotton); Norwood's Voyage to Virginia, 1649, pp. 52; E. W's Description of Virginia, 1650, pp. 64; Clayton's Letter from

Virginia, 1688, pp. 48; The Reformed Virginia Silk Worm, 1655, pp. 40; Hammond's Leah and Rachel, or Virginia and Maryland, 1656, pp. 32; Virginia's Cure, 1662, pp. 20.

VOLUME IV. 1846. Hackluyt's Discovery of Florida, 1609, pp. 132; Hilton's Relation of Florida, 1663, pp. 27; New England's Jonas, 1647, pp. 24; Narrative of Makemie's Trial, 1707, pp. 56; Journal of Von Reck and Bolzhus in Georgia, 1734, pp. 38; Simplicities Defence, by Gorton, 1646, pp. 116; Gorton's Letter to Nathaniel Morton, from MS. 1669, pp. 17; Andros's Commission of 3rd June 1686, from ms., pp. 14; The Revolution in New England Justified, and A Narrative by several of Andros's Council, 1691, pp. 59; Byfield's Account of the Revolution in New England, 1686, pp. 13; Brief Relation of the State of New England (by Increase Mather, probably), 1689, pp. 17; Jesuit Reports relative to Maryland, by Father White and others, 1633, translated from the original MS, pp. 48.

VIRGINIA.

ALLIED WORKS.

I.—History of Virginia, by Charles Campbell. 1830, pp. 765.

II.—Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia. 1856, pp. 541.

III.—Bishop Meade's Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia. Two Volumes. 1857, pp. 490 and 495.

NORTH CAROLINA.

ALLIED WORKS.

I.—Historical Sketches, by John H. Wheeler. 1851. Two volumes. pp. 138 and 480.

II.—Martin's History of North Carolina. 1829. Two volumes. pp. 325 and civ, and 411.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

COLLECTIONS OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME I. 1857, pp. 307. Inaugural Address, by F. A. Porcher; Narrative of Henry Laurens Imprisonment, 1780-82; Lists and Abstracts of Papers in the State Paper Office, London, relating to South Carolina.

VOLUME II. 1858, pp. 342. Oration by J. L. Petigru; Journal of the Council of Safety for the Province, 1775; French Protestants of Abbeville District; Oration by J. B. Cohen; List of State Papers continued; Vocabulary of the Catawba language, by O. M. Lieber.

ALLIED WORKS.

I.—Historical Collections of South Carolina, by R. R. Carroll, 1836. Two volumes, pp. 533 and 576; containing Dr. Hewitt's Historical Account, 1779; etc.

II.—Robert Mills's Statistics of South Carolina, 1826, pp. 782 and 47.

III.—David Ramsay's History of South Carolina, 1858. Two volumes, pp. 274 and 307.

IV.—W. G. Simms's History of South Carolina, 1840, pp. 355.

GEORGIA.

COLLECTIONS OF THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME I. 1840, pp. 307. Address by Hon. William Law; Account of the Province, 1733; Moore's Voyage to Georgia, 1744; Inquiry into the State of the Province, 1741; Reasons for Establishing the Colony, 1733; Life of General James Oglethorpe, by T. Spalding.

VOLUME II. 1842, pp. 336. Address by William B. Stevens; A New Voyage to Georgia, 1737; State of the Province, 1740; Causes which have retarded the progress of the Colony, 1743; Narrative of the Colony, 1741; Martin's Account of the Progress of the Colony, 1742.

ALLIED WORKS.

I.—Rev. George White's Historical Collections of Georgia, 1855, pp. 688 and 41.

II.—White's Statistics of Georgia, 1849, pp. 624 and 75.

III.—Rev. William B. Stevens's History of Georgia, 1847-1859, two volumes, pp. 503 and 524.

[NOTE. We have thus presented the record of the older Societies of the Atlantic States. In another article, we hope to complete the list of the publications of the Western and Southern States; and also of the smaller historical Societies and Printing Clubs. W. H. W.]

II.—THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL RECORDS, FEBRUARY TO DECEMBER, 1747.

Many of our readers are aware that some twenty years ago, during the time when Doctor John G. Palfrey was Secretary of State, measures were taken to obtain from England, duly certified copies of the Proceedings of the Council of Massachusetts, the original volumes having been destroyed by fire, in 1747. Finding, however, that there is a blank in the Records, from February to December, 1747, it has seemed desirable to point out this deficiency and its

cause and in part to remedy it from the newspapers of the day.

The nine volumes of transcribed Records cover the period from the twenty-fifth of May, 1686, to the twenty-ninth of December, 1687. Then there is a blank to the sixteenth of May, 1692; and then the Records are complete to the twenty-seventh of February, 1746-7. Then comes a blank, hereafter explained; then the original Records for eight years; and then a volume of transcribed Records, for the period from the thirty-first of May, 1765, to the fourteenth of May, 1774.

The original volumes, except that portion covering the administration of Andros, which may have disappeared at an early date, were destroyed in the fire which partly consumed the Old State House, in Boston, standing at the head of State-street. From the newspapers of that date, we copy the following account of this disastrous fire, the alleged cause of the disappearance of every old State-document which is not now forthcoming:

"Yesterday morning between 6 & 7 o'clock we were exceedingly surprised by a most terrible Fire which broke out at the Court House in this Town, whereby that spacious and beautiful Building, except the bare outward Walls, was entirely destroyed. As the Fire began in the middle or second Story, the Records, Books, Papers, Furniture, Pictures of the Kings and Queens, &c., which were in the Council Chamber, the Chamber of the House of Representatives, and the Apartments thereof, in that Story, were consumed; as were also the Books and Papers in the Offices of the upper Story: Those in the Offices below were mostly saved. In the Cellars, which were hired by several Persons, a great quantity of Wines and other Liquors were lost. The publick Damage sustain'd by this sad Disaster is inexpressibly great and the Loss to some particular Persons, 't is said will amount to several Thousand Pounds. The Vehemence of the Flames occasion'd such a great Heat as to set the Roofs of some of the opposite Houses on Fire notwithstanding they had been covered with Snow, and it was extinguished with much Difficulty. How the Fire was occasion'd, whether by Defects in the Chimney or Hearth as some think, is uncertain."—*Boston Weekly News Letter*, Thursday, December 10, 1747.

The account in the *Boston Evening Post*, for the fourteenth of December, adds, "the fine Pictures and other Furniture in the Council Chamber were destroyed as were also the Books, Papers and Records in both the Lobbies, and those in the Offices kept in the upper Story; but the County Records and Papers belonging to the Inferiour Court being

"deposited in an Office upon the lower Floor, were most of them preserved."

The same paper prints the following Extract from the *Journal of the House of Representatives*:
"12 December A. D. 1747.

"Upon a motion made and seconded,
"Resolved, that the House now make particular Enquiry how the late Fire in the Court House was first discovered, and by what Means it was occasioned. After examining the Door-keeper and receiving a particular account of the Time and Circumstances of his leaving the House, the Evening before, and enquiring of those Gentlemen who early discovered the Fire,

"Resolved, That it appears to the Satisfaction of this House, that the late Fire which consumed the Court House, proceeded from the Wood-work under the Hearth taking Fire, and that the Fire first broke out in the Entry-way between the Council Chamber and the Representatives' Room, and from thence went up the Stair Case, and through the Roof, and continued until the House was consumed."

The Records copied at the State Paper Office in London were authentic duplicates sent to the Home Government. In one case, however, in 1747, these documents are imperfect; and the reason is given in the following note:

[*Council Records for 1742-1747*, page 705, copied by Robert Lemon, in 1851.]

"MEMORANDUM. No Minutes of Council are preserved in the State Paper Office, from the 27th of February, 1746-7, to the 9th of December, in the same year; and the cause of the deficiency will appear by the following letter from Secretary Willard to the Board of Trade, dated the first of November, 1748. R. L."

"Boston, November 1, 1748.

"Sir.

"By William Shirley, Junr., Esq. who embarks for Great Britain on board one of the Mast-ships now bound home, I send you Copies of the Proceedings of the General Court, from the beginning of March, 1746, to the end of the Session begun and held May 25, 1748; with the Acts passed in those Sessions, certified under the Seal of the Province, as also copies of the Minutes of Council, from December, 1747, to the end of August, 1748. The Minutes of the Assembly and the Laws are a continuation of what were sent you home by His Majesty's Ship the *Mermaid* in the Summer of 1747, without any interruption, the General Court Book for that time being accidentally saved out of the fire when the Court House was burnt; but the Council Book being then destroyed, the Minutes of Council now sent

“you begin after the time of that fire. You will please to lay these Papers before the Lords Commissioners as usual. I shall acknowledge it as a great favor if you will please to send me one line to let me know of your receiving these Papers when they come to your hands.

“I am with due respect, Sir,

“Your very humble Servant

“JOSIAH WILLARD.

“On His Majesty's Service

“To THOMAS HILL, Esq^r

“Secretary to the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords

“Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

“Whitehall.”

In the newspapers of the day, however, will be found a list of appointments made by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council; and, as these Reports are undoubtedly correct, we have made a transcript of all those which we have found. As the Council met but a few times in a year for the purpose of considering nominations, we presume this list comprises all the officers appointed in these months. Still if any of our readers can add to the list, from other journals, we shall be glad to publish the additions.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL.

[From the *Boston Gazette* for Tuesday, June 30, 1747.]

“At a General Council held at the Council Chamber, on Saturday last, his Excellency was pleased to nominate the following Gentlemen to the respective Offices hereafter mentioned, viz:

“EPHRAIM LEONARD, Esq. to be a Justice of Peace, and GERSHOM CRANE to be a Justice of the Peace for the County of *Bristol*.

“THOMAS TERRY and SAMUEL WILLIS, Esqs. to be special Justices of the Pleas for the said County.

“JOSIAH EDSON, Jun. and THOMAS FOSTER, Esqs. to be Justices of the Peace for the County of *Plymouth*.

“JOSEPH WILDER, Jun. and JOHN CHANDLER, Jun. Esqs. to be Justices of the Peace for the County of *Worcester*.

“EDWARD WHITE, Esq. to be a Justice of the Peace for the County of *Suffolk*.

“NATHANIEL STONE, Jun. and ROWLAND ROBINSON, Esq. to be Justices of the Peace for the County of *Barnstable*; and MR. JONATHAN BOURN to be a Coroner for the said County.

“JONATHAN PRESCOTT and THOMAS GREENWOOD, Esqs. to be Justices of the Peace for the County of *Middlesex*.

“JOHN HILL, Esq. and RICHARD CUTTS, Jun., Esq. to be special Justices of the Pleas for the

County of *York*; and DANIEL MOULTON, Jun., Esq. to be a Justice of the Peace for the said County.

“EPHRAIM LEONARD, Esq. to be a Justice of the Quorum for the County of *Bristol*.”

[From the *Boston Evening Post*, August 27th, 1747.]

“At a General Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, on the 19th of August, His Excellency was pleased to nominate the following Gentlemen to the respective offices hereafter mentioned, viz.

“The Hon. JOHN CUSHING, SYLVANUS BOWEN, JOSEPH PYNCHON, Esqs. Justices of the Superior Court of Judicature in all cases relating to the Silver Scheme.

“JOHN WINTHROP, Esq. Justice of the Peace for the County of *Middlesex*.

“JOHN TASKER, Esq. Justice of the Peace for the County of *Essex*.

“CHAMBERS RUSSELL, Esq. Justice of the Inferiour Court, for the County of *Middlesex*.

“To which nominations his Majesty's Council did advise and consent.

“We hear that the Hon. CHAMBERS RUSSELL is appointed Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty of this Province, the Province of New Hampshire, and the Colony of Rhoad Island.”

[From the *Boston Weekly News Letter*, Thursday, September 17th, 1747.]

“At a General Council, held at the Council Chamber on Friday last, His Excellency was pleased to nominate the following Gentlemen to the respective offices hereafter mentioned; viz:

“JEREMIAH GARDNER, Esq. Justice of the Peace and Judge of Probate for the County of *Nantucket*.

“GEORGE GARDNER, JOHN BUNKER, and EBENEZER CALFE, Esqs. Justices of the Peace for the said County.

“JOSIAH COFFIN, THOMAS BROCK, JONATHAN COFFIN and GRAFTON GARDNER, Esqs. Justices of the Inferiour Court and Justices of the Peace for the said County.

“MR. CALEB BUNKER, a Coroner, ELEAZER FOLGER, Register of Wills, &c., and JOHN COFIN, Esq. Sheriff of said County.

“NATHANIEL DONNELL, Esq. a Justice of the Peace for the County of *York*.

“THOMAS WINSLOW, Esq. a Justice of the Peace for the County of *Barnstable*.

“ANDREW BURLEIGH, Esq. a Justice of the Peace for the County of *Essex*; and WILLIAM LEIGHTON, a Coroner for the County of *York*.

“To which nominations His Majesty's Council did advise and consent. Then the General Council was adjourned to Friday, the 2d of October.”

III.—BOSTON STREETS—1708.

[The following document giving the official description of the streets in Boston, in 1708, has, we believe, not been printed before, although the facts have been incorporated with others in an appendix in Drake's History of the City.]

Previous to this Act by which regular names were assigned to all the streets and lanes in the Town, there had been designations given to a portion at least by usage; this was however we think the first formal action of the Town authorities, and is therefore of great value in investigating the growth of the Town, since.

Boston.

W. H. W.]

f [Boston Municipal Records, II., (1660-1728,) 293-297.]

(P: 293) MAY THE 3D, 1708. At a meeting of Joseph Prout, Daniel Oliver, Daniell Powning, Thomas Cushing, Stephen Minot, Francis Thresher & Capt. Oliver Noyes, Selectmen for the Town of Boston,

Ordered that the Streets Lanes and Alleys of this Town as they are now bounded and named be accordingly recorded in the Town Booke w^{ch} are as followeth: viz^t.

The broad Street or High way from y^e old Fortification, on y^e neck, *Leading into y^e Town as far as the corner of y^e Late Deacon Eliots Hous Orange Street.*

The way below the Late Deacon Eliots Barn *leading from Orange Street, East ward by the Sea side Beech Street.*

The way *Leading Easterly* from s^d Deacon Eliots corner by y^e Late Deacon Allens Extending to Windmill point *Essex Street.*

The way *Leading* from the Late Elder Rasford's corner in Essex Street Extending Southerly, *in to Beach Street & so down to y^e Sea Ransfords Lane.*

The way *Leading* from the Late Cap^t Fray's corner extending Westward to the bottom of y^e comon wth a Turn Southerly *down to y^e sea Frogg Lane.*

The Street from y^e corner of the House in y^e Tenure of Capt Turfrey *nigh Deacon Eliots corner leading into Town as far as Doct^r Okes' corner, Newbery Street.*

The New Alley between M^r Blyns & Durants in Newbery Street leading *westerly* into the comon *Hogg Alley.*

The Street *Leading Easterly* from Wheelers corner in Newbery Street passing by y^e Towns watering place as far as Cap^t. Dyers Barn *Pond Street.*

The way *Leading* from Esq^r Ushers Barn Southwardly into Essex Street *Short Street.*

The way *leading* from the Lower end of Pond Street, North-easterly into Church Green by Sumer Street *Blind Lane.*

The way from Cowells corner in Newbery Street, *Leading westward into the comon West Street.*

The Street from Ellise^s corner nigh the uper end of Summer Street *Leading Westward into the comon Winter Street.*

The Street *Leading Easterly* from Doctor Okes his corner in Newbery Street *passing by the dwelling House of Cap^t. Tim^s Clark, extending to y^e Sea Summer Street.*

The Street from Baxters corner in Sumc^r Street *leading Southerly* by the Late Deacon Allens extending *down to y^e Sea South street.*

The way from Bull's corner at the Lower end of Sumer street *leading Southerly to Windmill point, Sea Street.*

The Street *leading* from Penemans corner at y^e head of Sumer-street passing by y^e South Meeting House to Haugh^s corner *Marlbrough Street.*

The way *leading* from Briscow^s corner in Marlborough street, passing by Justice Bromfields *in to y^e comon Rawsons Lane.*

The way *Leading* from the South meeting House passing by M^r Borland's & Mad^m. Oliver's & so down to the Sea by Hallawayes *Milk Street.*

The Alley *Leading Southerly* from Southers corner in Milk Street to Capt Clarks corner in Summer Street *Bishops Alley.*

The Lane *Leading So Easterly* from M^r Borlands corner in Milk Street, to Beards corner in Cow lane *Long Lane.*

The Street where M^r Daniel Oliver now dwells, passing from Milk Street up to Fort Hill *Oliver Street.*

The way *Leading* from Fort Hill Southerly to Morey^s corner in Summer Street *Cow Lane.*

The way from the Lower end of Summer Street *Leading North Easterly*, by the Sea Side, with the return up to the Rope walke, *Flounder Lane.*

The Alley by Whartons House in Cow Lane *leading Easterly*, into Harrisons Rope walke *Crooked Alley.*

The way from John Roberts^s House in Cow Lane *Leading Easterly* by Cap^t Bonners into y^e Rope walk, *Gridley's Lane.*

The way from the uper end of Cow lane *Leading Easterly*, passing by M^r Joseph Hubbert's down to y^e Sea, *Gibbs Lane.*

The way *Leading* from the Northerly Side of Fort Hill passing *down Easterly* by the old Brew House *in to Battrey March Sconce Lane.*

The Way *Leading* from Hollawayes corner by y^e end of Milk Street, passing by the Battrey extending to the Lower end of Gibbs lane *Battree March.*

The way *Leading Southerly* from Gibbs^s Lane on Fort Hill, passing by Drinkers to the Rope walke *Belcher's Lane.*

The way from Haugh^s corner *Leading North-westerly* by the Lattin Free School extending as far as M^{rs}. Whitcombs' corner *School Street.*

The way *Leading* from M^{rs} Whetcombs corner

west-erly through the uper side of the comon and so down to y^e Sea *Beacon Street*.

The way Leading from Beacon Street on the uper side of the comon unto M^r Allens Orchard *Davies Lane*.

The way Leading from Beacon Street between Cap^t Alford's Land & Mad^m Shrimptons Pasture up to Centrey Hill *Centrey Street*.

The Street from the Lower end of School Street Leading North^{ly} as far as M^r Clark the Pewterers Shop *Corn Hill*.

The way Leading from a Tenement of Capt Clarks nigh the Lower end of School Street to Winslows corner in Joylieffs Lane *Spring Lane*.

The Street Leading from Cox y^e Butchers Shop in Cornhill, passing by Major Walleys as far as Mrs Olivers Corner *Water Street*.

The Alley Leading from y^e End of Water Street through M^r Olivers Land by Odells into Milk Street *Coopers Alley*.

The way Leading from Water Street passing between Major Walley^s & M^r Bridghams Land into Milk Street *Tanners Lane*.

The Lane passing from Water Street in to Milk Street, according to the name by wh^{ch} it hath been formerly known *Joylieffs Lane*.

The way passing round the old meeting house *Church Square*.

The Street Leading from Corn hill including the ways on each side of the Town House extending easterly to the Sea *King Street*.

The Street Leading from M^r Derings corner in Corn hill to Houchen^s corner at the uper end of Hanover Street *Queen Street*.

The way Leading from the Mansion house of y^e Late Simon Lynde, Esq^r by Cap^t Southiaeks extending as far as Coll^o Townsends corner *Tra Mount Street*.

The way Leading from Melynes corner neer Coll^o Townsends passing through the comon along by Mr. Sheefs into Frog Lane *Comon Street*.

The Alley leading from y^e Comon Eastly on y^e North Side of Mad^m Ushers House, *Turnagain Alley*.

The way Leading from y^e Exchange in King Street, passing by M^rs Phillips^s into Water-Street *Pudding Lane*.

The way Leading from King Street by the House of Isaac Addington Esq^r wth y^e returne into Pudding Lane *Half Square Court*.

The way Leading from Maccartyes corner in King Street to Elder Bridghams ware house in Water Street *Leverets Lane*.

The way Leading from Justice Drummers corner in King Street passing over y^e Bridg as far as M^rs Dafforns corner in Milk Street *Mackrill Lane*.

The way Leading from y^e House formerly y^e

Castle Tavern in Macrill Lane passing by M^r Hallaway's wharfe to y^e Sea *Crab Lane*.

The way Leading from y^e Sign of the Orange tree passing by M^r Stephen Minots to y^e Mill pond, & from thence to y^e Lower end of Cold Lane *Sudbery Street*.

The way Leading from Emmons^s corner passing by Justice Lynds pasture extending from thence westerly to y^e Sea *Cambridg Street*.

The way passing on the northerly Side of Livery Stable in Justice Lynds pasture to M^r Allens Farm house *Green Lane*.

The way from M^r Pownings corner by Dock Square ^{leading} Southerly into King Street *Crooked Lane*.

The Square from the House of Eliakim Hutchinson Esq^r to M^r Pembertons corner on y^e one side & from Kennyes Shop to M^r Meers^s corner on y^e other side *Dock Square*.

The Lane Leading from Capt Savages corner in Dock Square to Mad^m Shrimptons corner in King Street *Shrimptons Lane*.

The way Leading from M^r Meers^s corner along by the side of the Dock as far as the corner of the warehouse formerly Major Davisis *Corn Market*.

The Alley leading from M^r Mountforts in Corn Market to Capt Fitchs corner in King Street *Peirses Alley*.

The way Leading from Justice Palmers warehouse in Corn market up to Moorecocks buildings *Corn Court*.

The way leading from Madam Butlers corner at the Lower end of King Street to the Swinging Bridge, & from thence to y^e lower end of Woodmansies Wharfe *Merchants Row*.

The way Leading from Platts Corner North westerly, passing by the Green Dragon to y^e Mill pond *Union Street*.

The Street from between Houchens corner & the Sign of y^e Orange tree, Leading Northerly to y^e Mill-bridge *Hanover Street*.

The way Leading from M^r Bembertons corner at y^e end of Dock Square, to Justice Lyds corner in Hanover Street *Wings Lane*.

The way Leading from the middle of Wings Lane to M^r Colemans Church & from thence two ways viz^t Southerly to Queen Street & East^{ly} to Dock Square, *Brattle Street*.

The new way Leading from M^r Pollards corner in Brattle Street through M^r Belknaps yard into Queen Street *Hilliers Lane*.

The Way Leading from M^r Harrises corner by Hanover Street north westerly down to the Mill Pond *Cold Lane*.

The way Leading from Capt Ballantines corner nigh the Mill Bridg to y^e corner of Capt Fitch^s Tenement in Union Street *Marshalls Lane*.

The way Leading from Brook^s corner in Mar-

shalls Lane passing by Mr Bulfinchs to Scot-tows Alley *Creek Lane*.

The way Leading from Creek Lane to Capt Bows corner in Union Street *Salt Lane*.

The way Leading from Creek Lane to Mr Webbs corner in Union Street *Marsh Lane*.

The way Leading from the sign of the Star in Hanover Street, passing Northward behind Capt Evertons house *Link Alley*.

The way from the Conduit in Union Street Leading Northerly over y^e Bridge, to Ellistons corner at y^e lower end of Cross Street *Ann Street*.

The way from Mr Antrams corner nigh the s^d Conduit Leading *from thence* North East^{ly} by y^e side of y^e Dock as far as Mr. Winsors ware-house *Fish Market*.

The new way from Union Street passing Souther *westerly* between the buildings of the late Capt Christopher Clark deceased *Minots Court*.

The Alley by Capt Habijah Savages in Ann Street Leading North westerly to Creek Lane *Scottows Alley*.

The way between Capt Winsors & Mr^s Pember-ton in Ann Street Leading to the warfes by the swinging Bridg *Swing bridg Lane*.

The Street from Mountjoyes corner at the Lower end of Cross Street leading Northerly to y^e sign of the Swan by Scarletts Wharfe *Fish Street*.

The leading North Westerly from Mr Thomas s corner in Ann Street *Pudding Lane*.

The Street Leading from the Mill Bridg Northerly as far as Mr Jonas Clarks corner at y^e end of Bennet Street *Middle Street*.

The way Leading Northerly from Stanburyes corner nigh the Mill Bridg as far as Mr Gees corner into Prince Street *Back Street*.

The way Leading from the Mill Pond South Easterly by y^e late Deacon Phillips^s Stone house extending down to y^e Sea *Cross Street*.

The way Leading from the North Westerly end of Cross Street *passing Northerly* by Verings House nigh the Mill Pond *Old Way*.

The lane by the House of y^e late Capt Tim^s Prat deceased Leading from Middle Street to Fish Street & so down to y^e sea *Wood Lane*.

The way from Wales^s corner in Middle Street Leading North Westerly into Back Street *Beer Lane*.

The Alley Leading from Ann Street between y^e late Capt Lakes & Nanneys buildings to Mr Indicots Shop in Cross Street, *Elbow lane*.

The Alley Leading from Fish Street to Middle Street between y^e lands of John Clark Esq^t and y^e Successors of Sam^l Gallop deceased *Gallops Alley*.

The Street Leading *North westerly* from Morrells corner in Middle Street pass-ing by Mr

David Nortons Extending to y^e Salt water at Ferryway *Prince Street*.

The Street Leading Northerly from the Easterly end of Bennet Street *nigh* Mr Jonas Clarks extending to the Sea *North Street*.

The Street Leading from Williamss corner nigh Mr Jonas Clarks South Easterly down to y^e Sea by Scarlets wharfe *Fleet Street*.

The Alley Leading Northwesterly from the North Meeting house into Middle Street *Bell Alley*.

The Square liing on y^e South^{ly} side of the North Meeting House including y^e wayes on each side of y^e watch house *Clark Square*.

The way Leading South Easterly from the North Meeting House into Fish Street *Sun Court*.

The way Leading from the North meeting House Northerly by Capt Thomas Barnerd into Fleet Street *Moon Street*.

The Way leading *Northerly* from Mad^m Winsley^s corner between Coll^o Foster^s & Mr Frizzells into Fleet Street *Garden Court*.

The Way Leading Northerly from Everton^s corner nigh Scarletts wharfe to the North Battrry *Ship Street*.

The way Leading North westerly from the North Battrry to the Ferry way by Hudson^s Point *Lyn Street*.

The way leading along the Shore from Hudson^s point S^o West^{ly} to the Mill Streem by Mr Gees building yard *Ferry Way*.

The Street Leading Northwest^{ly} from Mr Ransfords corner in North Street, towards the Ferry point at Charlestown *Charter Street*.

The Way Leading from Cerwithys corner in Prince Street to Mr Phipps^s corner in Charter Street *Salem Street*.

The way Leading *Northerly* from Travises corner in Prince Street to the end of Ferry way by Hudsons point *Snow Hill*.

The way Leading S^o East^{ly} from Snow Hill to Salem Street *Hull Street*.

The way Leading North westerly from Mr Jonas Clarks corner to Salem Street, *Bennet Street*.

The way Leading *North westerly* from Cap^s Stevens^s corner in North Street with y^e returne into Bennet Street *Love Street*.

The Alley Leading from Charter Street down by Benj^s Williams^s in Lyn Street *Sliding Alley*.

The Alley Leading from the burying place in Charter street to Adkins^s Lime Kiln in Lyn Street *Lime Alley*.

The way Leading from Charter Street down by Mrs Buckleys into Lyn Street *Henchmans Lane*.

The Alley Leading from Charter Street down through Mr Greenoughs building yard into Lyn Street *Greenoughs Alley*.

The Alley Leading from North Street down by the Salutation into Ship street *Salutation Alley*.

The Alley Leading from North Street along by Mr William Parkmans into Ship Street nigh the North Battreey *Battreey Alley*.

The Alley Leading from North Street down to Capt Richards' corner in Ship Street *White Bread Alley*.

IV.—HEZEKIAH USHER, JR'S. WILL.

[The Will of Hezekiah Usher, jr. of Boston, preserved on the records of Suffolk-county, Massachusetts, seems worth reproducing in print as a literary curiosity.

The testator was the son of Hezekiah Usher, Sr. of Boston, a very noted man in the early history of the town; and was the brother of John Usher, proprietor and Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire, whose name often appears on our records.

The family was probably from the neighborhood of London, as Hezekiah Usher, Sr., was the brother-in-law of John Harwood, of Bendall Green, and his daughter married Samuel Shrimpton, of a family resident in the same village. John Usher habitually used the same coat-of-arms as that of the family to which the famous Archbishop Usher belonged; and, under the circumstances, we think this a strong proof that the American Ushers were nearly related to this family.

As Hezekiah Usher, jr., married a daughter of Lady Lisle, one of the victims of Jeffery's cruelty, it has seemed proper to give a fuller sketch of that lady than the standard histories afford.

W. H. W.]

Boston.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That I, Hezekiah Usher, sometime of Boston in New England, considering the mortality and frailty of all Mankind in this world (and now in special by reason of y^e Heathen Enemy) Do see cause to revoke my Will that was owned before Joshua Moody and John Russell &c. the 7th of July 1687, and declare this to be my last Will and Testament.

First, I do acknowledge my selfe a great Sinner, for which God in his righteous Judgment hath in many ways afflicted me, (as thinking to give my selfe some diversion, I have followed some pleasures that hath not been so helpful, but hath been more hurtful.) And do find and believe a honest calling to be brought up in, & diligent in it, is the best to be attended, and to prevent many Sins, especially Idleness, which together with pride, may prove ruinous to this poor Country, and though my sins are many (and to some sins I have given entertainment, which have for some time even stopped the mouth of Prayer & Kindred Communion with God,—and caused him to withdraw; for as our falling into sin is gradual, and so our departing from God generally is, if God leave us We shall be given up to Hypocrisy and Impenitency, unless there is a new Conversion and we return to God and God return to us,) I yet hope through the Grace of God bestowed on me, there is a Repentance, and hope of Remission through the Suffering of my Lord & Saviour (as I hope) and Mediator, Jesus Christ, & of my acceptance into

God's Favor, and hopes of his mercy forever extended to me. By writing of these few Lines it's that every one should consider seriously within himselfe. Do not I live in some known sin? pride, pleasure, Covetuousness, overreaching, that are hardly to be discerned & more difficult to be rooted out. And it may be, this may be as an Arrow at adventure, that may enter into the joint of the Harness, or else no Likelihood of any good to be done, and yet, however good words in Prayers, yet if the Soul is conscious to itselfe that some beloved sin of pleasure or profit is too much indulged in, the Soule may prove an Achan to him or them that con-ceale it. For it's hypocrisy, to pray to God to repent of sin, and have general acknowledgements, and yet to retain their beloved sin or sins, and will not part with them; and therefore this to be a Warning to leave off our sins though pleasant or profitable, as at the end it will be more bitter than sweet; whereas the labour for good, the Labour passes & the Good remains: and on the other hand he that hath much pleasure in his sin, the pleasure, that is gone, but the guilt and evil thereof remains. And as David saith: "Man at his best estate is vanity," and Solomon, that "Vanity of vanities," and, "all is vanity" and vexation of spirit."

And when it shall please God to bring my Change on me as for my body, I desire it may be decently buried, and not much money be spent on my Funeral, for I have seen some that have been so expensive at their Funerals, that the living have suffered for the burying of the deceased. And as to the dispose of my outward Estate. In the first place, I desire that all my due debts should be paid as soon as possibly may be, And unto my dear wife, whom I may count very dear by her Love to what I had but not a real Love to me, which should accounted it more worth than any other outward Enjoyment; and for her covetousness & overreaching & cunning Impression that has almost ruined me by a gentle behavior, having only words but as sharp swords to me, whose Cunning is like those to be as an Angel of Light to others but wanting Love and Charity for me, and like Sir Edm^o to oppress the people and his hand not to be seen in it and done by his Council. And therefore I do cut her off from the benefit of all my Estate, & do not bestow anything upon her but what the law doth allow. Because I look upon her as deceivable in going over for England, getting & grasping all her Estate to be in her hand, and of mine whatever was done for her by me to be ungrateful; and her staying away to be an implicit Divorce, and gives it into the hands of women to usurp the power out of the hands of their Husband's, rather than in a way of humility to seek their Husband's

good. If they can live comfortably abroad without them they regard not the troubles or Temptations of their Husbands at home, & so become separte; which is far worse than the Doctrine of Devils which forbid to marry. But as to her Daughter Bridget if her mother had not been so undermining & overreaching for her I should have been willing to have done what I could for her. And do give her the Tumbler with the Arms of a spread Eagle with two heads, (but I think one head for a body is enough) and the Table cloth of the best Damask & the napkins thereto. And this my Will I make to be a Warning to those women that have no Love for their Husbands, but to what they have; which one had better had a Wife that had not been worth a groat, than to have one that hath no love for him. And do desire those many papers that I have writ as to the Evil of having a Wife only in name, & to seek themselves in a way of separation from their Husbands & the duty of Wives to their Husbands &c;—that they & all my Letters sent to Madam Bridget, may be perused by some wise understanding pious person, that where anything hath been acted by myself that is not convenient, something may be added for a supply; but let him be one that is for men to Rule in their owne house;—that it may be a matter of benefit to some that may follow after me; for which end I do propose that he or they might have £30 or £40 allowed him or them for the compiling of the same. As to her that is reputed my Wife if she acknowledges anything wherein she hath done amiss, I freely forgive her; I do not excuse my selfe altogether, but my Love to her & admiring of her gentele carriage &c, occasioned her & her complices to usurp that power over me whereby I have been cunningly overreached and abused several ways, & therefore propose this for warning to others.

Concerning the sum of £350 to be paid to her, I am in Bonds; and she would have had a Letter of Attorney from my selfe and against my selfe; her separating of her selfe & Estate I couat as the disannulling & breaking of Marriage Covenant,—and so a Divorce.

Concerning my relations, I could wish there had been a real Love between us. But so far as I perceive, their own Interest hath been sought by them either principally or remotely: and though I may be faulty in some things yet to be so disregarded as I have been, it hath been a trouble to me.

My Brother Jonathan Ting who has been the most obliging of them, I do desire he may be my Executor, and have the advice of my uncle Wyllys.

Though my estate is encumbered yet if it please the Lord to bless New England & cause

them to flourish, I believe my Estate will be something considerable; & whether it will be attributed to Melancholy or distractedness that I make such a will, I must leave it—but could wish that all things had been better managed on all accounts.

As to my brother Usher, I allow him the ten pounds due for warehouse, and the twenty-five pounds difference as part of the one quarter of the Stock that belonged to go to the Estate of my Honored Father, deceased, I bestow upon his wife and children.

As to my Brother & Sister Shrimpton, I give to them ten pounds apeece in acknowledgement of former kindnesses received.

As to my Brother Ting & Sister Ting I do give unto them one hundred pounds to be at their dispose.

Concerning the minerals, If it anything considerable should be, my will is, for the one half to be given to my Brother Ting & the children begotten of my Sister Ting, & the rest for public charges;—only somewhat to be paid into the hands of Mr. Dyer, for the relief of himself & of some others that laid out more than is convenient in Minerals, as my selfe at present do think I have done.

To my Uncle Wyllys to give him twenty pounds, and to my Aunt Wyllys ten pounds, & if my Estate will not reach to what is proposed, then to proportion it accordingly. And as to Robert Usher, if he should marry and it should please God to afford him children, that then the Farm at Nonacowcos, or part of it, or some other Farme might be for him to live on, and his children to be brought up with Learning; but especially that of one of his sons, if he should have any, that may prove most docible, not having regard to elder or younger, But he that is most ingenious may be brought up to Learning; & so, what is left after my cousin Robert's decease, if any scholar, he to be brought up to enjoy it. And for the Land no ways to be disposed in Sale, but most of the Revenue etil to bring up a scholar that, if it please, he or they may be an Instrument or Instruments to do much good in the time of their being here in this world. Or else, to be disposed on some poor man's Son that is very desirous to be a Scholar; but let him be ingenious & bashful, rather than to be too confident & bold; for that generally is not wanting to those that have large parts or think they have. You may bestow some gold rings on some Relations if you please, but as to a real Cordial Friend they are like to a Phoenix, rarely to be met with.

But if some should meet with this Will they would count it that it is not *compos mentis*. In one sense I will owne it; for I know not what to do for I have so many Relations, that if I

should go to them for relief, (as the old Proverb is), I should be well fitted.

But to my dear Relations & Friends that have any well wishes for what I have rather than for myself, I wish wherein they have done well, they may have the good and the comfort thereof; & wherein they have done amiss, that they may truly repent & return to the Lord, that he may bestow his Grace & mercy upon them. Some may take delight in their children when they go to Lectures to hear Sermons, though I believe to many that much good it hath done them; but on the other hand, have a care that they do not go thither more for pleasure than profit, which edifies not, and that children be employed in some Employment & Calling and so to betake themselves to it; for hearing of Sermons, and attending Prayer, Private Meetings, or being brought up a Schollar, or one that hath a general knowledge, will not maintain without some Employ or calling; and it's to be feared that some that are ready to go to all Meetings, yet if they neglect their particular Duty & Calling at home, it may not issue in good to their Family.

But all things ought to be done orderly with wisdom and prudence to Edification; not to have men's abilities and persons in Admiration so as to neglect those that duty does oblige to honor. And it's generally reported that men of parts have not that Love to the Ministry as they should, but to make use of it so far as it may be helpful to them. And others that are in the Ministry do adhere to particular partys & do seek the favor and Company of those that are most beneficial and delightful, especially the affectionate good Madams, thinking the best not good enough for them,—with something of a neglect of those that formerly have been obliging; & others that should be visited for Godliness sake, which rarely is to be found, together with neglect of Studies, & not with that gravity & meekness as ought to be. The which those that are not guilty, it hath no reflection on them, But those that are, let them reflect within themselves. I wish there may be a narrow Search & what is amiss may be amended. For to be truly religious, free from Covetousness & vain glory, & to be pious, meek, & humble, it is very rare to find any.

To my Wife, if she comes over to New England before she heareth of my decease, with an intention in Love to live with me, then I bestow on her Three hundred pounds; the which is to be paid out of plate, Household Stuff, or the best can be made out of my estate. To Mrs. Lake, I give to her twenty pounds, To her Daughter Cotton ten pounds. To her son at Mr. Shrimpton five pounds. To old Mrs. Poole five pounds, whom I looke to be a friend to me

& my wife; for the rest generally are partial, leaning to Madame's side, which [I] fear by their Counsel & affection each to other, have caused her to err from the Rule, whatever high Conceits they may have for their own wisdom & knowledge.

It may be asked why I make such a Will? The Reason, Because what I have said when alive, I believe it's forgot; But what now [I] write, it may be some may remember it, & [I] do wish it may be for their good.

(To Hezekiah Browne I forgive his debt.) I hardly finding any footsteps for such a Will as this, nor neither know I where to meet with a wise, humble, & meek man, (the which I could wish there were many of them) to communicate my self to, unless it be one or two whose occasions will not permit; and so [I] expect by some they will find fault, and condemn it, & me also. But I shall then after my decease, have no Eares to heare them, or to be troubled at what they may say. But on the other hand, it may be an occasion to some that may follow, not to flatter when they are getting out of the world, but to leave some sayings and prescriptions that may be of benefit to future ages; then I [shall] have attained the end of the writing of this Will, which in most things I could wish I had occasion that it should 'a' been otherwise.

I wish to Relations Friends, & all people, that they might walk more circumspectly, lovingly, holily, & humbly with God, that the Lord in mercy may return with a Blessing to their Soul, Bodys, & Estates,—and to enjoy Communion with God here, & to be made Vessels of honour fit for the Lord's use; and when they shall have ended these few days here they may be partakers with eternal communion with God forever.

Which is, as I hope, the humble request of my Lord with God for my selfe, & so declaring this to be my last Will until I see cause to change it. I fear many that pray they do it as a Task or Custom, & when that is done, they have done; & do not mind whether they have a return or not; but some when at their house do too much Feast, something is necessary to refresh.

To Goodman Warner I forgive what money is due from him for Rent, & to Mr. Wallis I give five pounds.

At Nonacowcos Farme y^e 17 of August Anno Dom. 1689.

HEZEKIAH USHER.

Sealed & declared to be my Act & Deed as to ye contents within, being declared to be my Will at Nonacowcos, in y^e presence of

SAMUEL WORNER.

SAMUEL WARNER, JR.

The mark of THOMAS X WILLIAMS,

The mark of TIMOTHY X COOPER.

[NOTES TO HEZEKIAH USHER, JR'S WILL.]

NOTE I.

"The L'ISLES or DE INSULAS are of a noble family; they bore topaz, on a chief, sappire, three lions, rampant of the first; they took their name from the Isle of Wight, where, and in Hants, they had large estates, flourishing in great credit and honor, the most memorable of them was John de Insula Vecta, summoned by that name to the House of Lords in the reign of K. Edw. II.

"The Lord Lisle was the son of Sir William Lisle, of the Isle of Wight, Knight, who died during the treaty of the Isle of Wight, and left this, his son, a fair estate; He was bred to the law; chosen a member for Winchester, 15 and 16 CHA. I.; and took the Covenant in 1643, became a Colonel in the Army; a commissioner of the new Great Seal, and an assistant to Bradshaw, the President of the High Court of Justice that tried the King, sitting close to, and constantly attending the President, during the whole time. He was chosen one of the Council of State in the year 1649 and 1650; and the Parliament for his services, gave him the mastership of St. Cross, an ecclesiastical preferment, worth eight hundred pounds per annum, and for his sake, a reverend Doctor was deprived. He was one of the Council of State in 1653; and though partial to a Commonwealth, accepted many places under the Cromwells, particularly that of Keeper of the Great Seal, which, Whitlock informs us, from his want of experience, he was ill able to execute. He was Recorder of the town of Southampton, called in 1654 and 1656; he was also appointed a Governor for Schools and Alms-houses: but what was much to his disgrace, Oliver made him the tool of his severity—he was President of his high High Courts of Justice, in which were condemned the unfortunate Colonel Gerard, Mr. Towel, Sir Henry Hingsby, and Doctor Hewet. He sat in the restored Parliament; but finding the confusion must end in the restoration of royalty, he prudently retired to the Continent. The Parliament proscribed him and confiscated his estates. He was, perhaps, as President of the High Court of Justice, the most unpopular character in the Kingdom, for it was debated in Parliament to condemn every person who had ever sat in any High Court of Justice. Three Irish ruffians shot him dead as he was going to church, at Lansanne, in 1664 by procurement of some of the Royal family, probably the Given-mother. He has the character of a clouded, severe republican."—NOBLE'S *Memoirs of the Protectorate House of Cromwell*. 373, 374.

To the foregoing I have but to add, from Burke that the Lisles were formerly Barons of

England, by the title of Lord Lisle, of the Isle of Wight, which title has been in obedience since the reign of Edward IV.

Of this family was the great Sir John Lisle, one of the first twelve Knights of the Garter, Lord High Admiral of England, *temp.* Ed. III, and a soldier in the Holy Wars, where he greatly distinguished himself. He was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and in St. George's Hall his arms are emblazoned.

John Lisle, one of Cromwell's Lords, as before mentioned, was of this family. He married in 1637, Alice, daughter and coheirress of Sir White Beckonshaw, of Moyles Court, Co. Hants, by Edith, his wife, daughter and coheirress of William Bond; Lady Lisle was thus connected with the families of Bond, Long, Whitmore, Churchill, and many others of distinction.

The cruel fate of Lady Alicia Lisle has invested the name with a painful interest. From the vivid pages of Macaulay's *History* and the more minute record in the *Life of the Duke of Monmouth*, by George Roberts, I have attempted to compile an account of this most iniquitous trial.

After the failure of Monmouth's ill-advised and futile attempt to win the kingdom, commenced the task of discovering and punishing his followers. Judge Jeffreys, whose name has become a synonym for judicial tyranny and wanton cruelty, commenced his campaign in the West, where the "Bloody Assize" began at Winchester.

Two of the vanquished rebels, John Hicks, and Richard Nelthorpe, the former a Nonconformist divine, and the latter a lawyer who had been outlawed for his share in the Rye House Plot, had sought refuge in the house of Lady Lisle. She received them, and sheltered them, but, on the following morning, a party of troops searched the house, and discovered them both. This case was the first which was presented to Jeffreys; and he determined to give, at the outset, a fearful warning to the guilty Dissenters.

The hearing of the Judge was violent and overbearing; the witnesses as we shall see were confused in their statements; and the jury brow-beaten and forced to give a verdict entirely opposite to their sympathies and belief. It was a matter of doubt whether Lady Lisle knew that her guests had served under Monmouth. Her own declaration was, that she believed Hicks to be in concealment, only for the offence of preaching at conventicles; and there was no testimony to rebut this statement.*

*Bishop Burnet, who had great facilities for knowing the truth, says that on learning the crime of her guest, she sent a messenger to a neighboring Magistrate to inform him, desiring, however, that they might have an opportunity of escape. She seems to have been the victim of a conspiracy, as she hints in her dying speech.

Again, the Jury inquired whether the prisoner could be found guilty of concealing a person who had not been convicted of any offence, as Hicks had not been tried. The Judge, in defiance of law and equity, replied that it made no difference. On the other point, the Judge, equally contemning the rules of justice and propriety, told the Jury that Nelthorps had privately informed him of the whole conversation between Hicks and himself at supper, when it was asserted, Hicks informed his hostess of the true cause of his concealing himself. It was on the strength of this evidence that the charge of misprison of treason was to be sustained. Besides thus performing the task of a witness, Jeffreys cross-examined the witnesses with the utmost ferocity.

He terrified one witness, who sought to prevaricate in order to shield his mistress, by religious admonitions, thus working on his belief as a Presbyterian. Having silenced and bewildered all who had aught to urge for the defence, he proceeded to charge the Jury in a tirade of abuse against the Whigs and Dissenters. The Jury, composed of the gentlemen of Hampshire, were not easily driven to deliver a verdict of Guilty. They remained long in consultation, till the Judge, after waiting impatiently, sent them a message to the effect, that the case was so clear, that he saw no reason even for leaving the box. Thus driven, the Jury returned to say that they held the proof insufficient. Again, they were sent out, after receiving the expostulations of the Judge; and at length, worn out, they reluctantly complied with his wishes by a verdict, the third one, of Guilty.

"If I had been among you and she had been my own mother, I should have found her guilty," said the impartial Judge; whose sentence was that she should be burned alive, that very afternoon.

Cruel as Jeffreys was, he was even more avaricious; and, in the hope of receiving a bribe, he threw out this hint. "We that are Judges shall stay in the town an hour or two. You" addressing the Prisoner, "shall have pen, ink, and paper brought you; and if in the mean time, you employ that pen, ink and paper, and this hour or two, well (you understand what I mean), it may be you may hear farther from us, in a deferring the execution."

Some of the Clergy of Winchester procured a respite of five days; and during that time, great efforts were made at Court to obtain a pardon. Lord Feversham, being offered one thousand pounds, begged the life of Lady Lisle, only to hear from the King that he had promised Jeffreys not to pardon her. The Ladies St. John, and Abergavenny, two Tory Peeresses, petitioned for a reprieve; but James declared he would not

grant her one day. The utmost favor he would show was to change her sentence from burning to beheading. She was put to death on a scaffold, in the market-place of Winchester, on the second of September, 1685, being then aged about seventy years.

Her last speech was as follows:—"GENTLEMEN, FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS, It may be expected that I should say something at my death, and in order thereunto I shall acquaint you, that my birth and education were both near this place, and that my parents instructed me in the fear of God, and I now die of the Reformed Protestant religion; that if ever Popery should return into this nation, it would be a very great and severe judgment; that I die in expectation of the pardon of all my sins, and of acceptance with God the Father, by the imputed righteousness of Jesus Christ, he being the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believes. I thank God through Jesus Christ, that I depart under the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel: God having made the chastisement an ordinance to my soul. I did once as little expect to come to this place on this occasion as any person in this place or nation; therefore let all learn not to be high minded but fear. The Lord is a sovereign and will take what way he sees best to glorify himself in and by his poor creatures; and I do humbly desire to submit to his will, praying to him, That I may possess my soul in patience. The crime that was laid to my charge, was for entertaining a nonconforming Minister and others in my house; the said minister being sworn to have been in the late Duke of Monmouth's Army; but I have been told, that if I had denied them, it would not at all have affected me; I have no excuse, but surprise and fear, which I believe my jury must make use of to excuse their verdict to the world. I have also been told that the court did use to be of counsel for the prisoner; but instead of advice, I had evidence against me from thence; which though it was only by hearsay might possibly affect my jury; my defence being but such, as might be expected from a weak woman, but such as it was, I did not hear it repeated again to the Jury; which, as I have been informed, is usual in such cases. However, I forgive all the world, and therein all those that have done me wrong; and in particular, I forgive Col. Penruddock, although he told me, that he could have taken these men before they came to my house. And I do likewise forgive him, who desired to be taken away from the grand Jury to the petty Jury, that he might be more nearly concerned in my death. As to what may be objected in reference to my conviction, that I

"gave it under my hand, that I had discoursed
"with Nelthorpe; that could be no evidence
"against me, being after my conviction and
"sentence; I do acknowledge his majesty's favor
"in revoking my sentence, I pray God to pre-
"serve him that he may long reign in mercy, as
"well as justice; and that he may reign in
"peace, and that the Protestant religion may
"flourish under him; I also return thanks to
"God and the reverend clergy, that assisted
"me in my imprisonment."

"ALICIA LISLE."

It is some satisfaction to know that the sentence was reversed after the Rebellion of 1688.

Mr. John Lisle, the son of the preceding, possessed an estate in Hants; his daughter married Lord James Russell, fifth son of the first Duke of Bedford, and secondly Sir H. Houghton, Bart.

Bridget, daughter of Lady Lisle, married, first, Doctor Leonard Hoar, third President of Harvard College, who died in Boston, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1675, aged forty-five years, and was buried in Quincy the ensuing sixth of December.*

From the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, for January, 1856, I clip the following notice from Mrs. Usher's funeral sermon.

"The character of Anna, the prophetess, considered and applied.—In a sermon preached after the funeral of that Honourable and Devoted Gentlewoman, Dame BRIDGET USHER; who deceased at Boston, N. E. May 25th, 1723. Being a widow of a great Age. Published (with some enlargements) at the desire of the honoured Executors to her Will. By Thome as Foxcroft, M. A. And a Pastor to the Old Church in Boston. With a Preface by the Rev. Mr. Wadsworth. Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland, MDCCXXIII." 12mo. pp. 62.

*This monument is erected over the remains of the learned Leonard Hoar, M. D., the third President of Harvard College.

The following curious inscription is on the tomb, but hard to identify, such have been the ravages of time:

"Epitaph wrote for the Tomb of
"Leonard Hoar Doctor of
"Physick who departed this life
"In Boston the 25 November,
"Was interred here on the 6 December
"And was aged 45 years,
"Anno Dom, 1675."

"Three precious friends under this tombstone lie

"Patterns to aged, youth, and infancy,

"A great inother, her learned son, with child,

"The first and least went free, he was exil'd

"In love to Christ, this Country, and dear friends,

"He left his own, cross'd seas, and for amends

"Was here extoll'd, envy'd all in a breath,

"His noble consort leaves is drawn to death,

"Stranger changes may befall us ere we die,

"Blest they who well arrive eternity,

"God grant some names, though N. England's friend,

"Don't sooner fade than thine, if times don't mend,

There is nothing in the Preface, by Mr. Wadsworth, respecting the family of Mrs. Usher. But her character he gives in these words:—"I never heard to the contrary, but that aged Handmaid of the Lord, Madam Bridget Usher, was, from her youth up, sober, virtuous and religious. Ever since I have known her (which has been many years) she has had (and I think justly) the character of an holy, blameless, close walker with God," &c.

In his Sermon, Mr. Foxcroft dwells upon the character of "Anna the Prophetess, the daughter, Phanael, of the tribe of Asher," to whom "our Anna," is compared. At page 13, he remarks:—"You need not (I presume) be told to solemn occasion, which determined my thoughts at this time to such a subject: it being known to all, what repeated bereavements have lately befallen us, in the death of several excellent women of our communion." In a note to this, the Author says, "Particularly Mrs. Martha Dasset, who died suddenly, and went to rest, on the Lord's day, March 17th.—And Dame Bridget Usher, who finished her long pilgrimage on earth, May 25th."

She married, secondly, Hezekiah Usher, Jr., and dying on the twenty-fifth of May, 1723, in Boston, was carried to Quincy and was interred in the same grave with her first husband on the thirtieth of May, according to her desire. This was noted on the Boston Records.

By her first husband, she had a daughter, Bridget, who married Rev. Thomas Cotton, and was living in London, in Hudson-square, near Shoreditch, anno 1697, and who had then a child aged five years.

NOTE II.

AUGUST 28, 1682. Mine Islands were laid out to Hezekiah Usher. Led on by reports that there were mines at this place formerly worked by the Indians, Mr. Baden, an ingenious miner and assayer, was employed to seek them. Lead ore was found, but not in quantities sufficient to pay for working.

In 1685, Mr. Usher was hunting for mines in Deerfield; and on the fifteenth of May, 1686, Mason, the proprietor of New Hampshire, "farmed out to Hezekiah Usher and his Heirs all the mines, (as described in the chapter of third of November, 18th, James I.) and minerals within the limits of New Hampshire, for the term of one thousand years, liberty of use of wood and coals and water courses for smelting &c reserving to himself one fourth of the royal ores [i. e. gold and silver and one seventeenth of all the baser metals. If not entered upon and improved in 7 years Mason to have power to relet until Usher should improve it. The preceding remarks in the Will seem to indicate that the

capital employed in mining had been entirely sunk.

NOTE III.

I have in my possession a Writ, issued by the Inferiour Court of Common Pleas, on the twentieth of March, 1866-7 against Hezekiah Usher, Merchant,—at the suit of Jeffrey Herman, a German miner, in an action of Covenant broken, for that whereas, the Defendant, by a certain writing of articles, covenant or agreement, under his hand and seal, dated the twenty-fourth day of September, last past, and now in Court produced, made between the Defendant for himself and Company; viz Cornet Henry Woods and James Smedley of Concord, and Joseph Curtis of Sudbury, on the one part, and the said plaintiff and one Augustin Leightenazger, German, and by occupation a miner, on the other part, for himself and partner in a minrall lying and being at a place called Fair-haven within the limits of the town of Concord in the County of Middlesex. The said Defendant hired and engaged said plaintiff and said Leightenazger to work as miners six full months from the date of said writing in a Minrall at said Fair-haven or some other Minrall in New England, in case said Minrall should not prove according to expectation. And the said defendant for himself and partners did covenant with and engage to the said Germans to pay or cause truly to be paid to each of them twenty shillings in good money each week till the term of six months as above is expired. And the said defendant Usher for himself and partners did also covenant and promise to and with the said plaintiff and said Leightenazger that he would provide and furnish them with all necessaries for carrying on the work of the said Minrall or Minralls, as Labourers, smithwork, picks, spades &c. And by said writing said defendant, plaintiff and Leightenazger mutually covenanted and agreed, and did bind themselves each to the other in sundry obligations in the articles in said writing, expressed (as by said writing, amongst other things therein contained it more plainly appears.) And the said plaintiff in fact saith, although he served on said work and business of said minrall, and performed and was always ready to preform what on his part ought to be performed, according to said writing and agreement, yet said defendant not minding his covenant and agreement made with said plaintiff, hath not paid to said plaintiff twenty shillings per week for six months last past, amounting to twenty-four pounds, or did said defendant provide or furnish labourers, smith-work, picks, spades &c. as by agreement he covenanted and promised to do. Non-payment and performance is to the plaintiff's damage forty pounds.

John Winchcombe, under sheriff, attached the

body of Usher and by direction of Mr. Ralph Lindry, the Plaintiff's Attorney took his own bond, for sixty pounds.

IV.—A PLEA FOR AMERICAN HERALDRY.

The question of the propriety of an American system of heraldry, will probably be a novel one, to most of our readers. So little is known, in this country, of the true objects and advantages of the use of heraldic symbols, that few persons have formed any opinion of the possible value of a well regulated system. On the other hand, the existing use of coats-of-arms, has been so extended in our large cities, and has been attended with such evident abuses, that the whole subject seems to have become a farce.

It must be conceded, however, that this is hardly a fair position to take towards an institution which has for centuries been respected in other countries, and even to-day is recognized as a powerful method of rewarding distinguished merit. Not to quote the examples of English Commanders and Civilians of the past generation, it can hardly be forgotten that one of the most valued rewards bestowed upon the great African Explorer, Captain Speke, was an augmentation to his inherited coat-of-arms. It will, therefore, hardly be reasonable to conclude that a privilege so highly esteemed, is absurd; and the only question should be, as to its adaptation to the wants of a republican form of society.

We do not meet this problem as being purely an abstract one. We have inherited from the Colonists of the country, a certain amount of prejudice and sentiments, which, though weakened by time and the alteration in our circumstances, have never been entirely obscured. The prevailing element, as we all know, is English, giving that term the limitation of embracing the British nation, and our ideas must be brought mainly to an English standard for examination. In this particular instance, we can hardly desire a better guide, than the opinion of educated Englishmen on the subject.

Not to go too far back into the history of heraldry, a few general facts may be stated, which will possess the greater interest, as they seem to be practically unknown or ignored in this country. In the first place, it must be said, that there is no such thing as a coat-of-arms belonging to a name. Whenever, or however obtained, a coat-of-arms was the property of an individual, and descended by fixed and well-known rules, to his heirs. It was, in the nature of any other piece of property, restricted to its lawful possessors. In brief, it was a species of

honor or dignity, like a title of nobility, and was as strictly guarded in its conditions.

Undoubtedly, at the present time, there is in England a great laxity in practice, which obscures the plain rules of the science. At Herald's College, any one may still procure, for a rather large fee, a special coat-of-arms, to be the property of himself and his descendants. On the other hand, by assuming the arms of a namesake, this cost is saved, and the appropriator may even pass himself off as a relative of the rightful owner. There is, however, a feeling there, that such a course is improper, and detection would bring the offender under some social ban.

In this country, of late years, we have been guilty, but undoubtedly more through ignorance than design. It has been thought that a coat-of-arms, or a crest, was the natural decoration of a carriage, a ring, or a sheet of note paper, and accordingly such a device has been assumed. In the Colonial times, there was a certain legitimate use of these symbols, and certain families have always continued to employ them; there was, therefore, nothing novel or pretentious in the use, and it has been constantly increasing. We have had no censor to investigate these claims, and the few engravers or herald painters who have been established here, have been but too happy to oblige their patrons with all the decorations that their art afforded. The result is, that American coats-of-arms are a jest abroad, and worse than that, many estimable persons are wrongly blamed for a silly vanity to ape foreign customs, when, in fact, they thought they were exercising an undisputed right.

We shall hereafter explain our plan for a system of American heraldry, but we desire first to call attention to the existing abuses. It cannot be too strongly urged that to use a coat-of-arms, is to claim a descent from some person who was duly authorized to use it under the rules and customs of some foreign nation. Unless the pedigree can be proved, there is no justifiable pretext for the use. Persons at all familiar with heraldry, are often requested by their friends to indicate the coat-of-arms belonging properly to the family of the inquirer. Some heraldic Encyclopedia, like Burke's *Armoury*, is produced, and the expert is asked which of a dozen coats borne by families of the name, belongs to the American tribe. If he be honest, he replies that none of them is to be selected, and if his friend wants to assume a coat-of-arms, he has the whole book from which to select. It is better, in fact, that an American Smith, should choose the arms of an English Jones, than that he should appropriate the property of any particular Smith in England. In this case, he has

abandoned all claim to a common ancestry with his English namesake, and has simply picked up an empty gew-gaw, to please his vanity.

That this is all wrong, will be conceded without discussion. It is as absurd to adopt one form of symbolic honors, as another, and we might as well assume for ourselves all the titles in the peerage, as to appropriate to ourselves the coats-of-arms of the peers. A very little resolution on the part of the leaders of society, would soon lead to the suppression of the most glaring instances of abuse, and ridicule would overcome, what serious argument fails to reach. Any Historical Society, by concerted action, could nearly eradicate this scandalous blot, by collecting and publishing the authentic examples, and leaving the others, under a more than suspicion of falsity.

But it may be said, that all this work is superfluous, since the result to be gained is one of no interest to the community. It may be held that the case is like that of any pretender to a title, who inflicts his presence upon American society. However unpleasant or injurious, such an imposture may be, there is no public duty to be fulfilled, by a prosecution to prove the fraud. Here, we must beg leave to dissent. The advantages of the use of heraldic insignia are very considerable, and it seems a confession of weakness, if we prohibit rather than regulate the practice.

It has been found to be a most useful custom to have family names, inherited by successive generations. Especially is this the case with the English race, and we can hardly imagine a condition in society in which this practice does not obtain. Similarly the ties of kindred to the remotest degree are readily acknowledged, and our people have shown a remarkable taste for the study of genealogy. This taste and pursuit, has been strangely free from any taint of snobbery; all branches of a family have been traced with equal care, and in the vast majority of cases, the emigrant ancestor has been sedulously sought in the ranks of the yeomen or mechanics who founded the nation. The constant emigration from the sea-board to the interior has caused an immense dispersion of families, but the connection has rarely been suffered to be forgotten. With the improved means of communication has arisen a desire on the part of our Western cousins, to know more of their ancestry, and we may feel assured that the claims of blood were never more cheerfully acknowledged, than they are to-day.

Now, we hold that in the system of heraldry, there are great opportunities to assist in the preservation of the family connection. It is an alphabet of signs, comparatively few in number, and easily learned, capable of infinite combina-

tions within a moderate compass. There would be no difficulty in assigning a specific coat-of-arms to every family in the nation, so far as the resources of the heraldic system are concerned. Certainly there would be a great convenience in such a symbol, which, as truly and briefly as a surname, would at once proclaim the parentage of any individual. We have, indeed, the great advantage, arising from the circumstances of the settlement of the country, that we can arrange our citizens into families, or clans, with an authentic ancestry. Unlike our English friends, whose pedigrees must be of varying length, dependent upon the preservation of various records, we can identify our American progenitors, and trace each off-shoot from the main stem, to its remotest ramification. It would be impossible to imagine a state of affairs more suitable to the wishes of a herald desirous of carrying into effect the principles of his science. In this view, heraldry is the hand-maid of genealogy and may become a most efficient assistant.

Lastly, we deliberately sacrifice a great benefit, when we throw away the opportunity to bring heraldry within the sphere of our daily life. In the science of ornament, as it appeals to our inherited English tastes, heraldry is a conspicuous component. In architecture, of the Gothic school, it is almost a necessity; and in the humbler forms of decoration in ordinary life, it fills a part which nothing else can. All that is necessary, is to free the subject from the ignorance and neglect which enshroud it, to give us the right to examine, expand, and, if necessary, modify the old heraldic laws, and we shall find it a solid addition to our possessions.

The essence of foreign heraldry, is exclusiveness, but only on the principle which for generations prevailed, that all the best products of the intellect, were to be devoted to the interests of a ruling class. It was primarily intended as a family distinction; one which should separate the different families of the gentry. We have only to give this idea its legitimate extension, and we may equally mark out all our families of American citizens. Let all the descendants of any emigrant agree upon a coat-of-arms, and it will become as much a family inheritance as their surname is, and will be as useful a mode of denoting their descent.

On another occasion, the writer has published the reasons which seemed to render it proper that this question should be settled by Congressional action. It is quite evident that a certain revenue could be raised by a tax on armorial devices, when used as decorations. It is clear, however, that such a tax would be an official sanction of such use, and therefore, that it

ought not to be levied on these falsely assumed coats-of-arms. It is not impossible, however, to indicate a course of action which would be consistent and dignified.

One thing is evident; everywhere in our cities the assumption of coat-armor is daily growing more frequent. We can no more avoid the imputation of being delinquents in this respect, than we can repel the criticisms formerly justly made on our national peculiarities. It is useless for our government to treat the matter as beneath its notice, for the subject of the costumes of its representatives abroad, has been acted upon by Congress. It is certainly the wisest plan for our Government to take, to prohibit the use, or to insist upon proper regulations. Either method is sensible and easy, though we profess a preference for the latter course.

There seems indeed to be one sensible and dignified course of action, which Congress can adopt, to which no exception can be taken abroad, and which involves no additional machinery, for the collection of the tax. This is to put the use of armorial insignia on the same basis as trade-marks or copy-rights. Let it be enacted briefly, that as the use of certain devices is common in civilized countries, to denote certain facts, and such use is restricted by certain well-known rules, this government prohibits the use of armorial devices except on the following conditions; First, that by the payment of an annual license fee of ten dollars, any one may be entitled to use such armorial bearings as he may have registered at the United States District Court, in the district in which he is taxed; and that any one making use of any such insignia, on any article, without license, shall pay a fine of five hundred dollars, except where such insignia had been engraved or painted on some article of the nature of a monument or heir-loom, and no personal use was made of the same.

Secondly, that every one intending to obtain such a license, should file in the District Court, a statement of the armorial insignia he wishes to adopt, and should pay therefor the sum of Fifty-dollars. In case he wishes to show that such armorial arms were his by inheritance, the proofs should be cited in his statement, and verified by the oath of the applicant, and such statements should always be accessible to the public, for inspection and publication.

Thirdly, that every coat-of-arms thus licensed should be the exclusive property of the applicant and his descendants, according to the rules of English heraldry, and any infringement on his exclusive right, should be properly punished.

Fourthly, that every such coat-of-arms, used under the license, should have an indispensable

portion of it, the date of the year in which the application was filed, or the date at which, as the applicant claimed, it was used by some paternal ancestor. The use of a false date in the claim, should be punished by a heavy fine.

In this way, the Government would simply take the position, that admitting the feeling which would prompt a family to possess some peculiar insignia for its exclusive use, it would agree to defend the owner in his property, only insisting that the truth was told, as to the mode of acquiring it.

Every one who has studied the science of heraldry, will agree that this proviso of the date, is perfectly in accordance with the rules, and entirely feasible. The figures may be placed on a scroll beneath or beside the shield, or on any suitable portion of the field; the only indispensable requisite should be that they are plainly set forth.

In fact, this system would be entirely in accordance with our political institutions. Certainly, we do not desire to prevent any man from distinguishing himself, nor his children from cherishing a proper pride in his acts. Moreover, any system which will tend to strengthen the family tie among kindred, widely scattered as families will become, throughout this immense country, must be a bond of union and an aid in preserving an identity of interest.

To induce persons to adopt this system, and thus to make it a source of revenue, we have provided that any man may take his earliest date at which it can be proved any of his paternal ancestors used coats-of-armor. The fact of the use will remain any way; and by registering it and recognizing it, we offer a sufficient inducement perhaps to have the fashion established.

At all events, the point will be simple. If any man has a coat-of-arms painted on the panels of his coach, let him be told, at once, that he may continue to use it, but that the Government insists that he shall also add the date of the acquisition of the property. If he be honest in his assertion that he values it only as an ornament, or as a personal device, he will agree to let the date of 1868, stand as a part of it. If it be an heir-loom, he will be glad to put the earlier date which will show the fact; and it can injure no one to have it known. The only malcontent will be the man who has hoped that, in the lack of all rules and authority, his assumed coat has been believed to be an inheritance.

Lastly, we would propose, that any Officer of the Army or Navy, who has been promoted, for special gallantry in the field or for great ability in the discharge of his duties, shall have the right to substitute for the date, the name of the

battle in which he won his promotion, and shall not be obliged to pay the registration fee. We should, doubtless, in this way, meet the want which has been so strongly felt, of some mode by which a meritorious officer could be rewarded. Crosses, ribbons, medals, and other decorations, have been but seldom employed by our Government; but here, the use of such a reward may be easily made a part of an important system.

The whole plan, in fact, would allow of those gradations which would meet the requirements of every class. Government would have the merit, on the one hand, of suppressing that ridiculous apeing of foreign heraldry now prevalent, and would substitute a mode, simple and republican. To the man of wealth, it would offer an inheritance to his children, founded on a truth; to the man conscious of a distinguished ancestry, a recognition of the fact; and to the man who had risked his life for his country, an acknowledgment of his services, the more to be prized, since it could always be borne without ostentation.

If all these inducements should fail to render the use of coat-of-armor popular, then surely it is time to prohibit it entirely. As it stands, it is but a mockery; and nothing but the breath of authority can give it life. If it be declined, after being proffered on such honest and intelligible grounds as those we have named, let us have no more of it; and let the law destroy it.

We incline, however, to the belief that it would prove a financial success, since it is well known that these insignia are of prime importance, in many forms of decoration. Let us have an honest and manly system of American heraldry; and we do not fear that the number of applicants will be too insignificant.

Lastly, we would say, that if Congress declined to interfere, any one State might easily adopt the plan, substituting State coats, for National. Even without legislative enactment, much might be done under the authority of any Historical Society, so far as setting the fashion of annexing a date to all inherited or assumed coats.

NOTE.

MEMORANDUM OF THE PLAN HEREIN PROPOSED

I. The use of coat-of-armor shall be prohibited to all but those who pay an annual tax.

2. The description of the arms shall be filed in the District Court, and a fee of at least fifty dollars paid therefor; the record always being open for inspection. Officers now, or formerly, in the Military or Naval service of the United States, to be allowed to record their arms without paying such fee; and in the case of an Offi-

cer deceased, his children should be allowed the privilege of entering arms in their father's name.

3. The date of entry at the Court, is in all cases, to decide the ownership, if two persons have entered the same arms, unless one party prove inheritance, in which case, he shall have the exclusive right. In all cases, the persons dispossessed may amend his first description, and thus obtain a new coat-of-arms, without further charge.

4. The date of the year when the arms were assumed, to be a necessary part of them, except that the date of an inherited shield may be used instead; or, by an Officer of the United States, the name of any battle, etc.

5. These provisions to apply only to personal use, and not to refer to existing monuments or records.

6. After the record of the Court, the right shall remain, although no use is made. The tax is to be only for such years as personal use is intended.

7. In all cases where persons have paintings of arms, or engraved plate or seals, they must take out a license annually, though they need not file a description nor alter the existing shields by adding the date.

VI.—THE INDEPENDENT COMPANY OF CADETS OF BOSTON.

We have lately had the pleasure of reading the original Commission of the first Commander of this Corps, from which it will be seen why he holds the rank of Lieutenant-colonel. It goes back to 1741, when Massachusetts was a Province of His Majesty, King George the Second. We also read the Commission of one of the Majors, dated 1768, under his Majesty, King George the Third. We quote them here, as they are of interest, especially to past members and friends of this old organization:—

[COMMISSION OF THE CAPTAIN.]

PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

[Seal of Province.]

William Shirley, Esquire, Captain-general and Governor-in-chief in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, &c., &c.,

To Benjamin Pollard, Esquire—Greeting:

By virtue of the Power and Authority in and by his Majesty's Royal Commission to me granted, to be Captain-general, &c., over this his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, aforesaid, I do, by these Presents (reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage, and good Conduct) constitute and ap-

point you, the said Benjamin Pollard, to be a Captain of a Company of sixty-four young Gentlemen to be by you enlisted, in the aforesaid Province, hereby named the Independent Company of Cadets.

And in consideration of the dignity of the said Company, I do hereby constitute and appoint you, the said Benjamin Pollard, to be and hold the Rank of a Lieutenant-colonel in his Majesty's Militia within this Province, and to Roll on duty, in the Field and in Garrison, or otherwise, with all Lieutenant-colonels of Horse or Foot.

You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Captain, in leading, ordering, and exercising said Company in Arms, both Inferior Officers and Soldiers, and to keep them in good Order and Discipline, Hereby commanding them to obey you as their Captain, and yourself to observe and follow such Orders and Instructions as you shall, from time to time, receive from me or the Commander-in-chief for the time being.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at Boston, the sixteenth day of October, in the Fifteenth year of the Reign of His Majesty, King George the Second, Anno Domini, 1741.

W. SHIRLEY.

[COMMISSION OF THE MAJOR.]

FRANCIS BERNARD, ESQ.,
Captain-general and Governor-in-chief
[Seal.] in and over His Majesty's Province of
the Massachusetts Bay in New Eng-
land, and Vice-admiral of the same.

To William Coffin, Junr., Esq.—Greeting:

By virtue of the Power and Authority in and by His Majesty's Royal Commission to me granted to be Captain-general, &c., over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay aforesaid, I do, by these presents, (reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage, and good Conduct) constitute and appoint you, the said William Coffin, Junr., to be 2d Ensign of a Company of ninety-six Gentlemen, called the Independent Company of Cadets; and, in consideration of the Dignity of said Company, I do hereby constitute and appoint you, the said William Coffin, Junr., to be and hold the rank of a Major in his Majesty's Militia within this Province, and to Roll on Duty, in the Field and in Garrison, or otherwise, with all Majors of Horse or Foot, according to the date of this your Commission.

You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of an Ensign, in leading, ordering, and exercising said Company in Arms, both inferior Officers and Soldiers, and to keep them in good Order and Discipline, Hereby commanding them to obey you as their Ensign, and

yourself to observe and follow all such Orders and Instructions as you shall, from Time to Time, receive from your Captain, or from me, or the Commander-in-chief for the time being.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at Boston, the twenty-seventh day of May, in the Eighth Year of the Reign of His Majesty, King George the Third, Anno Domini, 1768.

By His Excellency's Command,
A. OLIVER, Sec'y.

VII.—LIST OF MS. PAPERS RELATING TO NEW ENGLAND, IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

PREPARED BY COLONEL JOSEPH L. CHESTER,
OF LONDON.

MATHER, (INCREASE) of Boston, New England.

1. Copy of a letter to Mr. Gouge, Minister of the English Congregation in Amsterdam; state of affairs at Boston, Dec. 3, 1683: 3 pp.
(*Tanner MS.* 32. f. 187.)
2. ——— to Anth. a Wood; information for the Athenæ, July 23, 1691: 1 p.
(*Tanner MS.* 26. f. 48.)

RANDOLPH, (EDWARD) of Boston, N. E.

3. Letter to Sancroft, relative to the Patent of the Company for evangelizing the Indians in New England, March 26, 1684: 1 p.
(*Tanner MS.* f. 4.)
4. Paper on the Company for evangelizing the Indians: 3 pp.
(*Tanner MS.* 32. f. 1)
5. Letter to Sancroft, begging his assistance in raising money as bail in an action brought against himself, Aug. 23, 1684: 1 p.
(*Tanner MS.* 32. f. 122.)
6. ——— to Lloyd, bp. of St. Asaph, on the state of affairs at Boston, March 28, 1685: 3 pp.
(*Tanner MS.* 31. f. 7.)
7. ——— to Sancroft, on the same subject, Aug. 2, 1686: 4 pp.
(*Tanner MS.* 30. f. 97.)
8. ——— to the same, on the sad and distracted condition of New England, May 28, 1689, 2 pp.
(*Tanner MS.* 27. f. 29.)
9. Abstract of Letters sent to him from the inhabitants of Boston after the notice of the vacating of their Charter: 2 pp.
(*Tanner MS.* 31. f. 6.)
10. Short account of the state of New England: 4 pp.
(*Tanner MS.* 32. f. 5.)
11. Letter from Boston to Sancroft, on the aversion of the inhabitants to the discipline of the Church, Dec. 11, 1682: 1 p.
(*Tanner MS.* 35. f. 140.)

BOSTON, New England.

13. Order of the Council allowing Captain

Gookin to publish to the people, proposals for transplantation to Jamaica; 7 Mar. 165⁶: 1 p.
(*Rawl. A.* 38. f. 267.)

13. Letter from the Governor, etc. of New England to Cromwell, upon the foregoing proposal, 23 Oct. 1656. (Printed.) 1 p.
(*Rawl. A.* 43. f. 125.)

BROOKER, (WILLIAM) of Boston, Mass.

14. Assignment of his property to his creditors, 1720: (Copy.) 5 pp.
(*Rawl. C.* 128. f. 24.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

15. Notes of Grants of land from the Council at Plymouth to John Mason and others, 1621–35: 2 pp. (*Rawl. C.* 128. ff. 3, 38.)
16. List of papers inter Sam. Allen and R. Waldron, concerning y^e Proprietorship of the lands of New Hampshire: 2 pp.
(*Rawl. C.* 128. f. 6.)
- ALLEN, (SAMUEL) Proprietor of the Colony of New Hampshire.
17. Orders of Privy Council, etc. on an Appeal in Allen v. Waldron, 1701–8. (Copies.) 15 pp.
(*Rawl. C.* 379. f. 6^b–12.)
- DUDLEY, (COLONEL) Gov^r of New Hampshire.
18. Letter to the Council of Trade, 23 July, 1702. (Copy.) 7 pp.
(*Rawl. C.* 128. f. 14, 16.)

NEWMAN, (HENRY) Agent for New Hampshire.

19. Two Petitions for a supply of arms and ammunition for New Hampshire, 1723: 3 pp.
(*Rawl. C.* 128. f. 18–20.)
20. Reply, in refusal, from the Ordnance Office. (Copy.) 2 pp.
(*Rawl. C.* 128. f. 37.)
21. Answers to queries respecting New Hampshire: 6 pp.
(*Rawl. C.* 128. f. 28.)
22. Papers relating to the Province of New Hampshire: 78 pp. [not including the various articles mentioned in the List which refer to the same MS.]
(*Rawl. C.* 379.)
23. Letters and Memorials to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, etc. 1721–4: (Copies.) 13 pp.
(*Rawl. C.* 379. ff. 25^b, 32, 39, 52, 54, 55.)
24. Letters to WALPOLE; 1724–5: 4 pp.
(*Rawl. C.* 379. f. 58.)

PARTRIDGE, (COLONEL WILLIAM)

25. Appointment to be Lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, 26 June, 1696: 1 p.
(*Rawl. A.* 241. f. 197.)

VAUGHAN, (MAJOR WILLIAM) Agent for New Hampshire.

26. Reasons in confirmation of his Petition to Q. Anne against J. Usher, Lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire: 2 pp.
(*Rawl. C.* 128. f. 1.)
27. Petition to Q. Anne against Samuel Allen and J. Usher. 1703: 1 p.

(Rawl. C. 128. f. 8.)

28. Memorial to the Commissioners of Trade, in behalf of New Hampshire, 1703: (Copy.) 2 pp. (Rawl. C. 128. f. 32.)

29. Letter to C. Phipps, 15 Nov. 1706: (Copy.) 2 pp. (Rawl. C. 379. 10^b.)

POPPLF, (WILLIAM) Whitehall.

30. Official Letter to the Governor of New Hampshire, 13 Feb. 172 $\frac{1}{2}$. (Copy.) 1 p. (Rawl. C. 379. f. 31^b.)

SHUTE, (SAMUEL) Governor of New Hampshire.

31. Copies of official letters from him, 1722-6. 3 pp. (Rawl. C. 379. ff. 33, 39^b, 40^b.)

SHUTE, (SAMUEL) Governor of Massachusetts.

32. Certificate, signed and sealed by him, 1720: 1 p. (Rawl. C. 128. f. 23.)

MASSACHUSETTS.

33. A list of the names of the Patentees for Massachusetts Bay, in New England: 1 p. (Rawl. C. 128. f. 4.)

MARION, (JOSEPH.)

34. Certificate that he is Registrar of Wills, co. Suffolk, prov. Massachusetts, 1717. (Copy.) 1 p. (Rawl. C. 128. f. 34.)

USHER, (JOHN) Esq., of Massachusetts Bay, in New England.

35. Petition to the King, relating to New England, 1719: 2 pp. (Rawl. C. 128. f. 22.)

36. Abstract of the Laws of New England. (Printed, Lond. 1641.) 20 pp.

(Tanner. 99. f. 208.)

37. Abstract of the Patent for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. 4 pp.

(Tanner. 48. f. 98.)

38. Memorial addressed to Sanicroft, concerning the surrender of the New England Charter, July 11, 1683: 1 p.

(Tanner. 34. f. 82.)

39. The Summons to New England; a ballad: 3 pp. (Tanner. 306. f. 286.)

CONNECTICUT.

40. Petition to Charles II. for a renewal of the Patent of the Colony: 2 pp.

(Rawl. A. 175, 109., 176, 113.)

BYFIELD, (N.)

41. Petition of N. Byfield, Tho. Sanford, &c. to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, for the Grant of his Majesty's Royal Charter of Incorporation: 2 pp.

(Rawl. C. 128. f. 21.)

LAWSON, (REV. DEODAT.)

42. Letter to Jer. Dummer and Henry Newman; 24 Dec. 1714: 2 pp.

(Rawl. C. 128. f. 12.)

PARTRIDGE, (RICHARD.)

43. Petition to the Queen about his Father, &c., May, 1703: 1 p. (Rawl. C. 128. f. 27.)

RICHARDS, (THOMAS) Boston. Massachusetts.

44. Copy of his Will, 1714: 3 pp.

(Rawl. C. 128. f. 35.)

GOOKIN, (DANIEL) Capt. in Cambridge, N. E.

45. Letter, dated Cambridge, May 10, 1656: 1 p. (Rawl. A. 38. f. 269.)

46. Letter dated from Cambridge, New England, May 10, 1656; 3 pp.

(Rawl. A. 38. f. 271.)

COXE, (D^r DANIEL)

47. Description of the Province of New Jersey; with proposals for the sale of his lands and rights therein; &c.: 14 pp.

(Rawl. C. 128. 89-47.)

48. Copy of a Conveyance of land in Carolina or Florida from him to French refugees: 1698. 7 pp. (Rawl. A. 271. f. 26.)

49. Copy of a Grant to Lord Maltravers on which Coxe claimed in Norfolk co. Virginia: 4 pp. (Rawl. A. 271. f. 30.)

50. Sketch for the Government of a Colony first called New Empire, drawn up for him. 11 pp. (Rawl. A. 305. f. 2.)

VIII.—THE COFFIN PEDIGREE.

[We herewith reprint a very interesting genealogical pamphlet, issued some years ago, in England, as the subject is one which interests many of our readers. Although we have never seen the *Memoir* herein criticised, we do not doubt that the citations are correctly given, and that the writer of the *Memoir* is fairly met and answered.

The point involved was one of the rumors, so common in America, that, by some means, an American family had been deprived of estates belonging to it, in England. Although both parties were technically Englishmen, the subject of the *Memoir* was of American descent, being of a branch of the Coffins settled here, in New England, since 1642, and retransplanted to England, at the time of our Revolution. Taking up the American tradition, one doubtless still held by the numerous members of the family, here, Captain Coffin claimed that his ancestor, Tristram Coffin, was the owner of large estates in England, now held by heirs in the female line. The existing proprietor was not disposed to have his property or his position, as head of the family, thus disturbed; and he briefly refuted and exposed the absurdity of this American claim.

As a clear and unanswerable reply, it merits a republication. It also deserves notice, as showing upon what idle and foolish grounds such claims are made by Americans; and should prove a warning to all those who are requested to subscribe money for the purpose of claiming estates in England.

By an article in the *Heraldic Journal*, for April, 1867, we learn that Tristram Coffin was born at Brixton, in 1605; was son of Peter and grandson of Nicholas Coffin; and further back his pedigree cannot be traced. Whether in the remote past his ancestors belonged to the same stock as the owners of Portledge, maybe a question; but certainly his descendants could only inherit after the present line of that family is extinct. In the present case, there were the legitimate heirs in possession, the male line having only ceased in 1699; and a thoroughly fabulous claim is made on the strength of identity of name. Fortunately, the story was too absurd and too easily disproved to be of serious importance to the present owners; but cases might arise where even an absurd claim might be an annoyance to the rightful owners.

Without the slightest wish to hold the writer of the *Memoir* accountable for anything but carelessness, we must say that such claims are too frequent for our national reputation. Genealogists often wonder that Englishmen are disinclined to open their family archives to their inspection. A few cases like this would be enough to justify any amount of caution and of standing on the defensive.

So long as our journals continue to report meetings of

heirs for immense estates in England, at the rate of scores of claims each year, we cannot blame our namesakes for being extremely reserved in their responses. It is more a cause for wonder that a race of such intelligence as we claim to possess, should be deceived and mulcted by the repeaters of such transparent nonsense.—W. H. W.]

Remarks on certain passages of a Memoir of General John Coffin, compiled by his son, Captain Henry E. Coffin, R. N. By the Rev. J. T. Pine Coffin, of Portledge, and Sir Edward Pine Coffin, Bart. Bath: Printed by Hayward, Payne & Meyler, Green St. 1860. 8vo. pp. 12.

REMARKS ON THE MEMOIR OF GENERAL JOHN COFFIN. *A Memoir of General John Coffin, compiled by his third son, Captain Henry E. Coffin, R. N.*, purporting to be written by him, for the purpose of distribution amongst his relatives and friends, having been sent with his compliments to Mr. Pine Coffin of Portledge, (the present head of the family of that name) it is considered due to the author to state that these *Remarks on the Memoir* would not have been made public, had proper notice been taken by Captain Coffin of the subjoined letters, in which Mr. Pine Coffin pointed out the erroneous statements made by him relative to the family of Pine Coffin, and to those who preceded them as the possessors of the Portledge property. Copies of these Letters are given at the end of these *Remarks*.

The title of the present possessor of the Portledge estate is so clear and indisputable, that it was hardly to be expected that it would ever be called in question.

Some years ago, however, a family of the name of Coffin, long settled in America, and said to be descended from persons who emigrated thither about the period of the great Rebellion in England, set up their claim to a preferable right to the Portledge estate, as lineal descendants in the *male* line, from former possessors of the name and property. Such, at least, appears to be the gist of their pretensions, so far as they could be collected from verbal reports; but as they never took any determinate form, nor appeared to be based upon any specific foundation, no steps by which the validity of the claim might be tested, could be taken; and the present owner of the property, whose descent is in the female line, and his connections, accordingly confined themselves to a general denial of any knowledge of grounds for the claim. At length these pretensions have assumed a shape in which they can be subjected to examination; and, although the actual representative of the Pine Coffin family never had reason to believe they could in any degree endanger his rights, he and his uncle, Sir Edward Pine Coffin (the now sole survivor of those named in the entail made by Mr. Bennett Coffin) gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of show-

ing to the claimants, and to any whose opinions may be influenced by their confident but groundless assertions, how slender is the foundation on which they rest, and how unequivocal is that which supports the title of the present possessor.

So far as the narrative of the *Memoir* is confined strictly to the proposed subject, as expressed in the title, no remark will be made. This portion, commencing on page 6, is however preceded by some pages of introductory matter, mostly irrelevant, in which are contained the statements to which the following observations apply.

At the outset, it is set forth in the shape of a fact beyond dispute, although no where in the slightest degree proved, that the author's father was descended from the ancestors of the Portledge family. The two ensuing pages are almost wholly occupied with details, appearing to be copied from Prince's account of Sir William Coffin, a younger son, who flourished in the reign of Henry VIII., and whom, from not having authentic documents to which he could refer, the author of the *Memoir* has apparently confounded with the elder brother, Richard Coffin, of Portledge, who was High Sheriff in the 2nd of Henry VIII. It was Sir William, who was Master of the Horse to Queen Anne Boleyn, in the 25th of Henry VIII., and who was Knight of the Shire for Derby, four years later. Dying without issue, in 1538, he left his best horses, a cart and his hawks* to his Royal master, and all his estates (situated in North Devon) to his eldest brother, Richard Coffin of Portledge. These facts are brought forward merely to show the inaccuracies of the author of the *Memoir*, in what regards the Portledge Coffins. It is, besides, not very obvious why the name of Sir William is thus prominently introduced.

In the following pages are extracts or references to Hutchings's *History of Dorset*, proving only that in 1645 lands in that County, belonging to two persons of the name of Coffin, were sequestered; and that Sir William Coffin, before mentioned, was of a family settled in Somerset. The more material part of the author's statement is contained in the following extract, page 6, of the *Memoir*.

"There are two versions of the reason of the 'exile of this fine old family from its native land. They were devoted Royalists, during 'the time and troubles of Charles I., and were 'fated then and a century later, to lose all they 'had, from siding with their Sovereign. On 'the death of the first Charles and the escape 'of the second, the Coffins found themselves

* *Sic in orig. Qu. "a cast of hawks" ? Ed.*

"proscribed and in a great measure deprived of their estates. Colonel Coffin, then Governor of Plymouth, prepared a vessel; and when he could no longer hold the citadel against the Parliamentary forces, embarked with his family for America, arrived in safety, and settled in the township of Salisbury, near Newbury Port, State of Massachusetts. The other version of the exile of the Coffin family was thus related to the compiler of this simple *Memoir*. After Charles II. made his escape to France, the head of the family, like many other Royalists, after a time took service with Oliver Cromwell; and when his son succeeded to the Protectorship, General Monk had arranged to bring Charles II. back to England. Colonel Tristram Coffin, of Brixton, near Kitley, county Devon, being then Governor of Plymouth, and expecting nothing but persecution from Charles II., resigned the command of the citadel, and embarked for America, on his arrival in which country he settled with his family at Newbury Port. Colonel Coffin left his only daughter in England, on the estate of Brixton, to preserve the property to the family; and she married a Mr. Pine, who took the name of Coffin, and whose descendants hold the Portledge property to this day."

This paragraph, perplexed and contradictory as it is, clearly seems intended to make it be believed that Colonel Tristram Coffin of Brixton, was, at the period in question, the head or representative of the Portledge family, and moreover Governor of Plymouth; but whether on the King's or Parliamentary side is uncertain, being oppositely stated in the two versions; that being according to one unable to hold the citadel against the Parliamentary forces, or according to the other, afraid of persecution from Charles II., he emigrated to America with his family, but nevertheless left his only daughter at Brixton, to preserve the property; and that she marrying a Mr. Pine, who took the name of Coffin, they became the progenitors of the Pine Coffins, whose descendants hold the Portledge property to this day. On this lame and confused representation appears to rest all the confident assertions made by the American Coffins as to their priority of birthright; and very little remark will suffice to show how wholly inadequate it is to sustain their pretensions.

As Plymouth fell, at the very commencement of the Civil War, under the power of the Parliament, and though long besieged or blockaded by the King's forces, was never afterwards reduced to his obedience (see Clarendon, Volumes II., III., IV.) the first of the two versions given in the *Memoir* is so evidently at variance with the facts, as related in history, that it does not call for any further observation.

Though the second version may be more correct, it places Colonel Tristram Coffin simply in the position of an anti-royalist, and thus more naturally accounts for his fear of persecution, on the return of Charles II.; but what then becomes of his boasted loyalty? Both versions, however, are so questionable, that it may be suspected that they are merely introduced for the purpose of giving color to the fiction which forms the climax of the paragraph. Though it is endeavored to make Colonel Tristram Coffin appear as the "head" or representative of the Portledge family, no attempt is made to trace his origin *backwards* to that family; and, instead of giving him his proper patronymic, as such, he is called Colonel Coffin of *Brixton*, an estate neither known nor believed to have been ever possessed as part of the Portledge property. But, passing over this inconsistency, it is certain that he *could* not then, or at any other time, have been the possessor of Portledge, which, in his time and in the preceding and following generations, was held and occupied by proprietors bearing the name of Richard or John. One of the former name, who died in 1699, at the age of seventy-seven, and must accordingly have been born nearly twenty years before the commencement of the Civil War, in 1641, and nearly forty years before the Revolution, in 1660, was the father of Dorothy Coffin, whose marriage with Edward Pine of Eastdown, in 1671, eventually brought the name and estate into the family of the present possessor. The pretended "hardship" of the Portledge family is thus reduced to a mere fable; and the true descent of the present representative of the name and possessor of the property is as follows:

In 1671, Edward Pine (or Pyne, as it was then spelt) of Eastdown (which estate came into his family in the year 1296, by the marriage of Robert Pyne, of Ham, near Moorwintowe, with Eleanor, daughter and heiress of Thomas Le Downe, of East Downe, and thence descended to him in an unbroken line of male inheritance) married Dorothy, eldest daughter of Richard Coffin, of Portledge. This Richard, contemporary of Colonel Tristram Coffin, was twice married; by his first marriage he had two daughters: by his second, two sons and two daughters. The youngest son died early in life, leaving no issue, and was buried at Alwington, Devon. Richard, the eldest son, who succeeded his father, in 1699, also died without issue, bequeathing the estate by his will to Richard Bennett, the son of his own sister, Mrs. Bennett. He also provided, by subsequent codicils, for different eventualities, all of which took effect, and ended in making John Pine, grandson of his half-sister Dorothy, before men-

tioned, heir of one moiety of the estate. This Richard Bennett, who succeeded under his uncle's will, in 1766, took the name of Coffin by Act of Parliament, and dying without issue, in 1796, bequeathed the other moiety of the estate to the same John Pine, on condition of his taking the name of Coffin, which he also did by Act of Parliament, on the twenty-eighth of February, 1797. From him the estate has descended, partly by entail and partly by simple inheritance, to the present possessor, the Rev. John Thomas Pine Coffin, Rector of Alwington, who is grandson of the above-named John Pine.

It is further stated in the paragraph referred to, that the Coffins, speaking of them *collectively*, "were proscribed and in great measure deprived of their estates." No authority is given for this statement, nor is there the slightest reason for considering it true with regard to the Coffins of Portledge, whatever may have happened to others of the name, then spread through the Western Counties; but the main assertions being refuted, it is unnecessary to enquire more nearly into the accuracy of the details.

On the fly leaf of the copy of the *Memoir* sent to Mr. Pine Coffin were the following words :

"The Rev. Pine Coffin, Portledge, near Bideford, with the author's best compliments.
"CAVERSHAM HILL, Nov. 21st, 1860."

There was no previous personal acquaintance between Captain Coffin and Mr. Pine Coffin; but the latter immediately replied to this communication as follows :

"PORTLEDGE, BIDEFORD, DEVON, Nov. 23rd, 1860.

"DEAR SIR: Let me beg you to accept my best thanks for the *Memoir* of General John Coffin, which I have read with much pleasure and interest. I cannot understand how my relationship can be established with Mr. Pine who married Miss Coffin, Brixton, as my ancestor, Mr. Pine of East Downe, in Devon, married Dorothy Coffin, the eldest daughter of Richard Coffin, of Portledge, at Alwington Church, in the year 1671. Dorothy Coffin (afterwards Pine) was the eldest of four sisters, —Dorothy, Catherine, Honour, Bridget, where-as Miss Coffin of Brixton appears, by your *Memoir* of General John Coffin, to have been an only daughter of Colonel Tristram Coffin.

"There is another point to which I desire to draw your attention. Mr. Pine of East Downe, did not take the name of Coffin, nor did his son do so. John Pine, his grandson, took the name of Coffin, when he succeeded to the Portledge property, under a provision in the

"will of his great-uncle, Richard Coffin, of Portledge. Having said thus much, drawn from documents which I possess, as Rector of Alwington, and also as the representative of the elder branch of the Portledge family, I will conclude by begging you to believe that I offer this correction of an important error, in the same kind spirit in which you have sent me the *Memoir*, and that I am, dear sir,

"Yours faithfully,

"J. T. PINE COFFIN.

"To Cap. HENRY E. COFFIN, R. N.

"Caversham Hill, Reading."

Having, on the first of December, received no answer to the above, he, on that day, addressed the following letter to the Printer of the *Memoir*.

"PORTLEDGE, DEC. 1st. 1860.

"SIR :

"I have received a *Memoir* of General John Coffin, published by his son, Capt. Henry E. Coffin, R. N. This *Memoir* contains an important error, at page 6, relative to a Mr. Pine, who is represented as having married a Miss Coffin of Brixton, a daughter of Colonel Tristram Coffin. This may all be true; but he has made a most gross and important error in stating that the *Pine Coffins*, of Portledge, are the descendants of that Mr. Pine, or that Colonel Tristram Coffin was in any way connected with the Coffins of Portledge, in North Devon, whose legal representative I am. He has also endeavored to show that the Coffin family were exiled and forfeited their property at the Restoration of Charles II. This may be true of his family, but not of the Coffins of Portledge (of whom I am now the head) who have had an undisputed possession for very many centuries.

"I have written to Capt. Coffin pointing out some of these errors, but as I have received no reply, I doubt if I was in possession of his proper address, therefore I have determined to address myself to him, through you, as I do not intend to let the error remain uncontradicted by the head of the *Portledge* Coffin family, as distinguished from others of that name. Awaiting a reply from either Capt. H. E. Coffin or yourself, I have the honor to be

"Your very obedient Servant,

"J. T. PINE COFFIN.

"To E. BLACKWELL & SON, Reading."

[Copy of Reply to the above.]

"READING, BERKS, Dec. 3rd, 1860.

"REV. SIR: In reply to your letter, I beg to inform you that Capt. H. E. Coffin, R. N., the author of the little *Memoir* which you refer to, resides at Caversham, near Reading, and any letter sent to him through the Post Office,

"directed as above, will most undoubtedly reach him.

"I am your obedient Servant,
"E. BLACKWELL.

"Rev. J. T. P. COFFIN,"

No further notice having been taken of either letter, it is uncertain whether Captain Coffin perseveres in his erroneous statements or admits his mistakes; and as the *Memoir*, though purporting to be printed for the use of his friends and relatives, will undoubtedly fall into other hands, it of course becomes necessary to refute the errors which it contains, in a manner equally public.

PORTLEDGE, 17th December, 1860.

HAYWARD, PAYNE & MEYLER, Printers, Bath.

IX.—GLEANINGS FROM THE ANNUAL REGISTER OF THE SUN FIRE OFFICE, LONDON.

[The following extracts from an Annual Register, published by the Sun Fire Office, in London, for many years, relate to events in the history of the American Colonies. We have embraced in the list, many facts relating to the West Indian Colonies, because there was always a close connection between those settlements and those on the main land. It is probable that representatives of those who held office in Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Bermuda, may still be found in our Southern States; and these facts and dates may be of some service to the genealogists of that section.]

1714. *Dec.* — Robert Loucher, Governor of Barbadoes, St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent and the Caribbee Islands.

17. George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney, appointed Governor of Virginia; Lord Archibald Hamilton, Governor of Jamaica; William Congreve, Secretary; and Thomas Wyndham, Registrar of same.

1715. *Jany.* 7. Col. Robert Hunter continued in the Government of New York and New Jersey.

—15. Elisha Burgess declared Governor and Captain General of New England and New Hampshire, in the room of Col. Joseph Dudley.

—28. Col. Samuel Vetch appointed Governor of H. M.'s Province of Nova Scotia, or *Acadia*, and of the town and garrison of Annapolis Royal, in the said Province.

Feb. 5. Edward Byam appointed Lieut. Governor of the island of Antigua; George Hay, Lt. Gov. of Montserrat; and William Mathews, Lt. Gov. of St. Christopher's.

—9. Lt. Gen. Hamilton made Governor of the Leeward Islands, in the room of Col. Douglas. Henry Douglas made Provost Marshall of the Leeward Caribbee Islands, in the room of Aston Warner.

—17. Edward Perry, Clerk of Naval Stores, in the Leeward Islands; — Bonner, continued Clerk of the Markets, in Barbadoes.

Mch. 9. John Rigby, Provost Marshal General of Jamaica; William Norris, Clerk of Naval Office in same island; Edward Perry, Clerk of Naval Office in the Leeward Caribbee Islands; George Clarke, Secretary of the Colony of New York; and John Moody, Lt. Gov. of the town of Placentia, in Newfoundland.

Mch. 19. Joseph Micklethwaite, Secretary of Barbadoes.

Apr. 4. Elizeus Burgess appointed Governor of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire.

—7. William Matthews, Lieut. Governor of the Leeward Islands; William Cook, Secretary of Virginia.

May 1. Major Thomas Talmash, Lieutenant Governor of Montserrat.

June 1. [Samuel] Woodward, Secretary of Massachusetts.

July 29. John Menzies, Judge of Admiralty in New England, in the room of Nathaniel Byfield.

Aug. 9. James Smith, Advocate General in New York and New England, in the room of — Raynor and Paul Dudley.

Sept. 3. John Cornelius, Clerk of the Navy Office in Barbadoes, in the room of — Woolaston.

Oct. 1. Lewis Morris, Chief Justice of New York, in the room of Roger Mompesson, deceased.

—17. John Bridges, Surveyor General of all H. M.'s Woods, &c. on the continent of America.

Dec. 18. James Woodhouse, Clerk of the Crown, in Jamaica, in the room of Henry Needham, deceased; John Page, Clerk of the Supreme Court of Jamaica.

1716. *Sept.* 15. Capt. Bennet, formerly Governor of Bermuda, again appointed in room of Captain Pullyn.

William Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania, in the room of Mr. Cokin.

Dec. 2. — Dixon, Collector of Customs at New York, in the room of Thomas Byerley.

1717. *Jany.* Colonel Otway, Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica.

Apr. 17. Thomas Pitt, Senr, *resigned* his post as Governor of Jamaica.

Mch. 2. Major Caulfield, Lieutenant Governor of Annapolis Royal, *died*.

May 10. John Floyer made Clerk of the Naval Stores, in the Leeward Islands.

June 22. *About this time*, Josiah Willard made Secretary of Massachusetts, in the place of Samuel Woodward, *resigned*.

July 6. Edmond Kelly, Attorney General in Jamaica, in the room of William Broderick.

Aug. 7. Col. Phillips, Gov. of Placentia, in the room of Col. Vetch. [Also, in August, died William Blaithewaite, one of the Clerks of the Council, and was succeeded by Abraham Stanyan.]

Sept. 8. John Wentworth, Lieut. Governor of New Hampshire.

Oct. 4. Mr. Jennes made Chaplain to the four Independent Companies, at New York.

—23. Capt. Rogers made Governor of the island of Providence, in the West Indies

—29. Thomas Bernard, Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica.

1718. *Jan'y. 18.* Colonel Purcel made Governor of the Leeward Islands.

May 2. William Congreve made, by Patent, Secretary of Jamaica for life.

June 25. Charles Burnicton, Surveyor General of H. M.'s Woods in America.

Colonel Purcell made Governor of Newfoundland.

July 25. Jones Sheriff made Commissary General and Deputy Judge Advocate, at Annapolis Royal, in room of William Wright, deceased.

Nov. 4. A Patent passed the Seals making Thomas Betts, Naval Officer of Jamaica.

Dec. 24. John Knight, of Gosfield Hall, co. Essex, made Secretary of the Leeward Islands.

1719. *May 22.* Col. Gledhill, Governor of Placentia and Annapolis Royal, in the room of Colonel Moody.

July 31. Martin Bluden and Daniel Pulteney made Joint Commissioners to adjust the limits, in America, between England and France, particularly at Cape Breton and Nova Scotia.

Aug. 16. Died ——— Reney, who had been Attorney General of New York.

Nov. 7. John Valentine, Attorney General in New England, appointed Advocate General of the Admiralty, in that Colony.

1720. *Feb. 10.* Robert Ashurst, chosen Governor of the Society for propagating the Gospel in New England and parts adjacent, in room of his father, Sir Henry Ashurst, deceased.

—11. Died Dudley Woodbridge, Judge Advocate in Barbadoes and Agent there for the South Sea Company.

1720. *Feb. 19.* Died Col. Livingstone, who had distinguished himself by many services to his country, abroad; particularly he commanded a Regiment of Indians, at the reduction of Nova Scotia, and had several times been sent by the Government of Massachusetts, to execute commissions at Canada, which he performed, with great resolution.

May 19. William Burnett, Governor of New York and New Jersey, in room of Robert Hunter, who succeeded Mr. Burnett, as Controller General of the Accounts of the Customs.

June 29. Died at Liege, William Penn, son of the famous Quaker of that name, Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania.

Sept. 20. Francis Nicholson made Governor of South Carolina.

Nov. 22. Richard Ingram, Viscount Irwyn, Governor of Barbadoes.

Dec. 24. Thomas Tickell, Secretary of Virginia, in the room of William Cock, deceased.

1721. *Apr. 10.* Died Viscount Irwyn, Governor of Barbadoes.

Feb. 28. Died at New York, Col. Caleb Heathcote, member of the Council, Judge of the Admiralty, Surveyor General of H. M.'s Customs for the North District of America.

Apr. 27. Thomas Lechmere, Surveyor General of Customs for the North District of America.

May 11. ——— Hart, Governor of the Leeward Islands, in the room of Col. Hamilton.

July 8. Died Elihu Yale, formerly Governor of Fort St. George, for the East India Company.

—19. William Lambert, Controllor of the Customs in New England, in room of Thomas Newton, deceased.

1721. *Aug.* News received that William Burnett, Governor of New York, was married there to a daughter of Abraham Van Hoorn, a Dutch merchant.

Sept. 9. Henry Benterick, Duke of Portland, Governor of Jamaica; Col. Charles Du Bourgay, Lieut. Gov. of same; Col. John Hope, Governor of the Bermuda Islands.

Nov. 10. Lord Belhaven, Governor of Barbadoes, was lost in the wreck of the *Anne* galley, near Lizzard-point.

Nov. 14. Henry Thompson, Judge of the Vice Admiralty of Jamaica.

—17. Henry Worseley, Envoy at Portugal, made Governor of Barbadoes, in room of Lord Belhaven, deceased.

1722. *Apr. 2.* Hugh Drysale, Lieut. Governor of Virginia, in room of Col. Spotswood.

—18. Died at St. Christopher's, Brig. Gen. Hamilton, formerly Governor of the Leeward Islands.

June 12. Charles Dilkes, Lieut-Governor of Montserrat, in room of Thomas Talmadge.

—13. A Patent passed the Seals granting the government and property of the islands of St. Vincent and St. Lucia, to John Montagu, Duke of Montagu.

July 18. James Carter appointed Secretary of Virginia for life, in room of Thomas Tickell, resigned.

Oct. 13. Wavell Smith, Secretary and Clerk of the Crown, for the Leeward Islands, for life, in room of John Knight, resigned.

1723. *Aug. 23.* Died Major Dilkes, Governor of Montserrat.

Sept. 9. Capt. Paul George appointed Governor of Montserrat.

—19. Died Robert Sutton, Lord Lexington, of Aram, in the County of Nottingham. In the

reign of King William, he was Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Vienna; and in that of Queen Anne, Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Spain.

—30. Mr. ——— Route made Provost Marshal General for South Carolina.

Oct. 9. Died in the 68th year of his age, Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, in the reign of Queen Anne.

Nov. 6. Dr. Mather, President of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford, made Vice Chancellor of that University.

1724. Apr. 7. James Campbell of Jamaica, made a Baronet.

Aug. 25. Samuel Moon made of the Council in Jamaica, in the room of ——— Moorat, deceased.

Oct. 7. Died, William Sharpe of Waltham Abbey. He had been twice Governor of Barbadoes.

Nov. 12. Died, Major Kose, formerly of the Council in Jamaica.

Dec. 7. Sir Edward Everet made Governor of North Carolina, in the room of Captain Barrington.

1725. Feb. 12. James Stanway made Attorney General of South Carolina.

May 19. Died, William Whitmore of Apley, M. P., for Bridgworth.

1725. June 15. Died Major-general Braddoc.

July 19. Henry Marshall, formerly Secretary to the Postmaster General, made Postmaster General of New England.

Oct. 19. Died Col. Egerton of Barbadoes.

1726. Feb. 22. Alexander Forbes made Provost Marshal of Jamaica, in the room of Richard Rigby, who resigned.

— 27. Devereux Bacon made Naval Officer and Collector of the Customs in New Hampshire, in the room of Barton Bacon, deceased.

Mch 12. Col. Gordon made Governor of Pennsylvania, in the room of Sir William Keith, Bart.

Aug. 8. Othniel Hoggot made one of the Council in Barbadoes.

July 22. Died, Hugh Drisdale, Lient-Governor of Virginia, under the Earl of Orkney.

Oct. 11. Died, Mr. Bowdle, formerly Attorney General of Maryland.

Dec. 15. Major Gouge made Governor of Virginia, under the Earl of Orkney.

1727. Jan. 30. Brigadier General Hunter, formerly Governor of New England, made Governor of Jamaica, in room of the Duke of Portland, deceased.

Mch 5. Jonathan Planman made Attorney General of Barbadoes.

June 12. Alexander Henderson made Attorney General of Jamaica.

Aug. 5. Died, in Virginia, Edmund Jennings,

one of the Council and formerly Deputy Governor of the Province.

Sept. 4. Sir Gustavus Hume, Bart., made Groom of the Bedchamber to his Majesty, in room of Col. John Montgomery, made Governor of New York.

— 19. John Montgomery made Governor of New York and New Jersey.

1727. Oct. 2. Capt. Pitt made Governor of Bermuda, in the room of John Hope.

— 21. Eliseus Burgess made his Majesty's Resident, at Venice.

Nov. 3. William Burnett, late Governor of New York and New Jersey, made Governor of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, in the room of Samuel Shute.

Dec. 14. Died, Mrs. Burnett, wife of William Burnett, Governor of New York.

1728. Feb. 12. About this time, came news of the death of Col. Nathaniel Harrison, one of the Council in Virginia, and Auditor General of the Accounts there.

Mch. 13. Died, at Boston, Cotton Mather, D.D., and *Fellow of the Royal Society in London.*

— 14. Arrived news of the death, on 31st Dec. last, of Francis Foxcroft, Judge of Probate for Middlesex, Massachusetts.

May 16. David Dunbar, made Surveyor General of all H. M's lands in America.

June 1. Sir John Dutton married the daughter of Francis Keck, of Great Tew, in co. Oxford.

Sept. 29. Died, Francis Keck, of Great Tew.

Oct. 1. Died, at Boston, N. E. ——— Leviston, Esq, who had been many years Speaker of the Assembly, at New York.

— 13. The King conferred the honor of Knighthood on Charles Payne, Esq, of the Leeward Caribbee Islands.

— 14. Woodes Rogers made Governor of the Bahamas and Captain of the Independent Company there, in room of George Phenny.

Dec. 13. Adam Pancier, Governor of Montserrat, in room of Paul George, dec'd.

1729. Jan. 19. Died, William Congreve, the author. He was Secretary to the Island of Jamaica.

Mch 15. Capt. Edward Randolph, a Virginia merchant of London, elected an Elder Brother of Trinity House.

Apr. 21. Lord Henry Beaulerc, married the daughter of ——— Phillips, of Stanwell, co. Middlesex, Governor of Annapolis and Nova Scotia and Commander of H. M's forces in Placentia. *Apr. 23.* Sir Peter Soame of Haydon, co. Essex, married another daughter.

May 14. Charles Grimes appointed Collector of Rappahannock-river, in Virginia, in room of Adam Cockburn, deceased. Also, news received of the death of Peter Beverly, one of the Council in Virginia.

— 17. Thomas Corbin made one of the Council in Virginia, in room of Peter Beverly, deceased.

June 4. Died —, wife of Sir John Dutton of Sherburn, co. Gloucester, daughter of William Keck, of Great Tew.

Sept. 7. Died, William Burnett, Governor of Massachusetts Bay.

Nov. 23. William, Lord Forbes, made Captain General of the Leeward Islands, in the room of the Earl of Londonderry, deceased. Also, Robert Johnson, Governor of South Carolina, in room of Francis Nicholson, deceased.

Nov. 29. Jonathan Belcher, made Governor of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, in room of William Burnett, deceased.

1730. *Jany. 5.* Died, Robert Mather, of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law and Fellow of the Royal Society.

— 10. James Arbuthnot made Collector of Customs at Antigua, in room of Hopefor Bendal, deceased.

Feb. 2. Alexander Spotswood made Post-Master General of all H. M.'s dominions in America.

Feb. 9. George Barrington made Governor of North Carolina.

— 10. Charles Paxton made Marshal of the Court of Admiralty, at Boston, in New England.

— 13 —Forbes, private Secretary to the Duke of Newcastle, made Provost Marshal of Jamaica, in room of Alexander Forbes, who died January 3rd.

— 17. John Gardiner, Jamaica merchant and planter, married a daughter of Col. Cremer, of co. Hertford.

April 10. Died, the wife of Charles Huggins, Clerk and Remembrancer of Barbadoes, son of John Huggins, late Warden of the Fleet Prison.

— 16. George Barrington, Governor of North Carolina. Also William Tailer, Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts Bay, in room of William Dummer.

June 19. James Sutherland, Captain of Fort Johnson, near Charles Town, in South Carolina.

— 26. William Hayman, one of the Council in Jamaica, in room of Anthony Swimmer, deceased.

Aug. 18. Died, Thomas Whitmore, one of the Corporals of the Yeomen of the Guard; and Charles Shelley, brother of Sir John Shelley, Bart., succeeded him.

Oct. 8. John Hamerton, Secretary of South Carolina, made Receiver General of the Crown Revenues, for both Carolinas.

Dec. 10. Col. Cosby made Governor of the Leeward Islands.

1731. *Jany. 7.* Joseph Jenoure, brother of

Sir John Jenoure, Bart, made Surveyor General of North Carolina.

— 22. Died, Thomas Hollis, a benefactor of New England.

Jany. 19. Robert Wright, Chief Justice of South Carolina; — Gregory, Master of the Court of Chancery; and James Abercrombie, Attorney General, there.

Also to Thomas Lowndes and his assigns the places of Provost Marshal, Clerk of the Peace, and Clerk of the Crown, for South Carolina; also unto Edward Bertie and John Hammerton, the offices of Secretary and Register, there.

— 19. William Smith, Chief Justice of North Carolina; John Montgomery, Attorney General; Nathaniel Rice, Secretary and Clerk of the Crown; Daniel Germain, Provost Marshal and Commissary, there.

Feb. 9. Lord Vere Beauclerc, made commander of H. M.'s ship the *Anglesea*, and also Governor of a large tract of land in New England.

— 19. David Dunbar, Surveyor General of Woods, in N. E., made Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire, in room of John Wentworth, deceased.

Apr. 6. Francis Wilks, of London, Agent for Massachusetts Bay, married Mrs. Jefferies.

— 29. Hon. Col. Cosby kissed hands on being appointed Governor of the Leeward Islands.

May 17. David Bray, one of the Council of Virginia, in room of Hon. Mann Page, deceased,

— *June 22.* Died, the wife of John Joyliffe nephew of Sir William J.

July 17. Died, Devereux Bacon, Surveyor General of H. M.'s dominions in North America.

Aug. 8. Major James Fountaine made Lt. Col. in Cope's Regiment in Jamaica.

— 19. About this time, Samuel Ogle made Governor of Maryland, in room of the Proprietor's brother, Hon. Benedict Leonard Calvert.

Nov. 26. Richard Lestock commissioned Commodore to the West India fleet.

1732. *Jany. 9.* Col. Cosby, Governor of the Leeward Islands, made Governor of New York and New Jersey.

— 12. Col. Taylor, one of the Council in Virginia, in room of Hon David Bray, deceased.

Feb. 5. Died, Walter Chetwyne, of Grendon Hall, co. Warwick, Governor of Barbadoes, M. P. for Litchfield, &c.

— 11. Died, the lady of Francis Wilks, Agent for Massachusetts.

May 11. Died, at Newington, John Mosby, a young gentleman of a plentiful fortune, arrived from the West Indies.

June 15. News arrived of the death at sea, of Benedict Leonard Calvert, for some time Governor of Maryland.

— 30. Mathew Concanen, Attorney General of Jamaica, in room of Alexander Henderson, deceased.

July 17. Thomas Beasley, Collector of Customs in Pennsylvania, in room of William Erdman Fox, deceased.

1733. *Feb. 17.* Died, Sir Richard Everard of Much Waltham, in Essex, late Governor of North Carolina.

News received of the death of John Jekyll, Esq., at Boston, nephew of Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls. Also of the death of Abraham Borden, Treasurer of Rhode Island.

— 18. Richard Fitz-William, Governor of Bahama, in the room of Capt. Woodes Rogers, deceased.

April 3. William Matthew, Lieut. Gov. of the Leeward Islands made Governor.

Also Gabriel Johnson, Governor of North Carolina, in room of George Barrington.

Apr. 7. Col. Hanmer, Governor of Nevis, in room of Gen. Sybourg, deceased.

May 8. Gilbert Fleming, Lieut. Governor of the Caribbee Islands and St. Christopher's, in room of William Matthew.

Also James Wedderburn, Clerk of the Common Pleas, in South Carolina.

Also Robert Burnett, Secretary of New Jersey.

1734. *Jany.* Robert Maccurtney, Governor of Newfoundland and Placentia.

April. Henry Cunningham, Governor of Jamaica, in room of — Hunter, who died there, March 4th.

July. Jonathan Blenman, Attorney General of Barbadoes, made sole Judge of the Admiralty, there.

Sept. Died, Capt. Newland, late of New England, reported worth £50,000.

Oct. Hon. Othniel Huggot made Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, in Barbadoes, in room of Thomas Buccles, deceased.

1735. *May.* Ensign Whitmore made Captain in H. M.'s Own Regiment of Foot, commanded by Brigadier General Percy Kirke.

— Fitzroy Henry Lee made Governor of Newfoundland, in room of Lord Muskerry.

— Died, at Charles Town, South Carolina, Robert Johnson, Governor of that Province.

Nov. Earl of Granard made Governor of Barbadoes.

X.—FLOTSAM.

THE THREE ORIGINAL CHURCHES OF CAMBRIDGE.—For the first time in the long history since their founding, the pulpits of the three original Churches of Cambridge, all Congregational Unitarian, are vacant simultaneously—The First Church of Cambridge, by the resignation of Rev. William Newell, D. D.; the First

Church of Arlington (which was the Second Church of Cambridge), by the resignation of Rev. Charles Christie Salter; the First Church of Brighton, (which was the Third Church of Cambridge), by the resignation of Rev. Samuel Walton McDaniel.

These were the three original territorial Parishes, or Precincts, as they were called, of Cambridge; and for several years no other Church was embodied in Cambridge. The next after these three was the Episcopal Church; and the next the Church of the Cambridgeport Parish, also Congregational Unitarian, now under the charge of Rev. George Ware Briggs, D. D. This latter reached, some twelve years since, the half century of its organization. But the three original territorial Parishes run back nearly five and nearly three half-centuries, if we assume the dates when public religious worship on the Sabbath was begun. Sabbath worship, in the First Parish, began with Hooker, in 1633; in the Second Parish (now Arlington) in 1733—perhaps a little earlier; in the Third Parish (now Brighton) in 1730, and perhaps earlier, fragments of ancient records extant referring to “public worship on y^e South side of the river “in a deserted private house,” long before any separate Parish organization was permitted by “the Great and General Court,” in that part of Cambridge. In 1807, the Second and Third Parishes were set off and incorporated as distinct Towns (West Cambridge and Brighton).

Of these three early Parishes, the pulpits of which are now vacant, we present the following complete list of Pastors:

OF THE FIRST PARISH, then in the wilderness, Rev. Thomas Hooker, born in Leicestershire, England, 1598, and Rev. Samuel Stone, born in England, both of Emanuel College, Cambridge, were ordained Pastor and Teacher, in 1633; and in the third year of their ministry removed to Hartford, Conn.

Rev. Thomas Shepard, born in Towcester, England, 1605, also of Emanuel College, was ordained, 1636, and died, 1649, in the fourteenth year of his ministry.

Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, born in Yorkshire, England, 1624; came over in 1635; graduated, Harvard University, 1647; ordained, 1650; and died, 1668, in the eighteenth year of his ministry.

Rev. Urian Oakes, born in England, 1631; came here a child; graduated at Harvard University, 1649; returned to England, where he was ordained and settled. The Cambridge Church sent a Messenger for him; and he was installed here, 1671. He died in 1681, in the tenth year of his ministry; the last six years of which he was both Pastor of the Church and President of the University.

Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, born at Cambridge, 1658; Harvard University, 1675; assisted Mr. Oakes in the ministry during the presidency of the latter; and was ordained his successor, in 1682; and died in 1692, in his thirty-fourth year, and in the tenth of his ministry.

Rev. William Brattle, born in Boston 1662; Harvard University, 1680; ordained Pastor 1696; and died, 1717, in the twenty-first year of his ministry.

Rev. Nathaniel Appleton, D. D., born at Ipswich, Massachusetts, 1693; Harvard University, 1712; ordained, 1717; died 1784, in his ninety-first year, and in the sixty-seventh of his ministry.

Rev. Timothy Hilliard, born, Kensington, New Hampshire, 1746; Harvard University, 1764; installed colleague with Dr. Appleton, 1783, having been previously settled at Barnstable; and died, 1790, in his forty-fourth year, and in the seventh of his ministry.

Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., born, 1765; graduated at Yale College, 1783; installed, 1792; left, 1829, in the thirty-eighth year of his ministry; and died at Cambridge, Sunday morning, the fourth of June, 1837, aged seventy-two.

Rev. William Newell, D. D., born, Boston; graduated at Harvard University, 1824, and Cambridge Divinity School, 1829; ordained, May 19, 1830; relinquished his charge, March, 1868, in the thirty-eighth year of his ministry.

Of these eleven Pastors of the First Church of Cambridge, three were educated at Emanuel College, England, seven at Harvard University, and one at Yale. The average ministry of each was about twenty years and six months.

OF THE SECOND PRECINCT, or Parish, of Cambridge, usually called by the Indian name of Menotomy, until incorporated, in 1807, as West Cambridge, Rev. Samuel Cook of Harvard University, 1735; was ordained first Pastor, in 1739. He died, 1783, aged seventy-five, in the forty-fourth year of his ministry.

Rev. Thaddeus Fiske, D. D., of Harvard University, 1785; was ordained in 1788; and had a ministry of forty years. He died at Charlestown, on the twenty-first of November, 1855, in his ninety-fourth year.

Rev. Frederic Henry Hedge, D. D., was born at Cambridge, on the twelfth of December, 1805. Having studied in Germany, from 1818 to 1823, he graduated at Harvard University, 1825, and Cambridge Divinity School, 1828. He was ordained at West Cambridge, on the twentieth of May, 1829; resigned his charge on the ninth of March, 1835, in the sixth year of his ministry. He was subsequently settled at Bangor, at Providence, and at Brookline.

Rev. David Damon, of Harvard University,

1811, was installed in April, 1835. He died on the twenty-fifth of June, 1843, in his fifty-sixth year, and in the ninth year of his ministry over this Church. He was the first tenant in that beautiful Cemetery at West Cambridge, which his own discourse and poem consecrated in his last public services in that place.

Rev. William Ware, born in Hingham, on the third of August, 1797; Harvard College, 1816; installed here, in 1844, having been settled previously in New York and in Waltham. In 1845, he was compelled from ill health to relinquish preaching, and removed from West Cambridge in the second year of his ministry here. He died at Cambridge, on the nineteenth of February, 1852.

Rev. James Francis Brown, a graduate of the Cambridge Divinity School, 1848, was ordained on the first of November, 1848; and died at Springfield, on the fourteenth of June, 1854, aged thirty-two years, in the fifth year of his ministry at West Cambridge.

Rev. Samuel Abbot Smith, born at Peterborough, New Hampshire, on the eighteenth of April, 1829; Harvard University, 1849; and Cambridge Divinity School, 1853; was ordained on the twenty-second of June, 1854; and died here on the twentieth of May, 1865, aged thirty-six, and in the eleventh year of his ministry.

Rev. Charles Christie Salter, born at Portsmouth, New Hampshire; a graduate of Harvard University, 1861, and of Cambridge Divinity School, 1865; was ordained here, on the seventh of June, 1866, and resigned his charge, January, 1869, in the third year of his ministry.

Of these eight Pastors of the original Second Church of Cambridge, seven were graduates of Harvard University. The average ministry of each was fifteen years.

OF THE THIRD PRECINCT, or Parish, of Cambridge, usually called South Cambridge or Little Cambridge, until incorporated (in 1807) as a Town, Rev. John Foster, D. D., was ordained first Pastor, on the first of November, 1784. He was born at Western (now Warren) Mass., on the nineteenth of April, 1763; and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1783. He resigned his charge on the thirty-first of October, 1827, after a ministry of just forty-three years; and died, at Brighton, on the fifteenth of September, 1829, in his sixty-seventh year.

Rev. Daniel Austin was born in Boston; and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1813, and at the Cambridge Divinity School, 1827. He was ordained on the fourth of June, 1828; resigned his charge on the twenty-sixth of November, 1837, in the tenth year of his ministry, and resides now at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Rev Abner Dumont Jones was born in

Charlestown, on the second of April, 1807, only son of Elder Abner Jones, founder of the "Christian Connexion" in New England. He was installed on the thirteenth of February, 1839, having been previously settled at Hubbardston, Mass., and at Wilton, New Hampshire; and resigned his charge, on the thirty-first of October, 1842, in the fourth year of his ministry. He was subsequently settled at Manchester, New Hampshire, and resides now in Boston.

Rev. Frederick Augustus Whitney born at Quincy, on the thirteenth of September, 1812; graduated at Harvard University, 1833, and at the Cambridge Divinity School, 1838. He took charge of the pulpit on the ninth of April, 1843; and was ordained on the twenty-first of February following. He resigned in 1858, in the sixteenth year of his ministry.

Rev. Charles Noyes, born at Petersham, graduated at Harvard University 1856, and at the Cambridge Divinity School, 1859. He was ordained on the fourth of January, 1860; and resigned, on the twenty-fifth of October, 1863, in the fourth year of his ministry. He was subsequently settled at Northfield, Massachusetts; and has been recently invited to settle at New Orleans, Louisiana.

Rev. Samuel Walton McDaniel, born at Philadelphia, on the eighteenth of November, 1833; was installed on the thirtieth of August, 1866, having previously settled in Pennsylvania and in Massachusetts. He resigned his charge on the third of July, 1869, in the third year of his ministry.

Of these six Pastors of the original Third Church of Cambridge, two were graduates of Harvard University and two of Dartmouth College. The average ministry of each of the six was thirteen years and four months. F. A. W.

AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER.—Leavitt, Strebeigh & Co. will sell by auction on Monday next and the following days the private library of Mr. W. H. Corner, of Baltimore, which is not only rich in works referring to American history, but also in relics of Washington—including his Bible and the following letter from his mother, which we transcribe literally from the original:

"July the 2 1760

"DEAR BROTHER

"this Coms by Capt Nickelson you Seem te
"blam me for not writing to you but I doe a
"shour you it is Note for Wante of a very great
"Regard for you and the family butt as I dont
"ship tobacco the Captins Never Calls one me
"soe that I Never know when tha come or when
"tha goe I beleve you have got a very good
"overseer at this quarter now Capt Newton has
"taken a Large pease of ground from you which

"I dear say if you had been hear your self it
"had not been Don Mr. Danial and his wife and
"family is well Cozen Hannah has been married
"and Lost her husband She has one child a boy
"may give my love to Sister Ball & Mr. Down-
"man & his Lady & am Dear Brother.

"Your Loving Sister

"MARY WASHINGTON"

DEATH OF CATHARINE T. WASHINGTON.

Mrs. Catharine T. Washington, the nearest relative to the Father of his Country, died on Saturday, at the residence of her son-in-law, Dr. J. M. Mackenzie, in Delhi. She was born on the twenty-fifth of August, 1790; and was consequently in the eightieth year of her age. The deceased was the wife of the late Samuel Washington, a grand nephew of General Washington, who died ten years ago. She, too, was a Washington, though bearing a remote relationship to her husband.

They came to the West, from Virginia, about twenty years ago, stopping temporarily at Wheeling, and finally settling in Newport, Ky., where they both remained until, eight years ago, they came into the family of Dr. Mackenzie, in this city, and removed with him to his residence in Delhi, when he left the city.

She was, for many years, a prominent and devoted member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. After their removal to Delhi, without a change of membership, she attended the Presbyterian Church; and was earnestly engaged in its work, until her failing health, about one year ago, admonished her that her labor on earth was rapidly drawing to a close. She retained her physical vigor to an unusual age; and was distinguished for high character and one that was singularly well balanced. The dignity which characterized the family, also manifested itself, in no small degree, in her; and a serene temper, with which she was blessed, was constantly speaking from a placid face. The traces of the Washington physiognomy were quite discernable in her, and came out with striking resemblance to General Washington, after her death. Though her strength had been rapidly failing of late, she was seriously sick only about six weeks. Her last words were those of affection for her family, and un-failing trust in the Savior.

She leaves two children who survive her, Captain Thornton J., and John F. Washington, both well-known citizens of this country.—*Cincinnati Gazette*.

XI.—NOTES.

OLD NEWSPAPERS.—By the kindness of William S. Appleton, Esqr., we have examined a

volume of old newspapers, apparently exchanges, directed to Messrs. Young & Minns, of Boston, of the *Massachusetts Mercury*, all dated about 1799. They were bound in a volume then, and belonged to Enoch Rust. The titles of these Journals are as follows, there being several numbers of most of them,

1. *Columbian Minerva*, Vol. III. No. 131. Dedham, Mass. April, 11, 1799.

2. *The Minerva*, Vol. III. No. 110. Dedham, November 15, 1798.

3. *Columbian Courier*, Vol. 1. No. 39. New Bedford, 4th day, 8th month, 1799.

4. *Patriotic Gazette*, Vol. I. No. 10. Northampton, Mass. June 14, 1799.

5. *The Farmer's Register*, Vol. I. No. 30. Conway, Mass. October 6, 1798.

6. *Castine Journal and the Eastern Advertiser*, Vol. I. No. 24. Castine, Maine, June 12, 1799.

7. *The Baltimore Intelligencer*, Vol. III. No. 145. Baltimore, February 7, 1799.

8. *New Hampshire Sentinel*, Vol. I. No. 15. Keene, N. H., June 29, 1799.

9. *Federal Spy*, Vol. VII. No. 29. Springfield, Mass., July 16, 1799.

10. *Berkshire Gazette*, Vol. II. No. 32. Pittsfield, Mass., August 21, 1799.

11. *Springer's Weekly Oracle*, Vol. III. No. 138. New London, Conn., July 8, 1799.

12. *Herald of the United States*, Vol. V. No. 18. Warren, R. I., September 7, 1799.

13. *The Courier and New York and Long Island Advertiser*, Vol. I. No. 10. Brooklyn, L. I. September 5, 1799.

14. *Greenfield Gazette*, Vol. VIII. No. 397. Greenfield, Mass., August 31, 1799.

15. *The Western Star*, Vol. VIII. No. 38. Stockbridge, Mass., August 7, 1797.

16. *Courier of New Hampshire*, Vol. X. No. 26. Concord, N. H., July 27, 1799.

17. *The Royal Gazette and New Brunswick*, Vol. XIV. No. 587. St. John, July 16, 1799.

18. *The Mercury*, Vol. II. No. 3. Boston, July 9, 1793.

19. *New Jersey State Gazette*, Vol. I. No. 19. Trenton, July 9, 1799.

20. *Evening Courier*, Vol. I. No. 28. Charleston, S. C. November 2, 1798.

21. *Thomas's Massachusetts Spy or Worcester Gazette*, Vol. XXVIII. No. 1379. Worcester, September 11, 1799.

22. *Morris County Gazette*, Vol. I. No. 1. Morris Town, N. J., May 24, 1797.

23. *The American Eagle*, Vol. I. No. 2. Easton, Pa., May, 17, 1799.

24. *The Rutland Herald*, Vol. II. No. 9. Rutland, Vt., February 29, 1796.

25. *Federal Galaxy*, Vol. III. No. 138. Brattleborough, Vt., August 19, 1799.

26. *The Oracle of Dauphin and Harrisburgh*

Advertiser, Vol. VII. No. 4. Harrisburgh, Pa., November 28, 1798.

27. *Journal of the Times*, Vol. I., No. 35. Stonington, Conn., June 4, 1799.

28. *United States Chronicle*, Vol. XVI. No. 812. Providence, August 8, 1799.

29. *The Green Mountain Patriot*, Vol. I. No. 47. Peacham, Vt., January 11, 1799.

30. *Village Messenger*, Vol. IV. No. 33. Amherst, N. H. August 19, 1799.

31. *Haverhill Gazette*, Vol. I. No. 44. Haverhill, Mass. August 22, 1799.

32. *The Eagle*, Vol. VI. No. 44. Hanover, N. H. May 25, 1799.

33. *The Vergennes Gazette and Vermont & New York Advertiser*, Vol. I. No. 45. Vergennes, Vt., July 18, 1799.

34. *Political Focus*, Vol. I. No. 48. Leominster, Mass., May 30, 1799.

35. *The Time Piece*, Vol. II. No. 83. New York, March 26, 1798.

36. *The Courier*, Vol. III. No. 39. Norwich, Conn., August 21, 1799.

37. *Kennebeck Intelligencer*, Vol. IV. No. 179. Hallowell, Me., July 26, 1799.

38. *The Mirror*, Vol. VII. No. 348. Concord, N. H., July 1, 1799.

This list seems worth preserving since it was formed at a time when there was apparently a great increase in the establishment of newspapers in the smaller towns.

WITCHCRAFT IN CAMBRIDGE, MASS. I copy from the Middlesex Court files, for 1660, the following Document:

"We whose names are under written—We
"Doe here testify that WINNEFRED HOLMAN,
"we having Bene acquainted with her this
"many years, she Being nere neighbour unto
"us and many times have had occasion to have
"dealings with her, and we have not indeed in
"the least measure perceived either by words
"or deedes any thing whereby we could have
"any grounds or reasons to suspect her for
"witchery or any thing thereunto tending. And
"this is evident unto us that she is diligent in
"her calling and frequents publike preaching
"and gives diligent attention thereunto.

"JOHN GREEN	NATHANIEL GREEN
"JOHN PALFREY	FRANCIS WHITMORE
"MATHIEW BRIDGE	RICHARD ETTLES
"WILLIAM DIKSONE.	

"We who have here subscribed our names
"doe testify That we have Known Winnefret
"Holman widdow, this many yeares, but never
"Knew any thing in her life concerning witch-
"ery. But she has always bene a diligent hear-
"er of and attender to the word of God.

"MARY HALS	ISABEL WHITMORE
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"MARY ETTLES	WILLIAM TOWNE
"JANE WILLOWS	THOMAS FOX
"MARTHA TOWNE	REBECCA WIETH
"JOHN BRIDGE	WIDOW STONE
"GREGORY STONE	ANNA BRIDGE
"MARY PATTON	JOANE DIKSONNE
"ELIZABETH GREEN	ELLIN FOX
"ELIZABETH WINSHIP	ELIZABETH BRIDGE

Among these signers are Francis Whitmore and his wife Isabel (Park). Concerning him I find three other affidavits in these files, viz: one, the fifth of February, 1658, aged 33; one the eighteenth of December, 1660, aged 35; and one in 1675, aged 50, all concerning in placing his birth in or about 1625.

COHASSET. I find in the *Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives*, viii, 355, that on the first of June, 1708, a Petition was presented by Mindath Schuyler, John Abeath, David Schuyler, Peter Vanbruck, John Schuyler, Peter Schuyler, and Robert Livingston, Jr., all of Albany, praying for a Grant of land at the head of Connecticut-river, about one hundred miles distant from Deerfield, called Cowastick, *alias* Cohasset; within this Province. A Grant was made for fifteen miles square.

IMMIGRATION. In *The New England Weekly Journal*, for March 30th, 1730, there is the following account of Passengers and Servants landed in Pennsylvania, from December 25th, 1728, to December 25th, 1729

English and Welsh passengers	199	servants	68	total	267
Irish	925	"	230	"	1155
Scotch	"	none	"	43	
Palatine	"	243	"		

In New Castle Government, about four thousand five hundred Passengers and Servants, mostly from Ireland. Total 6218.

PORTRAIT PAINTING. In *The Baltimore Intelligencer*, for February 7, 1797, will be found the following card:

"PORTRAIT PAINTING. The subscriber, grateful for the liberal encouragement which an indulgent public have conferred on him in his first essays in *portrait painting*, returns his sincere acknowledgements. He takes liberty to observe, that by dint of industrious application, he has so far improved and matured his talents, that he can insure the most precise and natural likenesses. As a *self-taught genius*, deriving from nature and industry his knowledge of the Art, and having experienced many insuperable obstacles in the pursuit of his studies, it is highly gratifying to him to make assurances of his ability to execute all commands, with an effect and in a style which must give satisfaction. He therefore respectfully solicits encouragement. Ap-

ply at his House, in the Alley leading from Charles to Hanover Street, back of Sear's Tavern.

"JOSHUA JOHNSTON."

GWINETT BUTTON. In a list of letters advertised as remaining in the Springfield Post Office, April 1, 1799, are the names of Elias, Joseph, Bloat, Gwinett and Sally Button, all of Longmeadow.

QUERIES.

STROUDWATER. In the list of Subscribers to Prince's *Chronology* (Boston, 1736) is the name of "Mr. Richard Fry of *Stroudwater*". Can any one give any particulars of Mr. Fry; or say where Stroudwater is or was? In Thomas's *History of Printing* (ii, 432) mention is made of Richard Fry, an Englishman, who was connected probably with the paper-mill at Milton, Mass. and who was a bookseller and publisher, in Boston, in 1732. Was this the same man?

PETER WHITMORE, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. In *The New Hampshire Provincial Papers*, (ii, 423,) mention is made, in 1704, of an account of Peter Whitmore, Commissary, for provisions for impressed soldiers. In the next volume (iii., 323) there is mention made of Commissary Whitmore, under date of 1705. I find no such person recorded among the descendants of Francis Whitmore, of Cambridge, or Thomas Whitmore, of Malden. May not the person meant be *Peletiah* Whittemore, who m. Margery Pepperrell, in 1706?

FAMILY MEETING. In the *Register*, xvi, 76, William Wilcock's Will is printed. He was of Cambridge, and died in 1653.

He mentions his widow, the children of his sister, Christian Boyden, in old England, and his cousin John Woodes. Also he gives small legacies to "my loving brethren that were of my family meeting, viz. Roger Bancroft, John Hasting, Thomas Fox, widow Patton, and Francis Whitmore; to my sister, the widow Hall, to her son, William, and daughter, Susan, to my honest brother, Richard Francis, and to my brother, John Taylor"

Can any one explain the meaning of the above phrase in italics? Is it probable that the "family meeting," undoubtedly a regular one for devotional purposes, was confined to relatives; or was it rather a collection of neighbors? Has any one met the same phrase in other Wills of that date? Would a man call a meeting, a *family* one, if it consisted of himself and wife (they apparently lived alone) and five strangers in blood to him, simply because it was held in his own house?

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. IV. SECOND SERIES.]

OCTOBER, 1868.

[No. 4.

This number of the Historical Magazine has been edited by William F. Goodwin, A. B.; A. M.; LL. B., and Captain U. S. A., of Concord, N. H.

1 —JOURNAL OF THE CONGRESS OF THE COLONY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE WHICH ASSEMBLED AT EXETER DECEMBER 21st, 1775, AND ADOPTED, JANUARY THE 5th. 1776, THE FIRST WRITTEN CONSTITUTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

NOW FIRST PRINTED.*

Colony of New Hampshire—In Congress at Exeter Decr 21st 1775.

At a Generall Convention of the Delegates From the Several Towns, Parishes and Places in this Colony Convened at Exeter in Said Colony on the Twenty first day of December A D 1775—Pursuant to Precepts Issued by the Late Congress.

The Returned Members met, and after making out a List of their Names and the Places they Represent, Proceeded to make Choice of a President—and the Votes being bro't in, It appeared That the Honble Matthew Thornton Esq^r was Chosen President of this Congress, by a great Majority, who Took the Chair Accordingly.

VOTED That Ebenezer Thompson Esq^r be Secretary to this Congress.

VOTED That Noah Emery Esq^r be Assistant Secretary to this Congress.

Then adjourned to half after Eight o'Clock tomorrow morning.

Friday Decr 22^d 1775. Met according to Adjournment, and

The Petition of the Committee of Safety of the Towns of New Ipswich, Rindge, Fitz William &

*I am confident that the publication of this important Journal which escaped the attention of Mr. Force, and which has been neglected in the Archives of New Hampshire for nearly one hundred years, will meet the approbation of every distinguished Constitutional Lawyer in the United States. "As the citizen of a free State, and a member of the supreme power, by birth, however weak may be the influence of my single vote in public affairs, the right of giving that vote is sufficient to impose on me the duty of making those affairs my study," and I am happy to announce to the intelligent readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, that it is my intention to publish this Journal in book form, with such documents and notes as will illustrate it on every point.

W. F. G.

HIST. MAG. VOL. IV, 10.

Jaffrey, (Praying to have Enoch Hale Esq^r & William Smiley admitted to Sit in this Congress) and also the return made on the Precept which Issued to the Towns of Rindge, Jaffrey, & Peterborough Slip, Being read & Considered Voted that Neither of the Said Gentlemen shall have a Seat in this Congress, They being Chosen Contrary to the Direction in the Precept from the Late Congress.

VOTED To Chosse a Committee of three Persons to Draw up a Solemn Obligation or Engagement to be Entered into by the Members of this Congress, and Lay the Same before the Congress for their Approbation, and That Benjamin Giles Esq^r Ebenezer Thompson Esq^r & Wyeman Claggett Esq^r be the Committee for that purpose.

Whereas Sundry Persons have appeared in this Congress bringing Certificates of their Choice to represent Towns & Places in this Congress, Some of which are Certified by the Selectmen, Some by the Town Clerk and Some by the Moderator of the Meeting in their respective Towns & places, and no return being made of the Precepts which Issued from the Late Congress, Directing Such Choice.

Therefore voted That Such Persons, whose Certificates Shew that they were Chosen to represent Towns or places to whom Precepts did Issue, Shall be allow'd a Seat in Congress During their present Session, after which Time they Shall produce the Precept—in Consequence of which Such Choice was made, with the Certificate of the Selectmen thereon, (of their being Chosen) or Shall not be any further Allowed a Seat in this Congress.

VOTED That the Treasurer or receiver General be Directed to Lay his Treasury Accounts before this Congress forthwith for their Inspection & Examination.

VOTED That the Committee Chosen to Examine & Audit the Accounts of the Late Treasurer Jaffrey, be Directed to Lay the State of Said accounts (as far as they have Examined them) before this Congress as soon as may be.

VOTED That the Committee of Supplies, The Commissary, The Committee of Safety, The Quarter Master, the Barrack master and Engineer, be Directed to Lay their accounts before this Congress as Soon as may be for their Inspection and Examination.

Adjourn'd to three o'Clock afternoon.

Decr 22^d P M—Met According to Adjournment.

Read & heard Sundry Letters & resolves of the Continental Congress The Petition of the Inhabitants of Alexandria &c., against the Election of Mr Samuel Emerson as a member of this Congress, being read and Considered—

VOTED That the Said Samuel Emerson was Duely Elected and that he Take his Seat in this house Accordingly.

The Petition of a Number of the Inhabitants of Rye against the Election of Nathan Goss, being read, Voted that the Parties be heard thereon on Monday next P. M.

The Petition of Sundry Inhabitants of Hanover &c., being read Voted that the Consideration thereof be put off till to-morrow.

Upon the Motion of George Jaffrey Esqr Isaac Rindge Esqr & Mr William Hart, praying to be Liberated from their respective Confinements, Voted by the Late Congress on the Sixteenth of Novr last, The motion being Considered

VOTED That the Determination thereof be Suspended till To-morrow

Upon the Motion of Enoch Hale Esqr, Voted that a new writ Issue to Towns of Rindge, Peterborough Slip, and Jaffrey, to Send a Member to Sit in this Congress.

Adjourn'd till to-morrow morning, 9 o'Clock.

December 23^d, 1776.—Met according to Adjournment.

Whereas Sundry Persons were, by the late Congress, ordered to Confine Themselves to Certain Places within this Colony &c. It is now Voted That the Said Persons viz Peter Gilman Esqr Nathaniel Rogers Esqr Mr William Torry, George Jaffrey Esqr Isaac Rindge Esqr & Mr William Hart, have leave to go to their Respective Businesses for the Space of Fifteen days, unless they or any of them Should be Called for Sooner; and then to make their appearance before this Congress.

VOTED That Jonathan Lovewell, Jonathan Blanchard & Noah Emery Esqrs be added to the Committee Chosen to make a Dra^t of Some Solemn Obligation to be Enter'd into by the Members of this Congress.

VOTED That Capt Peirce Long, Samuel Cutts & Samuel Sherburne Esqrs be paid out of the Treasury a Sum Sufficient to make up to them the Two thousand pounds Lawful money Voted them by the Late Congress to Lay out in Cargoes for the Foreign West Indias to Procure Arms, Ammunition &c for this Colony

VOTED That Mr Commissary Cutts be paid out of the Treasury One hundred and Fifty pounds Law^l money towards paying off the Workmen on the Batteries & Victualling the Troops; Said Sum to be by him Accounted for.

Adjourn'd to 3 o'Clock afternoon.

P M. Met according to Adjournment

VOTED To Raise and keep in pay Two hundred Matrosses & Artillerymen, Officers

Included, for the Defence & Security of the Batteries & Fortifications at and Near Piscataqua Harbour—To be Enlisted by Capt Salter, Cap^{tn} Daniel & Capt Turner and to keep in the Service for the Term of one year if not Discharg'd Sooner and to be Commanded by Said Captains in the Same Proportion as they now Command.—Said Officers & Soldiers to be paid the Same Wages as heretofore—and that the Secretary make out Enlisting orders Accordingly.

VOTED That all the Officers and Soldiers (Excepting the Two hundred Matrosses and Artillery men) Be forthwith Discharged from Duty at the Fortresses at and Near Piscataqua Harbour.

Adjourn'd to Munday next 3, o'Clock afternoon.

Munday Decr 25th.—Met according to Adjournment

Upon the motion of Wyseman Clagett Esqr in behalf of Sam^l Renkin praying that a 20 S Sterling bill of this Colony payable Decr 25th, 1765, may be redeemed & paid by order of this Congress; Voted in the Negative.

The Petition of Sundry Inhabitants of Rye, against the Election of Nathan Goss, for a member of this Congress, being read & Considered—

VOTED, That the prayer of said Petition be not Granted but that the said Petition be and hereby is Dismiss'd—and that the Said Nathan Goss Take his Seat in this house Accordingly.

Adjourned to 3 o'Clock afternoon

Met according to Adjournment

VOTED That the Petition of John Wheelock, agent for the Towns of Hanover, Lebanon, Rehban,* Canaan, Cardigan† & Grafton, having been read, Debated & understood, Be and hereby is Dismiss'd.

VOTED That Ebenezer Thompson, James Betton, Jonathan Blanchard, Jonathan Lovewell John Dudley & Benjamin Giles Esqrs be a Committee to prepare a Plan of Rules for the order of this Congress, and lay it before this house to-morrow morning.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning 9 o'Clock.

Tuesday Decr 26th, 1775 Met according to adjournment.

The Petition of Barton Pollard (a Poor Prisoner) being read and considered

VOTED That the sum of Seven pounds & five Shillings be paid out of the Treasury of this Colony towards his Prison Charges, Provided he Enlist himself as a Soldier in the Service of this Colony, and that if he Settles his other Charges due to the Prison keeper; That he be Discharged from Prison, That he within Thirty days next Coming repair to the Corps into which he Shall

*Newfield. †Orange.—W. F. G.

Enlist, (at which time his wages Shall Commence) or that he be again Committed to Prison and that Two thirds of his Wages as it becomes due Shall be Stop'd to Reimburse the Sum paid by the Colony untill the whole is paid The fine laid on him by the Justices who Committed him being hereby Remitted.

VOTED That Capt Eliphalet Ladd have Leave to Sail to any of the Foreign West Indias, at his own Charge & Risque, Under Such orders & restrictions as this Congress Shall See fit—and that Phillips White Esqr John Hurd Esqr & Capt Ezekiel Worthen members of this Congress, with Nicholas Gilman Esqr & Capt John Emery be a Committee to Consult & Lay a plan of Such orders & restrictions as said Ladd Shall be under for that purpose and Lay the Same before this Congress as Soon as may be.

VOTED That Benjamin Giles & Jonathan Blanchard Esqrs & Capt Hercules Mooney be a Committee to Examine & audit the Treasurer's accounts, and make report thereon to this Congress as Soon as may be.

VOTED That the Time appointed by the Late Congress for paying in the Colony Tax this Year be Lengthened out For three Months, and that the Several Constables & Collectors in this Colony Govern themselves Accordingly.

VOTED That all the Noncommissioned Officers and Soldiers belonging to this Colony who have Served as Such in the Continental Army the Summer past, who have or Shall Enlist in Said Service for the Year Coming Shall be Discharged from paying a Poll Tax for the Year past.

VOTED That Capt George Turner with his Artillery Company be Stationed at New Castle, with all the Field pieces under his Care to Guard & Defend That Island Against the Landing and Assaults of any Enemies 'till further orders.

Adjourned till Tomorrow Morning half past 8 o'clock

Wednesday Decr 27th.—The Congress met According to Adjournment.

Whereas a Vote of this Congress hath Excused all Non-Commissioned Officers & Soldiers who Served the Summer past in the Continental Army and Shall Enlist there for the Year Coming, from paying any Poll Tax It is Now Further Voted That on an Account Under oath being Exhibited to the Treasurer, by the Selectmen, of the Number of Such Soldiers belonging to their respective Towns, and the Amount of their Poll Tax to the Colony Tax, The Treasurer Shall make a Deduction of the Same out of the Sum Such Town was Proportioned to pay into the Colony Treasury this Year.

VOTED That Such of the Members of this Body, as think that Blanketts Can be procured in their respective Towns & places, be Desired to write to, (or otherwise as they find most Convenient) Inform

the Selectmen or Committee of their respective Towns & places That a Number of Blanketts are Greatly wanting for the use of the Continental Army; and that it is requested of them within Ten days at Least from this time, to Send to this Congress or to the Committee at Exeter, what Number of Good Blanketts they can buy in their respective Towns & places, with the Prices thereof Assuring them that on the Delivery thereof the money will be paid.

VOTED Resolved That Samuel Hobart, Timothy Walker & Jonathan Blanchard Esqrs be a Committee to Proceed Down to the Army, and there Examine the Several Pay rolls of the Captains in the Regiments Commanded by the Colonels Stark Poor, & Reid, and See that they are made out in the Same manner as Pay rolls are allow'd & paid by the Colony of the Masss Bay, & Sworn to by the Captain of Each respective Company (or in their absence by the next Officer in Command) and after Such Examination as they Shall be Satisfied of the Propriety thereof, That they attest Each Roll, as allowed by them, That the Paymasters may proceed in paying them off,

Orders To Samuel Hobart and Timothy Walker Esqrs Paymasters of the New Hampshire Troops

You are hereby Directed, when the Several Pay rolls of the Companies in the Regiments Commanded by the Colonells Stark, Poor, & Reid, are Passed by the Committee To Proceed to the payment of Each Individual or his order, made up and allowed in Such Roll, Taking their receipts therefor, making Deductions where any Person Has received from the Colony, or by their Order, any part thereof, whether as Wages or Billeting; or a Stoppage where the whole has been received; also allowance for the use of Guns according to the Votes of this Congress, and where it appears that any Officer for his Soldiers, or any Soldiers have received any overpluss allowance for Blanketts or otherwise, from this Colony, or by their order, That you now Stop the Same; and make return of all Such Rolls to this Congress

VOTED That the Secretary be Directed to write to Mr Moses Parsons & Direct him to attend this Congress, & account for the Money he rec'd to purchase Guns.

Upon the motion of Capt Supply Clapp for leave to Exchange Continentall Bills for Silver and Gold now in our Treasury—Voted that he have Leave to Exchange Five hundred pounds at the Treasury.

VOTED That Samuel Cutts, Ebenezer Thompson & Ichabod Rollins Esqrs be a committee to Examine into the Stoppages to be made in the Muster rolls of the Soldiers in the pay of this Colony, and make an Account thereof and Lay it before this Congress as soon as may be.

VOTED That the Matrosses & Artillery men in

the Service of this Colony, be paid off their wages up to the last day of December Instant, by the Treasurer of this Colony, Upon the proper Rolls being made up with the proper Stoppages therein & returned on oath to this house & allowed.

VOTED That Phillips White Esqr Capt Josiah Moulton & Colo David Gilman be a Committee to Examine & pass the Muster Roll of Capt John Calfe.

Adjourn'd to half past 2, o'clock afternoon.

Met according to adjournment

VOTED That Wyseman Clagett & Thomas Tash Esqrs be a Committee to Clear out for Jonathan Colcord a Number of Cattle & Sheep to Passamaquaddy (as pr his Petition on file) and to take Security from him for their Safe landing there

VOTED That Colo Timothy Walker receive out of the Treasury Nineteen hundred Pounds to pay off the Troops at Head Quarters in the Service of this Colony, up to the first of August Last past.

VOTED That this Congress will take up Government for this Colony in Such Mode & Form as this Congress Shall hereafter think fitt

VOTED That a Committee be Chosen to draw up a Plan for the Government of this Colony During the Present Contest with Great Britain and that Said Committee Consist of Fifteen Persons—and That the Hon^{ble} Matthew Thornton & Meshech Weare Esqrs Mr Secy Thompson, Wyseman Clagett, Benjamin Giles, Phillips White, John Hurd, Israel Morey, Samuel Sherburne, Clement March John Dudley, James Betton, Noah Emery, Jonathan Blanchard and Jonathan Lovewell Esqrs be the Committee for that Purpose

Adjourn'd to tomorrow morning ½ past 8, o'clock.

Thursday Decr 28th.—Met according to Adjournment.

VOTED That Capt John Calfe's Musterroll amounting to forty nine pounds & eleven pence, be allow'd and paid off by William Parker Esqr

VOTED That John Hurd, Wyseman Clagett & John Giddings Esqrs Capt John Emery and Mr Joseph Gilman be a Committee to Examine & Settle all the accounts of those Persons who have had monies out of the Colony Treasury for Publick use, and all other accounts against the Colony, and to make report thereof to the Congress of Generall Assembly as Soon as may be.

VOTED That Samuel Cutts Esqr have an order on the Treasury for one hundred Pounds to be by him accounted for.

Upon the Question being Put whether this Congress, will at any Time Take up Civil Government to Continue During the Present Contest with Great Britain, and Resolve themselves into a house of Representatives and then Choose a Council to Continue one Year from the Twenty first day of December Current. It was Voted in the Affirmative

Adjourn'd to 3, o'clock afternoon

Decr 28th 3, o'clock afternoon Met according to Adjournment

VOTED To Choose a Committee of this Congress to Frame and bring in a Dra't or Plan of a New Constitution for the rule & Government of this Colony, and that the Hon^{ble} Matthew Thornton, Meshech Weare, Ebenezer Thompson, Wyseman Clagett, & Benjamin Giles Esqrs be the Committee for that Purpose, and that they Enter upon that Business Immediately.

VOTED To Choose a Committee of Six Persons, to Join the former Committee to make a Dra't of an Oath or Obligation to be Enter'd into by the Members of this house—and that Colo Hurd, Capt Prentice, Majr Tash, Colo Walker, Colo Morey & Mr Blanchard be of the Said Committee.

Adjourn'd till tomorrow morning 9, o'Clock.

Friday Decemr 29th.—Met according to Adjournment.

VOTED That the Consideration of the Matter of an Oath or Obligation on the Members of this Congress be put off to a Future day, and that Colo Walker and Mr Blanchard be a Committee to make Enquiry at the Genl Court at Waterton of the manner of their Qualification as a General Court, and of the Mode of Qualification of their Civil Officers; and Transmitt Attested Copies thereof to this house as Soon as may be.

VOTED That Mr Blanchard be Excus'd from attending Colo Walker as a Committee to pay off the Soldiers at Head Quarters & to Inquire of the Genl Court at Waterton Concerning their mode of Qualification of their Court & of the Civil officers in that Colony—and that Colo Israel Morey be of Said Committee in the room & stead of Mr Blanchard.

VOTED Not to Augment the wages of the Matrosses and Artillery men at and about Piscataqua Harbor

VOTED That Phillips White, David Gilman Esqr & Capt Josiah Moulton be a Committee to Examine all Muster rolls that are or Shall be brought to this house for allowance & payment; & to report thereon to this House.

VOTED That Pelham be annexed to Londonderry Regiment; Under the Command of the Hon^{ble} Colo Thornton.

Adjourn'd till tomorrow morning 9, o'clock.

Saturday Decr 30th.—Met According to Adjournment

VOTED That John Hurd, John Giddings, Wyseman Clagett Esqr Capt John Emery & Mr Joseph Gilman the Committee appointed by this Congress to Audit the Accounts of All Persons who have accounts open with This Colony, Be also Impowered to Examine into the Purpose Occasion & Directions which Such Persons had when they received the Publick Monies—and that they make remarks of any Charge against the Colony in any Accounts Laid before them, not Supported or Au-

thorized by Vote of Congress or of Assembly, & report the Same.

VOTED That the Pay roll of Joseph Chandler amounting to Twenty Six pounds Twelve Shillings & Eight pence half penny be allow'd and William Parker Esqr Paymaster hereby Directed to pay off the Same.

VOTED That the additional pay roll of Benjamin Butler Amounting to Eight Shillings be allowed & paid by William Parker Esqr

VOTED That Capt Joseph Wait, Capt Ezekiel Worthen & Major John Bellows be a Committee Forthwith to repair to New Castle, and Examine & make report to this house What men & Cannon will be Necessary to be Stationed there, and in what manner.

A Motion being made in behalf of Josiah Walton, a Soldier in Colo Reid's Regiment, who was wounded in the Battle at Bunker's Hill on the 17th of June last—That Doctor William Stimson's Account for attendance & Dressings, amounting to Eleven pounds & Eight pence, and also the Account of Josiah Walton, father of the Said Soldier for Board, Nursing &c—amounting to three pounds & Twelve Shillings, may be paid by this Colony—Voted that it appears to this Congress that the Said Account of Said Doctor Stimson is over Charged and that a Deduction ought to be made thereon. Therefore the receiver Gen^l of this Colony is Directed to pay the Said Josiah Walton Jun^r the Sum of Six pounds Sixteen Shillings, & eight pence in full for Said Dr Stimson's Account, and the full of Said Josiah Walton's Account for board Nursing &c, amounting to three pounds Twelve Shillings, The whole being Ten pounds Eight Shillings & Eight pence Lawf^l money.

VOTED That John Giddings & Joseph Badger Esqrs be Added to the Committee for Forming a Plan for the Government of this Colony

VOTED That Capt Ezekiel Worthen be paid out of the Treasury Ten pounds, to be by him accounted for.

VOTED That this Congress be adjourn'd to Tuesday the Second day of January next at three of the Clock in the after noon to meet at the Town house in Exeter, and is Adjourn'd Accordingly.

Tuesday January 2^d 1776. Met According to adjournment.

VOTED That the Consideration of the matters Concerning Capt Turner & his Company of Artillery (being now reported by the Committee Sent to New Castle) be put off till Tomorrow, or untill the Members from Portsmouth are Present in Congress.

VOTED That Robert Holms a Soldier in Capt George Jerry Osborn's *Company (who was by accident Left of the Roll) be paid out of Treasury Eighteen Shillings & Six pence in full for his wages which ought to have been Entr'd upon Said Roll.

VOTED That Capt Salter & Capt Daniel of the

Matrosses and Capt Turner of the Artillery be Sent for to Appear before this Congress Tomorrow to Answer for their past Conduct in their Several Departments.

VOTED To Choose a Committee of Ways & Means, to Lay a Plan Sinking the Colony Debt, & to make report to this Congress, and that Samuel Sherburne Esqr Benjamin Giles Esqr Majr John Bellows, Jonathan Lovewell Esqr & Capt Nathaniel Surtel Prentice be the Committee for that Purpose.

Adjourn'd till tomorrow 9, o'Clock,

Wednesday Jan^y 3^d 1776. Met According to Adjournment.

Upon reading & Considering the Petition of Capt William Pearne, praying for Leave to send a Vessel to Maryland for the Purpose of Importing Corn into this Colony. Voted that the Said William Pearne have Liberty to Send a Vessel on Said Voyage, Provided he Give Bonds to the Committee of Safety of the Town of Portsmouth with Sureties in a Sufficient Sum That the master of Said Vessel Shall Proceed on Said Voyage according to the Declaration of Said Petition and by no means Break or Intrude any resolve or Declaration of the Continental Congress

VOTED That Benjamin Giles Esqr Major John Bellows, Capt Nath^l Surtel Prentice, Mr Thomas Sparhawk & Mr Elijah Grout be a Committee to Examin & Try Capt Benjamin Sumner, Samuel Cole Esqr the Rev^d Mr Ranna Cossit and Eleazer Sanger Persons Reputed to be Enemies To the Liberties of this Country, & on Conviction thereof to Inflict Such Penalties or Punishments as they Shall See fit, not Exceeding Fine or Imprisonment—Saving an Appeal to this house or General Court Adj^d to 3, o'Clock afternoon, and then met.

VOTED That Ebenezer Thompson & Benjamin Giles Esqrs be a Committee to Dra^t a Letter to the Massachusetts Gen^l Court, to be Sign'd by the President, Signifying the minds of this house Concerning the Inhabitants of Long Island in Penobscot Bay their Furnishing our Enemies with Fuel, Potatoes &c—and that Said Letter be Sent by Mr John Tuft.

VOTED That Major Welch be paid out of the Treasury Two pounds Nineteen Shillings & Six pence in full for his supporting Troop in Marching to Portsmouth.

VOTED That Capt Caleb Hodgdon be paid out of the Treasury Twenty Seven pounds, Eight Shillings in full for his Account For Blanketts &c.

VOTED That Peter Gilman, George Jaffrey Nathaniel Rogers & Isaac Rindge Esq Capt William Torry and Mr William Hart be Liberated from their Confinement till Further orders.

Adjourned till Tomorrow morning 9 o'Clock.

Thursday Jan^y 4th 1776. Met according to Adjournment

VOTED That Doctr Nathan Cutler's account

Amounting to three pounds Six Shillings and five pence be allowed & paid out of the Treasury.

VOTED That the account of Amos Gage & Philip Richardson Selectmen of Pelham, amounting to Seven pounds Seven Shillings & Six pence for Blanketts be Allow'd & paid out of the Treasury

VOTED That Col Weare, Col Hurd and Mr Cutts be a Committee to Dra't a Letter to Genl Washington, another to Genl Sullivan & another to Colo Hobart Concerning Colo Starke's behaviour to Colo Hobart—and lay them before this house.

VOTED That Capt Long Capt Wait & Ichabod Rawlins Esqr be a Committee to Lay a plan for orders & Restrictions to be Laid on Capt Eliphalett Ladd before he Sail to the Foreign West India's according to a Vote of the 26th December last, and Lay Such plan before this Congress.

VOTED That the Late Treasurer Jaffrey Pay what Colony monies he now has in his hands to Nicholas Gilman Esqr the Present Treasurer & take his rec't therefore.

Upon reading the Petition & Complaint of Stephen Bartlett & others, agents for Newtown, against Joseph Bartlett Esqr Voted that the Petitioners Notify the Said Joseph Bartlett Esqr to Appear before this house to-morrow at three of the Clock afternoon.

VOTED That the Matrasses & Artillery men in the pay of this Colony be paid the Same wages in this Colony, as at Head Quarters.

VOTED That Phillips White Esqr Col David Gilman & Capt Josiah Moulton be a Committee to Settle the Rank of Capt Salter Capt Daniel & Capt Turner, and report thereon to this house.

VOTED That the Several Colonels of the Several Regiments of Militia & of Minute men be & hereby are Directed to Settle their respective Regiments Forthwith and make return of their respective Officers to this house or to the Council on or before the first Wednesday in Febyr next if this house or Council be then Sitting, and if not, Then on the Second day of their Sitting after that time—and that a Copy of this Vote be Sent to Each of the Said Colonels, in order that the Minute men be forthwith Enlisted.

Adjourn'd till to-morrow morning 9 o'Clock.

Friday Jan'y 5th 1776. Met according to Ad jourment.

VOTED That Capt Titus Salter & Capt Eliphalet Daniel be appointed to go over to the Isles of Shoals and Inform all the Inhabitants there that it is the opinion of this Congress That the Situation of Said Islands are Such that the Inhabitants are Expos'd to our Enemies in the Present unhappy Controversies, and may be obliged (by their Weak Defenceless Circumstances & Inability to Defend themselves) to assist our Enemies—and that for said reason it is absolutely Necessary that they should Immediately remove with their Ef-

fects to the main Land to Such place or places as they Shall choose, & to tarry During the Present Dispute—and provided they Neglect to comply herewith for the Term of Ten days after this Notice, That they be Informed that they must be bro't off by Authority.

VOTED That the Account of Losses, and Charges of the Funeral of Major Andrew M'Clary, Amounting to Ten pounds Eight Shillings be Allow'd & paid out of the Treasury

VOTED That this Congress Take up Civil Government for this Colony in Manner and Form Following Vizt.

We the Members of the Congress of New Hampshire, Chosen & Appointed by the Free Suffrages of the People of Said Colony, and Authorized and Impowered by them, to meet together, and use Such Means, and Pursue Such measures, as we Should Judge best, for the Public Good; and in Particular to Establish Some Form of Government, Provided that Measure Should be recommended by the Continental Congress: And a Recommendation to that Purpose having been Transmitted to us, from the Said Congress: Have Taken into our Serious Consideration the Unhappy Circumstances, into which this Colony is Involved by means of many Grievous & Oppressive Acts of the British Parliament, Depriving us of our Natural & Constitutional Rights and Priviledges; to Enforce Obedience to which Acts, a Powerful Fleet and Army have been Sent into this Country, by the Ministry of Great Britain, who have Exercised a Wanton & Cruel abuse of their Power, in Destroying the Lives & Properties of the Colonists, in many places with Fire and Sword, Taking the Ships & Lading from many of the Honest and Industrious Inhabitants of this Colony, Employ'd in Commerce, Agreeable to the Laws & Customs, a long time used here.

The Sudden & Abrupt Departure of his Excellency John Wentworth Esqr our late Governor, and Several of the Council, Leaving us Destitute of Legislation, and no Executive Courts being open to Punish Criminal Offenders, Whereby the lives and Properties of the honest People of this Colony, are liable to the Machinations & Evil Designs of wicked men—

Therefore for the Preservation of peace and Good order, and for the Security of the Lives and Properties of the Inhabitants of this Colony, We Conceive ourselves Reduced to the Necessity of Establishing A Form of Government, to Continue During the Present Unhappy & unnatural Contest with Great Britain; Protesting and Declaring that we Never Sought to throw off our Dependence upon Great Britain, but felt ourselves Happy under her Protection while we Could Enjoy our Constitutional Rights and Priviledges—And that We Shall rejoice if Such a Reconciliation between us and our Parent State can be Effected,

as Shall be Approved by the Continental Congress in whose Prudence and Wisdom we Confide.

Accordingly, Pursuant to the Trust reposed in us, We Do Resolve That This Congress, Assume the Name, Power and Authority of a House of Representatives or Assembly for the Colony of NEW HAMPSHIRE, and that Said House then Proceed to Choose Twelve Persons being Reputable Freeholders and Inhabitants within this Colony, in the following manner Viz—Five in the County of Rockingham, Two in the County of Strafford, Two in the County of Hillsborough, Two in the County of Cheshire, and One in the County of Grafton, to be a Distinct and Separate Branch of the Legislature, By the Name of A Council for this Colony, to Continue as Such untill the Third Wednesday in December next; any Seven of whom, to be a Quorum to do business.

That Such Council appoint their President, and in his absence that the Senior Councillor Preside.

That a Secretary be appointed by both Branches, who may be a Councillor or otherwise as they Shall Choose.

That no Act or Resolve Shall be Valid, & put into Execution, unless agreed to and Passed by both branches of the Legislature

That all Public officers for the Said Colony, and Each County, for the Current Year, be appointed by the Councill & Assembly, Except the Several Clerks of the Executive Courts, who shall be Appointed by the Justices of the Respective Courts.

That all bills Resolves or Votes for raising, Levying and Collecting money Originate in the House of Representatives.

That at any Session of the Council and Assembly, Neither branch Shall Adjourn for any longer time than from Saturday till the next Munday, without Consent of the other.

And it is further Resolved, That if the Present unhappy Dispute with Great Britain, Should Continue Longer than this Present Year, and the Continental Congress Give no Instructions, or Directions to the Contrary, The Council be Chosen by the People of Each respective County in Such manner as the Council & house of Representatives Shall order.

That General & Field Officers of the Militia on any Vacancy be Appointed by the Two houses and all Inferiour Officers be Chosen by the respective Companies.

That all Officers of the Army be Appointed by the Two houses, Except they Should direct otherwise in Case of any Emergency.

That All Civil Officers for the Colony & for Each County be appointed, & the time of their Continuance in Office be Determined by the Two houses, Except Clerks of Courts and County Treasurers and Recorders of Deeds.

That a Treasurer, and a recorder of Deeds for

Each County be annually Chosen by the People of each County respectively; the Votes for Such Officers to be returned to the respective Courts of General Sessions of the peace in the County, there to be Ascertained as the Councill & Assembly Shall hereafter Direct.

That Precepts in the Name of the Council & Assembly, Sign'd by the President of the Council, & Speaker of the house of Representatives, Shall Issue Annually at or before the first day of November, for the Choice of a Council and House of Representatives to be returned by the third Wednesday in December then next Ensuing, in Such manner as the Council & Assembly Shall hereafter Prescribe.

Upon Reading the Petition of the Agents for the Town of Newtown against Joseph Bartlett Esqr being Present before the House—Ordered that the parties be heard thereon before this house on the 18 day of Janry Current if the Assembly be then Sitting, and if not, then on the Second day of their Sitting after that time.

VOTED That the Honble Matthew Thornton Esqr be Speaker of this House.

VOTED That Ebenezer Thompson Esqr be Clerk of this House.

VOTED That Noah Emery Esqr be Assistant Clerk of this House.

Adjourn'd till tomorrow morning 9 o'Clock
Saturday January 6th 1776. Met according to Adjournment

VOTED That the Last book of Records of the Court of Probate be returned to William Parker Esqr in order for him to Compleat the Records.

VOTED That the Several Musterrolls of Capt Salter & Capt Daniel be paid agreeable to the return of the Committee for Examining Muster rolls, Stopping out Such Stoppages as are mentioned in their report thereon.

VOTED That the Matresses under Command of Capt Salter and Cap Daniel be paid off monthly for the Future.

VOTED That the Account of the Selectmen of Northampton Amounting to Seventeen pounds nineteen Shillings (for blanketts) be allow'd & paid out of the Treasury.

VOTED That the Treasurer & Deacon Samuel Brooks be a Committee to receive & pay off, for, all the Blanketts that may be Collected in this Colony for the Continental Army and make report thereof to this House.

Then the House Proceeded to Choose Twelve Councillors for this Colony—and

VOTED That the Honble Mesheck Weare Esqr be first Councillor for this Colony—and Matthew Thornton Esqr (Second), William Whipple Esqr (Third), Josiah Bartlett Esqr (fourth) and Nathaniel Folsom Esqr (fifth) Councillors for Rockingham County—Thomas Westbrook Waldron Esqr (Sixth) & Ebenezer Thompson Esqr (Seventh)

for the County of Strafford, Wyseman Clagett Esqr (Eighth) and Jonathan Blanchard Esqr (ninth) for the County of Hillsborough—Samuel Ashley Esqr (Tenth) and Benjamin Giles Esqr (Eleventh) for the County of Cheshire, and John Hurd Esqr (Twelfth) for the County of Grafton, for the Current Year.

VOTED That Ebenezer Thompson Esqr be Secretary for this Colony for the Current Year.

Then the Hon^{ble} the Council & Secretary left the House

Whereupon the House Voted that Clement March Esqr be Chairman of this House P. T.

VOTED That Samuel Cutts Esqr have an order on the Treasury for three hundred pounds to be by him Accounted for.

Adjourn'd till Munday next 3 o'Clock afternoon.*

*Thus abruptly ends this Journal. The Congress resolved itself, on the fifth of January, 1776, into a *House of Representatives*, the Journal of which may be found in Force's Archives, Volume fifth, Fourth Series. W. F. G.

[In the Journal of the House of Representatives into which the Convention thus resolved itself, we find the following two Protests against its action, under date of January twelfth, 1776. —W. F. G.]

Capt Long & Mr Sherburne brot in the Following Dissent & Protest which was read and is as follows, Viz^t. We the Subscribers chosen by the People of Several Towns in the Colony of New Hampshire to represent them in the Congress of Said Colony Held at Exeter on the 21st day of December 1775, Beg Leave to Enter our Dissent to and Protest against the Present Plan of Taking up Government, For the following Reasons—First That the Vote of the Continental Congress Countenancing the Same was obtained by the Unwearied Importunity (*both within Door & Without*) of our Delegates there, as appears by their Letter. Second, That the Said Vote does not appear to have been Unanimous, but we have reason to think very otherwise. Third, Because the Colonies of New York & Virginia which are in Similar Circumstances with us, are much Larger & more Oppulent, and we presume mu^{ch} wiser (to whom we would pay all Due Deference) have not attempted anything of the Kind, nor as we Can Learn Ever Desired it. Fourth, Because we have no ground on which to pretend to make a Council, as our Neighbours of the Massachusetts, who Act by Charter Never Vacated on any Legal Trial. Fifth, Because it appears assuming for So Small & Inconsiderable a Colony to take up the Lead in a Matter of So great Importance. Sixth, Because our Constituents never Expected us to make a New Form of Government, But only to Set the Judicial & Executive Wheels in Motion. Seventh, Because the Congress, as Such, Could have done what was Necessary, and their Power Could not be Enlarged by any Act of their own. Eighth, Because the Expence of the Colony is greatly Augmented thereby. Ninth, Because it appears to us too much like Setting up an Independency on the Mother Country.

Jan^y 10th 1776. (signed) North Hill, Levi Dearborn, Newington Richard Downing, Portsmouth Sam^l Sherburne, Dover Stephen Evans, Ports^m Peirce Long—Rye Nathan Goss. Dover, Otis Baker, Kensington Ezekiel Worthen, Stratham Benjamin Barker, Rochester James Knowles, Sandwich & Moultonborough—Daniel Beede, Lee Hercules Mooney. Entered according to the Original on file.

Attest

Noah Emery Cler^k D Rep^r.

The Memorial & Remonstrance of the Freeholders & Inhabitants of the Town of Portsmouth, being bro't into the house was read, and is as follows. Colony of New Hampshire, Portsmouth Jan^y 10th, 1776. To the Hon^{ble} Congress now Sitting at Exeter in and for Said Colony. The Memorial and Remonstrance of the Freeholders & other Inhabitants of the town of Portsmouth in Legal Town meeting Convened—Humbly Shews—That Your Memorialists are Greatly alarmed by the Informa^{ti}on of their Delegates. That they together with the other Delegates of the

Several Towns in Said Colony were about to Dissolve their existence as a Congress & Assume that of a House of Representatives, and to proceed to an Election of Twelve Councillors, who are to act as another Branch of Legislation for the future Government of this Colony, Which Measure your Memorialists with all Decency Tenderness & respect beg Leave to Remonstrate against for the Following Weighty reasons. First as we are of opinion that the Inhabitants of the Colony, do not generally approve of this Measure, We would therefore have wished to have had the minds of the People fully Taken on Such a Momentous Concernment, and to have known the Plan, before it was adopted & Carried into Execution which is *Their* Inherent right. Secondly we humbly Conceive that Such a measure is an open Declaration of Independency, which we Can by no means Countenance untill we Shall know the Sentiments of the British Nation in General. We have hitherto Viewed the Controversy as with the Ministry & Parliament only, and our Enemies are Stiled the Ministerial Army & Navy, and we have Considered them as Acting Contrary to the Voice of the Nation. We have Just received Certain advices That our Friends in Great Britain are at this very Time Exerting themselves & Uniting in their Petitions for a redress of our Grievances, and in all Probability will make a Powerful Diversion in our Favour, and will Finally Prevail if it is once fully ceive we are Setting up New Forms of Government, they will be believed that we are not Aiming at *Independcy*, but when they Per-Exasperated against us and loosing Sight of their former Friendship & affection will be filled with resentment & Charge us with Duplicitiy. Thirdly, We have the Highest Opinion of the upright Disposition of the Congress, and that what they have done is Intended for the General Good, but at the Same time we must beg leave to Suggest our apprehensions that this Measure will have a Tendency to Disunite us, which is a most alarming Consideration as being a Circumstance which we are well Informed our Enemies Greatly Expect & would be rejoiced to hear of We would be Cautious of Prolixity in addressing your Honours, but must begg leave to repeat that the Ministry Among other Deceptions have asserted that the Rebellious War (as they Term it) “now Levied is become more General and is manifestly Carried on for the Purpose of Establishing an Independency”

This our friends in Great Britain Utterly Deny. While we are Governed by a Congress they have a right So to do, because Necessity Compells us to the measure, but they will Certainly make a very wide Distinction between Necessity and what will be Called Usurpation The Consequences of which Deserve Due Weight. We therefore Humbly pray that the Assumption of Government may at Least be Suspended for the Present & that Some regulation may be adopted for the Preservation of Property Under Such Restrictions as the Congress in their wisdom Shall ever Pray. Portsmouth Jan^y 10th, 1776.

A True Copy Attest John Penhallow Town Cler^k.
Entered according to the original Presented to the House.

Attest

N. Emery Cl^r D Rep^r.

*A Roll *of the Members Returned to Sett in Provincial Congress Begun and Held at Exeter in and for the Colony of New Hampshire on the Twenty-first day of December Anno Domini 1775.*

TOWNS & PLACES SENDING MEMBERS.	NAMES OF MEN RETURNED TO SERVE.	Deer 31st.	22d.	23d.	24th.	25th.	26th.	27th.	28th.	29th.	30th.	31st.	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.
Portsmouth 3	{ Sam ^l Cutts Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	{ Sam ^l Sherburne	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	{ Pierce Long,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hampton 1.....	{ Capt Josiah Moulton,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
North Hampton 1.....	{ Dr Levi Dearborn,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Exeter, 2.....	{ John Giddings Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	{ Noah Emery,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	{ Hon ^{ble} Matt ^r Thornton Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Londonderry, 2.....	{ John Bell,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
New Castle, 1.....																			
Rye, 1.	Nathan Goss,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
†† Kingston and East Kingston 1	Sam ^l Philbrick,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sandown and Hawke 1.....																			
Greenland, 1.....	Clem ^t March Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Newington, 1.....	Richard Downing Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Stratham, 1.	Benja ^r Barker,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Newmarket, 1.....	Thomas Tash Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
† Southampton and Newton 1...	Phillips White Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kensington 1.....	Capt. Ezek Worthen,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
† Plastow and Atkinson 1.....	Sam Kimball,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hamstead 1.....	John Calfe,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Salem, 1.....	Caleb Dustin,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pelham, 1.....	James Gibson,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chester, 2.....	{ Stephen Moss,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	{ Capt. Robert Wilson,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Candia, 1.....																			
† Raymond and Poplin, 1.....	John Dudley Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Brintwood 1.....	Sam ^l Dudley, Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
† Hampton Falls and Seabrook, 1.	Hon ^{le} Meshech Weare, Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nottingham 1.....																			
† Deerfield and Northwood, 1....	Jere: Eastman,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
† Canterbury and Loudon, 1....	Thomas Clough,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chichester, † Epsom and Allens-	{ Jno. McClary Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
town, 1.....																			
Pembroke, 1.....	David Gilman, Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wyndham, 1.....	James Betton, Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bow and † Dunbarton 1.....	Capt Caleb Page,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Concord, 1.....	Timothy Walker, Jn ^r	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Epping, 1.....	Nehemiah Wheeler,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dover 2.....	{ Stephen Evens Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	{ Otis Baker Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Madbury, 1.....																			
Durham 1.....	Eben ^r Thomson Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lee, 1.....	Hercules Mooney,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Summersworth 1.....	Ichabod Rawlins Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Barrington 1.....	Sam ^l Hayes,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
† Gilmanton and Barnstead 1....	Joseph Badger Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
† Sanbornton and Meredith 1....	Eben ^r Smith, Esqr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Rochester, 1.	Deacon James Knowles,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

* This Roll precedes the Journal in the original copy — [W. F. G.]

† This mark (†) denotes that the Town opposite which it stands, was to notify the other towns classed with it, to assist in choosing a delegate to represent them in the Congress. — [W. F. G.]

II.—ADDRESS READ BEFORE THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JUNE 13, 1849.

BY THE HON. SAMUEL D. BELL.
NOW FIRST PRINTED.*

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Society :

A topic of history, and of the history of our own State, seems the appropriate subject for an address on this occasion. New Hampshire has a limited territory; her population has been and is inconsiderable; her wealth and consequence among the least of the States. A mere speck on the map of our great country, the events of her history are hardly of sufficient importance to attract the attention of the writer or the reader of general history. To us, who occupy the same seats, and who, in recalling the events of the past, are reviving the recollections of our predecessors, and perhaps of our ancestors, the history even of this little State is not without its interest. We all know that it is opportunity which makes men great. They, whose good or evil fortune has made them actors on the great stage, are those alone who have the opportunity to gain a national reputation; yet observation proves that the talents, which make men eminent, and the virtues and the vices, which render them popular or odious, may be as distinctly displayed, though not as conspicuously, within the narrower circle. The private soldier may display all the bravery which gives high character to the officer. The subaltern may exhibit in his sphere the resolution and good conduct which make the hero. The village patriot of our revolution may have evinced, equally with those who filled the highest stations, ardent love of country, unyielding determination to maintain its rights, and wisdom and talent to devise the measures necessary for the public security.

To preserve the memory of those distinguished citizens, who have made themselves conspicuous on the narrow field of our State History, and who have manifested here the talents and the virtues which would have made them, had they been actors on a different stage, eminent among the great and the good of a great nation, should be one of the cherished objects of our society.

We boast for the early history of our State, a writer of such general accuracy, good judgment and good taste, that the history of our New Hampshire is almost a classic. For the early periods of the Province, little is left to be desired. Until the events related become of recent occurrence and were the familiar news of yesterday to his cotem-

poraries, Belknap is perhaps as full and minute in his details, as the mass of readers would generally desire. But when we come down to the events which preceded and constituted the Revolution, we find his history more brief and general, rather the history of the nation than the history of New Hampshire.

We find there the events which were of national importance, and the names which national history is bound to preserve; but we look in vain for the series of minor events, by which the movements of the Revolution were here sustained; for any account of the sacrifices, the hardships and sufferings, by which her poor and scanty population were enabled to sustain their proportion of the burdens to be borne in the common cause; or for the names, or the history of the men, by whose talents and ability, by whose steady patriotism, and firm determination, the cause here was carried through. This blank should be supplied. A remnant of the materials which once existed remains, but time is rapidly drawing the dark veil of forgetfulness over the men of that day, and the scenes in which they acted.

Even at this late hour, I cannot doubt there may be recovered a thousand incidents in the history of the active men of that great event in this State, which would long continue to be read with interest and pleasure. To their efforts, we are chiefly indebted, under Providence, for the wise laws and free institutions under which it is our good fortune to live.

I propose to occupy the hour allotted to me at this time, by recalling to your recollections the events of the Revolution in New Hampshire, a change comprised in a period of little more than a year. To discuss the causes of the Revolution is not allowed me. To allude even briefly to the causes which made the people of the Colonies republicans in principle, while all regarded their connection with the mother country as their pride and security; to the changes of public opinion in the Colonies and in England, produced by the great struggle, between that nation and her grasping neighbor, for the ascendancy on this continent; and from the union of the raw levies of the Provinces, and the trained veterans of the old country, and from the false and unsound opinions carried back by her military men to England, in relation to the character, opinions and resources of the colonists, might fill a volume.

The details of the measures, adopted by the ministries of the English King, to fix upon this continent a system of taxation by which they should be compelled to contribute a proportion of the burdens incurred for the common benefit of the whole empire; the arguments and views, by which their claim of right was resisted, and the movements by which each step of the home government was resisted and defeated, and the forei-

*We are exceedingly pleased to have the *liberty* and the *privilege* of presenting to the readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, these two exceedingly valuable Addresses, the one by the late Chief Justice Bell, the other by the late Hon. William Plumer, which have been drifting about for years uncared for.

W. F. G.

ble means, ultimately resorted to, to enforce submission here, and the effects produced throughout the continent, can be merely referred to.

They were measures which had little practical relation to New Hampshire, and with few exceptions, they produced little effect in this Province, except that they united the people of the Province, in the common sentiment of the people of the other Colonies; that the claim, made by the British Parliament, of a right to bind the colonists by their Statutes in all cases whatever, and consequently to impose taxes upon them at their pleasure, was unfounded in reason, inconsistent with the principles of the English Constitution, irreconcilable with the rights and liberties which they claimed as Englishmen, and which, they contended, they had neither abandoned, nor lost by their removal to this country; and that their duty to themselves and their posterity required that such a claim should be resisted to the last, at whatever hazard.

How far the common opinion of the colonists elsewhere had extended itself to this Province, is evinced by the measures adopted at Portsmouth, to compel the distributor of stamps to resign his office in 1765-6, by the re-shipment of the tea in 1774, by the appointment in that year of committees of correspondence; first by the towns, and finally by the Assembly of the Province; by the assembling of the conventions of July 21, 1774, and of January, 1775, and the election of delegates by those conventions, to attend the General Congress of Deputies from all the Colonies, to be holden in September, 1774, and May, 1775, and the resolutions passed in the public meetings of the towns, expressive of their sentiments.

Though the union of sentiment among the colonists was not lost in New Hampshire, to use the expression of Governor Wentworth, yet there is very satisfactory evidence that, owing to various circumstances, public feeling was much less warmly excited in New Hampshire, than in the Colonies generally; the influence of the Governor, a man of popular and agreeable manners, and who had carefully avoided all measures which were calculated to render him personally odious, and of the Council, and most of the public officers, who derived their appointments from the crown, was relatively much greater than in the other Colonies. The population, except towards the sea, was very scanty and much scattered, the roads bad, and the means of communication slow and imperfect, and the measures of the ministry bore, but very remotely and incidentally, upon them.

In Massachusetts, measures had been early taken, in anticipation of the last resort, to provide additional supplies of arms and military stores, and their activity in this respect, in the season of 1774, attracted the notice of the ministry, and in October an Order in Council prohibited the exportation

of military stores from Great Britain to the Colonies. In December, 1774, Paul Revere, an express from the committee of correspondence at Boston, arrived at Portsmouth, and delivered his dispatch to Mr. Samuel Cutts, a merchant and member of the committee of correspondence for that town. The letter he brought contained, as is supposed, an account of the Orders in Council, prohibiting the exportation of arms, and of the prompt and resolute measures, taken by the people of Rhode Island a day or two before, to secure the guns in the fort at Newport, and information that a ship and troops would be sent at once by Governor Gage, to take possession of the fort at the entrance of Piscataqua Harbor, and to remove the artillery and stores.

A meeting of the committee was convened, arrangements instantly made, expresses sent to the neighboring towns, and about noon of the next day, before any suspicions were entertained of their intentions by the Provincial Government, the drum was beaten in the streets, and about two hundred volunteers assembled, and proceeded in two gondolas to Newcastle; they were there joined by perhaps an equal number of the people of that town, and upon the refusal of the captain of the fort to surrender, at once scaled the walls, took and disarmed the garrison of five men, and removed about one hundred barrels of gunpowder from the magazine to Exeter.

On the next day, the people from the neighboring towns arrived, and after parading before the State House, where the Governor and his Council were deliberating, and demanding of the Governor an answer whether ships or troops were expected, or had been sent for, and receiving from him the answer that he knew of no forces coming, and that none had been sent for; they again visited the fort, and removed all the small arms and light cannon, which were sent to Durham. This party was chiefly from Durham and the neighboring towns. On the next day, a largo company from Exeter and its vicinity arrived; the work had been done, they passed resolutions approving of the proceedings, and returned.

These occurrences are memorable because they are the occasions on which alone actual force was resorted to against the royal authority. The names of the men who, at that early day of the controversy, dared to commit treason against a powerful government, who dared to assail a royal fortress, however feebly defended, and strike the standard of royalty, ought to be known and remembered. Those of Samuel Cutts, of John Langdon, of Thomas Pickering and Samuel Drown, those of George Frost and John Sullivan and John Adams, the Parson of Durham, of Folsom and Bartlett and Nat. Peabody, have come down to us. Beyond a question, many others might be collected by a little effort in the Eastern part of the State,

but a few short years will efface all the traces which time has yet spared. It is thought worthy to be remembered of many, that they were actors in the destruction of the tea at Boston; is it less honorable that a man was one of the captors of the royal fort at Newcastle?

This daring measure was the result of no deliberation and careful preparation for a serious struggle, and affords little evidence that the public mind was prepared for open resistance. It was the effect of sudden excitement, the effort of the moment merely, and it produced no effect beyond the immediate occasion. The resentment of the Governor and his Council was exhausted by the issuing of a proclamation and the removal of the most active of the party from their offices under the crown.

When the alarm was spread throughout New England that the first blood had been shed, and the regular troops, sent to overawe the colonists, fled before the excited people, and were hemmed in, and blockaded by thousands of volunteers from Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, the leaders of the popular movement in Massachusetts were not ill-prepared for the struggle. They had a convention elected by the people, which had assumed, and was steadily exercising the legislative power, in many respects. A Committee of Safety supplied the place of the Executive. Arms, military stores and provisions had been collected in magazines. The destruction of one of these at Concord was the object of the movement which commenced the war. General Officers had been appointed, and the machinery of civil government, and of a military force, had been organized, to such a degree that the whole government was, in a few days, in complete and effective operation.

In New Hampshire, no arrangements had been made in anticipation of the struggle. The conventions had confined themselves to the election of delegates to the Congress at Philadelphia, the raising of the funds necessary to defray their expenses, and the passing of resolutions.

No arms or munitions had been provided, except those taken from the fort; no provisions had been collected. No officers had been appointed, civil or military, and not even a show of popular organization existed in the Colony, except the town committees of correspondence, and a committee appointed by the last convention, who were authorized to call a new convention. The government of the Province, of the counties and of the towns, was all in its usual regular action, as in a time of profound quiet. The town officers were every where chiefly in the hands of the people.

A single step alone had been taken towards a measure of preparation. The committee appointed by the last convention, at the instance of the Massachusetts Convention, by whom the shadows

of the coming events were now clearly seen, had issued their notices to all the towns in the Province, in the early part of April, to elect delegates to attend a convention, to be holden at Exeter, on the 17th of May, to serve for six months.

When the volunteers started, for the relief of the people of Massachusetts, from the towns in this Colony, on the alarm of the Lexington fight, they were all upon a level; no man among them exercised, or claimed to exercise, the least authority, civil or military. And the first officers, appointed among the people of New Hampshire, derived their authority from the election of their neighbors, on their march towards Boston.

Immediately on the receipt of the news, expresses were dispatched by the committee of the last convention, which consisted of John Wentworth, Nathaniel Folsom, Mesheck Weare, Josiah Bartlett, Christopher Toppan, Ebenezer Thompson, and William Whipple, to the several towns, notifying them forthwith to elect deputies, to attend a convention to be held at Exeter, on the 21st, for the purpose of consulting together, and adopting such measures as the emergency required.

This convention met, and though the call was sudden and unexpected, and the notice very short, yet no less than sixty-eight delegates appeared from thirty-four towns. Some of these could not have been present on the first day. Of their names, the record furnishes a complete list. Among them are many of those whose names most frequently occur, as the active men of the Revolutionary time. Brackett, Pickering and Whipple of Portsmouth, March and Weeks of Greenland, Boardman of Stratham, Moulton and Toppan of Hampton, Bartlett of Kingston, Weare of Hampton Falls, Worthen of Kensington, Folsom, Gilman, Giddings, and Poor of Exeter, Butler and Cilley of Nottingham, Thompson of Durham, Evans and Waldron of Dover, Wentworth and Rollings of Somersworth, Plummer and McDuffie of Rochester, and on subsequent days, Blood of Temple, Webster of Plymouth, Thornton of Londonderry, Dudley of Raymond, Walker the elder of Concord, Claggett of Litchfield, Hobart of Hollis, Kelly of Goffstown, and many other less familiar names of men who without doubt were as earnest, sincere and active patriots as the others. It is little to the honor of our country and its historical institutions, that while the names of all who were even suspected of lukewarmness, or of loyalty, have been preserved, we know so little of many of the men who must have wielded no little influence in their circles, and without whose aid the cause might have languished in the Province.

John Wentworth of Somersworth, a distant relative of the governor, then Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Strafford, and for several years the Speaker of the As-

semblies, who had been the President of the conventions for the election of Delegates to the General Congress and chairman of the committee of correspondence, was elected President. Ebenezer Thompson of Durham was the Secretary.

The first vote of the Convention indicates very strongly the state of feeling among the members. It was a vote, that all the transactions of the Convention be kept secret, and that each member pledge his honor and faith strictly to observe the same, and among the minutes is the form of an oath for the same purpose; but it does not appear that any oath was taken.

A unanimous vote was passed that Col. Nathaniel Folsom be desired to take the chief command of the troops who have gone or may go from this government to assist our suffering brethren in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, who are now opposing the hostile violence of the regular troops there, and to order for the troops that may be under his command, from time to time, all necessary supplies, and to transmit to us the earliest accounts thereof, and what may be thought further necessary for the support of the common cause.

This first step appears to have been hasty, ill-considered and premature, and, we may well suppose, must have been pressed with undue urgency by the friends of Col. Folsom, before any plans of action had been adopted or matured, and when delegates had assembled from only about twenty towns. And it is not improbable that it was owing to this hasty action, that Folsom ultimately failed to obtain a high position in the Revolutionary Army.

The next measure, and one much more timely and suitable, was the appointment of Josiah Bartlett and Theophilus Gilman, as a committee to proceed to the place of sitting of the Massachusetts Congress, to consult with them, what quota of men it will be necessary for the Province to provide, and what measures should be adopted, and make a report to the Convention as soon as might be.

The Convention then adjourned to the next Tuesday, April 25th.

On the 22d of April, the Massachusetts Committee of Safety wrote to the Chairman of the Provincial Congress, an account of the battle of the 19th, requesting that New Hampshire should afford them all the assistance in their power, and desiring that those who should come to their aid, should be supplied with provisions and military stores. On the 23d, James Sullivan was despatched as a delegate to the Colony of New Hampshire, to deliver a letter to the Provincial Congress, in which they allude to their Province being declared in a state of rebellion, and the other Provinces marked out for punishment, and briefly state the commencement of hostilities, the beleagerment of Boston, and the fears of the use to be made of the

British force, and inform them that after solemn deliberation, they have resolved that it is their duty to establish an army for the maintenance of their inalienable rights, and the defence of the Colonies, and that 30,000 men be raised for this purpose in the New England Colonies, of which 13,600 shall be at once raised by Massachusetts; to assure them of their confidence in the Colony of New Hampshire, as equally involved with them, and request their concurrence and assistance. On the same day, Andrew McLary wrote to the Convention that about 2000 volunteers from New Hampshire were in the vicinity of Boston, without field officers, or proper regulations. These letters were probably written after the arrival of the committee, Bartlett and Gilman, and after it was known to the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts that the New Hampshire Convention had adjourned to the 25th. For we find that on the 24th, that committee again wrote to the New Hampshire Convention, that they had given orders for enlisting such troops as were then in the service of the Colony, as many desired that something should be done to hold them together till the resolve of the New Hampshire Congress should be known; when they were ready and desirous, they should be discharged from them, and placed under such command as the Congress should direct.

On the 25th of April, the Convention again met at Exeter, their numbers being now increased to more than a hundred. The President was absent. A letter from him assured the Convention that his health rendered it impossible for him to attend, but that he was heartily engaged in the cause with them; and Meshech Weare was chosen President pro tempore.

On the same day, James Sullivan wrote to Dr. Warren of the Massachusetts Committee, informing him, that there seemed some opposition to the assistance expected from this quarter. As their first business, the Convention took under consideration the letter of the Massachusetts Congress, and after debating and considering thereon, voted that the Convention think it not expedient, at this time, to take under consideration and determine the whole subject matter, there being not a general representation of this Province.

I have endeavored to trace something of the opposition, which Mr. Sullivan apprehended to the measure of assistance to Massachusetts. There was no man of influence in the Convention whose previous history or subsequent conduct justify any suspicion of lukewarmness or timidity, and the inactivity, discovered by their vote, is probably to be traced to two causes; the most effective of which was the want of preparation of the public mind in the Colony, for the position in which they were unexpectedly placed; the other was the fact, that, while the Convention of the 17th May was called to act for six months, and to adopt such

measures as should be thought expedient, the present Convention was called merely to consult upon the emergency.

A committee, consisting of Wyseman Claggett, John Pickering, William Whipple, Samuel Hobart, Mathew Thornton, Josiah Bartlett, Christopher Toppin, and Ebenezer Thompson, was appointed to draught an answer to the letter of the Massachusetts Congress.

Messrs Whipple, John Webster and Hobart were appointed a committee to assist the towns in procuring firearms, and it was recommended to the selectmen of those towns which are destitute of sufficient arms and munitions, to raise money for that purpose, to be paid to their Treasurer, John Giddings, to be laid out by the committee.

On the 26th, it was resolved unanimously that Col. Nathaniel Folsom and Josiah Bartlett and Major Samuel Hobart be immediately sent to the Congress of Massachusetts to deliver them a letter, and further inform them of the particular situation of this Province, and report the effect of their mission as soon as may be.

In their letter the Convention allude to the acts of the troops, and the numbers who had gone to their assistance, and of others who had been stopped upon hearing they were not needed; state that immediately upon the alarm, the Provincial Committee had called a special convention of delegates, from the nearest towns, to consult with the Committee what was then absolutely necessary to be done, upon that pressing occasion; in consequence of which the convention had met; and state, that previous to this, the Provincial Committee, upon application of a committee of the [Massachusetts] Congress, had notified the towns to choose and empower delegates to meet at Exeter, on the 17th of May next, to deliberate upon the important subject proposed for their consideration and concurrence, and that, at that Congress, those matters will be considered, and no doubt they will readily concur and co-operate with their brethren in New England, in all such measures as shall be thought best for the common safety; and declare that, though heartily willing to contribute in every advisable method to their aid, and for the common safety, yet they judge it not expedient now to determine upon the establishment of an army of observation, as the towns in this government are not generally represented. The towns are recommended to supply their men with provisions and necessities, if their continuance is thought necessary. They conclude, We most fervently wish you the blessing and direction of Heaven in all your deliberations, and God Almighty, who protected our pious ancestors amid ten thousand dangers, preserve New England, from the Horror and Desolations of a civil war.

In the afternoon, they recommended to the towns to provide their proportion of £500 worth

of provisions, to be stored against emergencies to engage as many men as they think fit, to be equipt and ready to march at a moment's warning, and adjourned to the 2d of May. On that day, the Convention met, and the President being absent, Mathew Thornton was elected President pro tempore. Several letters from the Massachusetts Congress were read, the committee appointed to visit that Congress, reported the effect of their mission, which is not stated, and received the thanks of the Convention for their services. It was recommended by the Convention, not to discourage the inhabitants of the Province from enlisting in the Massachusetts service for the present emergency. And Nathaniel Folsom, John Giddings and Josiah Bartlett were appointed a committee to correspond with the Congress of Massachusetts and Committee of Safety, there, and to gain the earliest intelligence relative to matters that concern the public safety, and particularly of the resolutions of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and the Southern Governments, relative to raising forces, and they then adjourned.

During the previous winter, writs had been issued for the election of a new Assembly. Their meeting had been prorogued to the 4th of May, and two days after the adjournment of the Convention at Exeter, the Assembly met at Portsmouth. It is said by Dr. Belknap that Gov. Wentworth had very sanguine hopes of the good effect of Lord North's conciliatory proposition, as it was called. This was, in substance, that, if the Colonies would tax themselves to the satisfaction of the ministry, they should not be taxed by Parliament.

In his speech, the Governor entreated the Assembly, as the only legal and constitutional representatives of the people, to direct their counsels to such measures as might tend to secure their peace and safety, and lead to a restoration of the public tranquility, and an affectionate reconciliation with the mother country. The usual formal business of the session was transacted in the customary manner. They chose John Wentworth speaker. He had been the speaker of the Assembly since 1771, but who had also been the president of the three conventions of the popular delegates, two for the choice of delegates to the General Congress, and the other the hurried Convention of April 21st, which had closed its session only two days before. This choice, unpalatable as it must have been, was approved by the Governor. Wear, then Judge of the Superior Court, was appointed clerk, though he had been a member and president pro tem. of the last convention, and Thompson, who was clerk of the last convention, was clerk pro tem. in Judge Wear's absence. A committee was appointed to answer the Governor's speech, consisting of the Speaker, Wentworth, Dr. John Giddings, who had been the Treasurer of all the conventions, Wyseman Claggett of Litchfield, a mem-

ber of the last convention, who had, nine years before, administered an oath to the Stamp Distributor not to serve in that office, John Langdon, who had been a leader in the attack of Fort William and Mary, and a delegate to the General Congress, and Josiah Bartlett, who had just returned from a visit to the Massachusetts Congress, as one of a committee of the late convention. A committee was soon appointed to apply to the Governor for a short adjournment. The Governor advised their proceeding. But the House urged that it was necessary for their private interest, but especially for the interest of the Province, at this peculiarly alarming crisis, as they call it, that the House should be adjourned, in order that they might have, in the mean time, an opportunity of fully consulting their constituents respecting the weighty matters to be considered at that session. The Governor yielded to the wishes of the Assembly, and adjourned them to the 12th of June.

Fifteen out of the thirty six members of this Assembly, were members of the convention to be held on the 17th, eleven others are believed to be decided whigs, making more than two thirds opposed to the Royal Government. Perhaps there were others. During the time which elapsed until the meeting of the new convention on the 17th of May, a period of most intense activity in Massachusetts, New Hampshire did nothing. Her volunteers were still at Boston, but they were indebted for their organization and their support, to the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts. Company officers were chosen by the members of their companies, and that choice constituted their only commission. Under the advice of the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts, the men were induced to enlist under these officers, and at meetings of the officers, field and staff officers were elected. How these meetings were called or managed, it is not easy to say, as we have little left but the results. Stark and Wyman and M'Clary were in command of one regiment. Reed, Gilman and Hale were field officers of another. How little influence from abroad was exerted over these troops, either officers or men, is to be seen in the fact that while Stark's regiment had fourteen companies, Reed's comprised but four.

Of the measures taken to unite public opinion in New Hampshire, of the correspondence which we cannot but suppose to have been constantly passing on that subject, there is very little to be learned, and it is very difficult even to conjecture what was in reality passing. Nearly a month of the most anxious and exciting times which had ever been known to the people of this country, had passed away, before the delegates of the people had assembled in the convention warned by the committee of the former convention. Many of those delegates had, without doubt, been elected after the blow was struck at Lexington, and at a

moment when any who were disposed to anticipate and shudder at consequences, were little inclined to press themselves into a service full of anxiety and responsibility, and, in the eyes of most persons, attended by much danger. They were putting life and fortune at the hazard, where to us who judge after the event, and with far more light than they could have had, the chances were greatly against them. What prospect of success had the poor and scanty population of the Colonies against the immense power and resources of Britain? It would seem they must have been crushed almost without an effort. But there were circumstances strongly in their favor. That they were poor, while it implied a want of resources to carry on active and extensive operations, was itself a great means of passive resistance. Great military operations are of course directed against those prominent points where wealth and means are most concentrated. A poor country, such as ours then was, presented few such points, and those relatively unimportant. The love of liberty is ever strongest among the hardy cultivators of the mountains, while in the rich plains, and in great cities, the love of property becomes the governing motive, and country and liberty have, in all ages and every where, been sacrificed to its preservation. Within our own memory, the richest plains of Europe have been swept over by an enemy almost unopposed, and the greatest of her cities have surrendered one after another to the very shadow of approaching armies, long before the sound of the cannon could be heard.

The sparseness of the population was a security. The wide forests, interposing themselves between the scattered settlements, were barriers against the progress of large armies. To them, roads and supplies are indispensable, and though the militia of the country, moving without baggage or artillery, may traverse the forest, yet the movements of armies are all but impracticable where roads are to be made through the woods, before they can move, and almost every article which their wants may require, is to be transported with them.

Nor ought we to forget the difference between the best of the regular forces of the mother country, and the armed people of the Colonies, in the enthusiasm which drew the last to the defence of their homes and their families in the early stages of the contest, and the determination with which even the private soldier was disposed to resist what he considered as oppression aimed at himself and his friends. The conviction was forced upon every one, that there was no intermediate point between absolute freedom from British taxation, and unconditional submission. Had the Government across the water pointed out to the people here any precise limits to which their authority should be carried; had they been willing to acknowledge any principle which would operate as a restriction

upon the powers of Parliament, and a protection to the people here, except the will and pleasure of the Government, it is highly probable that the Revolution might never have occurred. It was not unwillingness to contribute a *just* share of the public burdens, but a determination not to submit to more than a just share, which led to resistance.

The erroneous estimate formed by the people, the Parliament and the army of England, in relation to the character, power and resources of the Colonies, and as to the extent of the spirit of resistance, operated powerfully in favor of our ancestors. It was the fashion to disparage the colonists, and the idle boast of Col. Grey, that with one regiment of British troops he would undertake to march from one end of the continent to the other, was probably expressive of the general sentiment of the people and of the armies of Great Britain.

What might have been the result, if England had brought all her energies to bear at once upon this country, it is now impossible to say. But we can see clearly how different might have been the course of events, if the contemptuous feeling, to which I have alluded, had not existed. Eight hundred men were despatched to destroy the stores of the colonists at Concord, sent out into the midst of an armed and excited people, twenty times their numbers. Had eight thousand been sent instead, how different might have been the effect.

On the 17th of May 1775, the Provincial Congress met. Among its members we find some of the most able men of our State: Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple and Matthew Thornton, whose names are destined for immortality on the Declaration of Independence; Samuel Cutts, who had been the most active member of the committee of correspondence of Portsmouth, and of the Province at that place; Nathaniel Folsom and Nicholas Gilman, Enoch Poor, Mesheck Weare, Paine Wingate, Joseph Cilley, Thomas Bartlett, John McClary, John Dudley, Timothy Walker, Jr., Abiel Foster, Ebenezer Smith, George Frost, Ebenezer Thompson, John McDuffie, Israel Morey, and John Wheelock. These are names familiar to us all, and the men were among the most leading and active minds of that time. Others less distinguished in after life are necessarily less known to the community, but were beyond question firm friends of their country. No cool or lukewarm patriot was there. The men who, at such a time, stepped forward and exposed themselves to ministerial vengeance in the event of a failure, were not to be doubted.

Sullivan and Langdon were attending the Congress at Philadelphia. Stark and others were with the army near Cambridge. John Wentworth and Woodbury Langdon and Otis Baker and Wyseman Claggett, whose activity had been before conspicuous, were absent, from what causes

we are not informed, though Claggett took his seat in the Congress at a subsequent day, to fill a vacancy.

Matthew Thornton was elected President, and Ebenezer Thompson, Secretary: and in his absence Samael Cutts was chosen Secretary pro tem.

If we consider the occasion of the meeting of this Convention, and the various duties which the position of the Colony threw upon them, we shall be better able to estimate the difficulties and embarrassments by which they were surrounded, and the labors and anxieties they must have undergone.

An army was to be organized; arms and munitions and supplies were to be furnished; an administrative department was to be constructed, and the indispensable element of war, pecuniary resources, was to be found or created, and finally a civil government was to be devised, adopted and put in operation; and all these to be done very much at once, by a body of men, for the most part, without experience in public business, amidst the alarms of unexpected war, and amidst the contests and rivalries of men, raised at a single step from comparative obscurity to unlooked for elevation, and against the efforts of the men, not numerous indeed, but of much influence in their circles, who felt themselves cast down and degraded by the Revolution, and who were losing, by the change, their official, and, to a great extent, their social position.

The most urgent of the claims upon the attention of the Congress, was the raising and organizing their quota of troops for the army at Boston. On the second day of their session, it was voted, apparently without debate or discussion, that they would raise men to defend their rights and liberties; and a large committee, consisting of Bartlett, Whipple, Folsom, Thornton, Gilman, Morey, M'Gregor, Page, Parsons, and Wheelock, the Rev. Messrs. Webster, Stearns and Farrar, was appointed to consider and prepare a plan of ways and means for furnishing troops. Nothing appears from their records to show what was done by this committee, but it is reasonable to believe that they originated and directed most of the measures which were adopted on this subject.

On the 20th of May, resolutions in the nature of a manifesto were adopted, as follows:

Whereas, by the late acts of the British Parliament, and conduct of the Ministers in pursuance thereof, it appears very evident that a plan is laid, and now pursuing, to subjugate this and the other American Colonies to the most abject slavery, and the late hostilities, committed by the British troops in our sister Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, leave us no doubt in determining that no way is left us to preserve our most darling rights and inestimable privileges, but by immediately defending them by arms. Reduced therefore by this

most terrible necessity, this Convention, after the most solemn deliberation thereon, have

I. Resolved, that it is necessary to raise immediately two thousand effective men in this Province, including officers and those already in the service, and that the time for their enlistment continue to the last day of December, unless the Committee of Safety should judge it proper that a part or the whole should be disbanded sooner.

II. That every member pledge his honor and estate, in the name of his constituents, to pay their proportion of maintaining and paying the officers and soldiers of the above number, while in their service.

III. That application be made immediately to the Continental Congress for their advice and assistance respecting means and ways to put the above plan into execution.

IV. That the establishment of officers and soldiers shall be the same as in the Massachusetts Bay.

V. That the selectmen of the several towns and districts within this Colony be desired to furnish the soldiers, who shall enlist from their respective towns and districts, with good and sufficient blankets, and render their accounts to the committee of supplies.

VI. That if it should appear that the above number of men is not our full proportion with the other governments, that this Convention will be ready to make a proper addition for that purpose.

On the same day, a Committee of Safety was elected, consisting of Thornton, Bartlett, Whipple, Folsom and Thompson, to whom were added, on the 24th of May, Morey and Moulton, and on the 5th of July, Wearo.

This body was the Executive Department of the new Revolutionary Government. It was steadily kept up and maintained, during the whole of the Revolutionary war. It was elected for no particular time, and was composed of no particular number, and its powers were very indefinite and uncertain. Its constituents were changed, whenever it suited the Congress or the Legislature to change them, and it constituted a permanent committee, to whom questions and cases and duties of all kinds, civil and military, executive and judicial, as well as legislative, were referred; sometimes for their opinion and report, but more frequently, for their action; and in the latter cases, the committee made such determination and disposition of the matters referred to them, as they judged best, without further reference to the Congress, and without any report or communication of their doings, unless these were specially directed.

They continued in session during the recess of the Congress, and they had instructions relative to their duties during such recess, which were of the broadest character. They were to take under their consideration all matters in which the welfare of

the Province, or the security of their rights, were concerned, and were enjoined, in the language used by the Roman Senate upon the appointment of a Dictator, to take the utmost care that the public receive no damage, (*ne quid detrimenti capiat respublica*.)

1. They were to see to it that whatever plans have been determined on by the Congress to be immediately carried into execution, which have not been intrusted to the management of others, should be executed, by such persons and in such ways as the committee should judge best.

2. If any exigency should arise, not provided for by the Congress, and requiring immediate attention, as the marching of troops to repel invasion, or directing the motions of the militia for the same purpose,—for securing military stores, or important posts, or for defeating any attempt of the enemy to secure such advantages, and in other cases of like character, they were to take immediately the most prudent and effectual methods to accomplish those objects.

3. They were to require the aid of the Committee of Supplies for the necessary stores, provisions, &c., for their purposes.

At the same time, a Committee of Supplies was elected, consisting of Col. N. Gilman, Samuel Cutts, Ichabod Rawlings, Timothy Walker, Jr., Dr. John Giddings, Thomas Sparhawk, and Col. John Hale. The last of these had been despatched, on the second day of the session, to Albany for the purpose of purchasing firearms, an object deemed then, and now clearly seen, to have been of the most pressing urgency, but in which he had no success.

This committee, like the other, was a body to whom very various matters were referred by the Congress, and their general instructions were, to furnish to the Commissary such military stores and provisions as the Committee of Safety should think necessary; and they and each of them were authorized to take up such stores, on the faith of the Colony, on the best terms they could, and of the persons of whom they could be best procured. They were authorized to borrow £10,000, as they find the same to be necessary, to answer the requirements of the Committee of Safety. And the Convention, for themselves and their constituents, plighted their faith, and their estates, to the committee, as their bondsmen to all intents and purposes, for the payment of whatever sum they might hire or borrow in consequence of this vote. The powers of this committee were originally designed to be of very different kind from those of the Committee of Safety. Its members were mostly men of a less leading character than those of the other committee, and those of them who seem at this distance to have had most energetic and decided characters, were very early drawn off to other employments, and the committee, useful as

it might probably have been at the beginning, gradually lost its consequence, as the duties were gradually placed in charge of officers of the commissariat, and other departments of a regularly organized army.

On the 18th of May, Col. Stark addressed a letter to the New Hampshire Congress, in which he wrote to them, That about the 29th of April previous, a committee, sent from the Provincial Congress of the Province of New Hampshire to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, having discretionary instructions from said Congress, advised to raise a regiment from the Province of New Hampshire, as soon as possible, under the constitution and establishment of the Massachusetts Bay, but to be deemed as part of the quota of men of the Province of New Hampshire, and that the New Hampshire Congress would confirm the proceeding. In consequence of which, a number of officers of the Province of New Hampshire convened, and made choice of their field officers for said regiment. That many of the men who expected to be furnished with arms from the Provincial *stacks*, were destitute of them, and could not be furnished *there*, as none could be procured, and must be discharged, unless they were speedily supplied.

The Congress voted that the selectmen furnish arms to persons enlisted from their towns, and authorized Stark and his officers to procure them wherever they could be had, at the Colony's expense.

On the 22d, two muster masters, Major Samuel Hobart and Mr. Enoch Poor, were appointed and ordered to repair to Cambridge and its neighborhood and regularly muster all the men enlisted in the companies in the regiment commanded by Col. Stark, who were able-bodied, effective men, and to enquire if any had been enlisted by others, and to muster such as were able and effective, and to give notice to the officers by whom they were enlisted, to repair to Exeter to represent the matter and receive instructions, and to dismiss such as were destitute of arms.

At the same time, on the 22d May, it was determined that the two thousand men, whom it was decided to raise, should be divided into three regiments.

Col. Nathaniel Folsom was appointed to take the general command of the men raised and to be raised in this government, for this season.

And on Wednesday, May 24th, Mr. Enoch Poor was appointed Colonel, Capt. John McDuffie, Lieut-Col. and Capt. Joseph Cilley, Major of the second regiment to be raised. The Congress directed that the same method of enlistments and returns should be adopted as were used in Massachusetts, and on the same day orders were issued by the Committee of Safety, to Winborn Adams of Durham, Winthrop Rowe of Kensington, Hen-

ry Elkins of Hampton, Samuel Gilman of New Market, Philip Tilton of Kingston, Benjamin Titcomb of Dover, Jonathan Wentworth of Somersworth, Jeremiah Clough of Canterbury, James Norris of Epping, Zaccheus Clough of Poplin, to enlist each one company of sixty-six men, in this regiment. This was the first effective step toward the organization of a military force under the authority of the Congress.

On the 25th, Thursday, Moses Emerson, Esq., was elected Commissary for the army, and on the following day a vote was passed to raise a company of sixty men, for the defence of the north western frontier.

After an adjournment of a few days, and probably after the return of Hobart and Poor from Cambridge, upon the recommendation of the Committee of Safety, to whom the subject had been referred, it was voted, on the 31st of May, that the two thousand men be divided into three regiments, and each regiment into ten companies, as *nearly equal* as could conveniently be done.

The motive of this vote seems to have been that Stark's military reputation had led a considerable majority of the New Hampshire volunteers to prefer to join his regiment; that in consequence he had at least four supernumerary companies, and the companies in his regiment were better fitted than those in the regiment which had elected Col. James Reed for its commander. Stark, owning no authority above himself, was determined not to suffer any of his men to be withdrawn from his command. This fact of course became apparent upon the mustering of the troops into the service of New Hampshire, and Reed, agreeably to the directions of the Congress, conveyed to him by Hobart and Poor, repaired to Exeter and applied to the Congress to remedy the difficulty.

He was met by a petition, signed by twelve persons, alleging that he had shown himself inimical to the liberty of his country, and praying that he might not be commissioned in the army. Who were the parties to this petition I have not learned, but the Congress seem to have regarded it as deserving little attention; the record merely says, that no person appearing to support the petition it was dismissed. And on the first of June, Reed was appointed Colonel, Israel Gilman, Lieut. Colonel, and Nathan Hale, Major, of a Regiment, and orders were directed to be issued to ten persons to enlist each a company of sixty-two soldiers including non-commissioned officers, to constitute this regiment, and on the next day he was ordered by General Folsom to repair to the western part of the Province, and to collect the men he had enlisted as volunteers for the defence of America, in the service of the Province, and to march all of them who were effective and able-bodied men, and well equipped, to Cambridge, and then put himself and them under the command of General Ward

till further orders. He reached Cambridge on the 12th, and found the several companies of his corps at Medford. The captains of his regiment were Spaulding, Walker, Crosby, Hinds, Whitcomb, Town, Hutchins, Mann, Morey and Thomas. Whitcomb and Thomas he took from Stark's regiment, for the two companies that were assigned to him, and they were soon assigned to a station on Charlestown Neck.

On the 31st of May the Congress wrote to Colonel Stark, stating that as some difficulties had arisen in settling the regiment under his command, they thought proper that he should immediately, without loss of time, repair to Eseter to receive their orders and give a more particular account of the state of the troops under his care, and they wrote on the same day to General Ward, suggesting the necessity that he should appear before them, and requesting leave of absence for him for the purpose. It does not appear from any record I have seen, whether Stark did or did not attend upon this summons, though it is rendered probable that he did from the fact that, on the third day of June, it was voted that Stark should be Colonel, Isaac Wyman, Lieut. Colonel, and Andrew M'Clary, Major of the first regiment, and that ten companies of sixty-two men each, of the regiment then at Medford, should be the first or oldest regiment. At a time subsequent to this, the captains were—1. George Reed; 2. Daniel Moore; 3. Gordon Huchings; 4. Elisha Woodbury; 5. Thomas McLaughlin; 6. John Hall, 7. Samuel Richards; 8. Aaron Kinsman; 9. Joshua Abbot, and 10. Henry Dearborn.

On the same day a vote was passed relative to the compensation of the Brigadier General, Folsom, giving him the same compensation as was allowed to officers of that grade in Massachusetts, disconnecting him from any particular regiment, but giving him equal authority of all the New Hampshire troops. A few days after, this vote was reconsidered, and his pay reduced to that of a Colonel, with such allowances as the Congress should afterwards make him.

These movements apparently had their origin in the feeling of rivalry between Stark and Folsom, both of whom had been captains in the French war, and Stark resented the appointment of Folsom to a command over him. He felt it to be unjust that an officer who had remained inactive at home, should be preferred to himself, who had volunteered at the first alarm, and for some time past had exercised the principal command. Folsom's influence with the Congress was superior to that of Stark, and on the 9th of June, they voted that his commission should be that of Major General, and should be dated May 24th.

An oath of fidelity was prescribed to be taken by officers and men, and on the 9th, the Congress was adjourned to the 27th, and on the 17th occur-

red the battle of Bunker Hill, and one cannot but observe the increasing boldness of the measures of the Congress in consequence. The Royal authority, before but a shadow, now entirely ceased.

When the Congress again assembled, two paymasters were appointed, Joseph Welsh and Samuel Hobart, Esq. who were instructed to proceed to the army and pay one month's wages to the officers and soldiers; to receive of each captain a complete muster roll of his company under oath, and return the same to the Congress, or Committee of Safety; to take a receipt for all the money paid; to pay no officer or soldier who has not taken the oaths and been mustered as an able-bodied, effective man; and that they pay no more than ten companies in a regiment, of sixty-six men in a company, including officers.

The last direction of the Congress pretty clearly shows that some of the officers had not submitted to the votes of the Congress in relation to the organization of their forces, nor lost the paltry ambition of commanding a larger body of men than others were permitted to retain.

The method, then adopted in the mustering and payment of the troops, was continued throughout the war, and to it we are indebted for a more perfect list of the officers and men of the Revolutionary Army from this State, as is said by those who should know, than is to be found in any other State. We are justly proud of these records, but the blush of shame must mantle the cheek of every friend of our State, when he reflects that these and all the other invaluable records of the State are at the hazard of accident, and that we may be doomed at any hour to hear that a little ashes alone are all that is left of them.

Among the measures which were indispensable for the Government of an Army, was a code of military law. The jealousy of the people of England, which had made the mutiny act annual, had of course prevented the existence of any common law founded on common consent and immemorial usage, and it now became necessary to adopt a code to supply this want, and on the 29th of June it was voted that—

Whereas it is necessary that the officers and soldiers, raised and to be raised in this Colony for the preservation and defence of this and the other Colonies in America, should be fully acquainted with their duty, and that the Articles, Rules and Regulations be made as plain as possible; and having great confidence in the honor and public virtue of the inhabitants of this Colony that they will readily obey the officers chosen and appointed by this Congress, and will cheerfully do their duty, when known, without any such severe articles and cruel punishments, except in capital cases, as are usually practised in standing armies, and will submit to all such rules and regulations as are founded in reason, honor and virtue. It is, therefore—

Resolved, that the following Rules, Articles and Regulations for our said forces be and hereby are earnestly recommended to be strictly adhered to by all officers and soldiers, and others concerned, as they regard their own honor and the public good.

These rules and regulations were the same as those adopted by Massachusetts.

This recommendation, for such it was in form, was in fact legislation, since these regulations were to furnish the rules on which the authority of the officers, the discipline and subordination of the men, and the lives and liberties of both, in cases of trial by courts-martial, were to depend; but the form illustrates the unwillingness of the Congress, as yet, to adopt the forms of legislative authority.

Immediately after the battle of Bunker Hill, in which the New Hampshire troops, under Stark and Reed, were actively engaged, the regiment commanded by Poor was hurried forward, and General Folsom went to Medford to take the command of the N. H. troops; and from his letters to the Committee of Safety, it is very apparent that the former rivalry between him and Stark again appeared. Folsom called on Stark for a return of his regiment. Stark repeatedly and absolutely refused to obey the order; and Folsom made a representation of his conduct to the Committee of Safety, with a view to his removal. Stark had threatened to take his pack and go home; but a few days after, such submission was made by Stark as to induce Folsom, on the 25th of June, to request that his representation might be overlooked.

To what agency this reconciliation is attributable I have been unable to discover. The circumstance which seems most likely to have produced this effect, was the appointment of Washington, on the 15th, to the chief command, and the resolution adopted by the Congress at Philadelphia on the 16th, to appoint two Major Generals and eight Brigadier Generals for the army, with a general staff, who would of course soon supercede those deriving their authority from a single Colony. On the 17th Ward and Lee were elected Major Generals, and Gates Adjutant General, and on the 22d, eight Brigadiers were chosen, of whom Sullivan was the 7th.

Washington and Lee arrived at Cambridge on the first of July, and Folsom was then still at Cambridge. He probably returned home on Sullivan's arrival, not long after.

On the 30th of May, it had been voted that one company of rangers should be raised for the protection of the Northwestern Frontier, and Colonel Moody Bedel was appointed to the command, with the rank of captain; and on the 5th of July, it was determined to raise two additional companies, and Captain John Parker and Captain James Osgood were placed in command of them. Bedel

commanded the whole, and his rank was upon his application raised, at a subsequent time, and Isaac Morey was appointed paymaster of the corps.

While the Congress were making provision for the army near Boston and for the defence of the frontier towards Canada, they found it necessary to provide for the security of Portsmouth, which was supposed by the people there to be not only exposed, but to be an important object of attack. On the 31st of May, a party of volunteers took possession of the battery on Jerry's point, near the entrance of the harbor, and removed all the cannon to the town; a service for which they received the thanks of the Congress. On the next day, measures were taken for the erection of a battery for the defence of Portsmouth, under the direction of the committee of the town, and of Captain Ezekiel Worthen of Kensington, a member of the Congress, who was appointed Engineer, though I cannot discover that he had any qualifications for that office except such as belong to every judicious man and ingenious mechanic.

Early in June, a company of Artillery was directed to be raised at Portsmouth, and Captain Titus Salter was appointed to the command of it. It was mustered by Colonel Hobart, early in September, and Samuel Cutts was appointed to provide for them. In the meantime a small detachment from Poor's regiment was detained for the security of the sea-coast towns. On the 18th of October, an attack was made upon Falmouth, now Portland, by a British fleet, and the town burned. The commander at the time announced that he had orders to burn all the towns from Halifax to Boston. The people of Portsmouth were exceedingly alarmed, and in a short time no less than 28 companies of militia were collected there, and the Congress at once voted that all who had marched upon the occasion, should be paid, and applied to General Washington to send General Sullivan to their assistance. Sullivan came at once, but the alarm passed away, and after a short time he returned to his command near Boston. The Congress passed a vote of thanks both to Washington and Sullivan for the promptness with which their application had been met.

This panic led to a vote of the Congress, on the 2d of November, that the Colony would maintain fortresses for the defence of Portsmouth, and that 200 artillery and 300 infantry should be enlisted for two months, for the defence of the town. Joshua Wingate was appointed Colonel, John Burnham Lieut. Colonel, and James Hackett, Major, Captain Pierce Long, Barrackmaster, Major George Gains, Quartermaster, Captain Salter and Captain Eliphalet Daniels to command the artillery; and on the 10th of November, it was voted that for the defence and security of Portsmouth, 800 men should be raised, to be divided into 8 companies, and to be under the command of the same field

officers. Major Stephen Clark of Epping, Captains Caleb Hodgdon of Dover, Joseph Parsons of Rye, and Henry Elkins of Hampton, Major Peter Coffin of Exeter, and Captains Jacob Webster of Kingston, Moses Baker of Candia, and David Copp of Wakefield, commanded the companies.

On the 29th of November, General Sullivan wrote to the Committee of Safety that General Washington had written to them for 31 companies to defend the lines near Boston, in consequence of the determination of the Connecticut troops to return home, at the expiration of their term of enlistment; and on the next day, he again wrote a very earnest letter, urging the enlistment and instant despatch of these companies, without field officers, to serve till the 15th of January; and on the 2d of December, the Committee issued orders to Captains David Place, Henry Elkins, Daniel Runnels, John Waldron, Alpheus Chesley, David Copp, Moses Baker, Mark Wiggin, Joseph Parsons, Moses Yeaton, Elijah Denbo, Jacob Webster, Nathaniel Odiorne, Peter Coffin, Stephen Clark and Greenleaf Clark, to enlist companies, and forwarded blank orders to Colonel Hobart, Timothy Walker and others* under which orders were issued. At the same time, permission was given to all persons then in the service of the Colony, to enlist in the service of the Continent, as the whole of the Colonies were then designated. It was probably a fortunate circumstance that the recent alarm at Portsmouth had collected in arms a considerable body of men who could be induced to exchange their services from that place to Cambridge.

With the close of the year, the time of enlistment of the volunteers near Boston drew to an end, and the army was then re-organized under the authority of the Continental Congress.

At the session of the Provincial Congress in August, the subject of the militia was taken up, and officers, under the authority of the Colony, were appointed to each regiment, and the necessary measures adopted for completing the entire organization, and for their systematic exercise and improvement. Folsom was appointed to the chief command. Four regiments of Minute-men were constituted, comprising about one fourth of the whole militia, who were required to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning, and who were subject to a drill once in each fortnight.

The measures to which I have thus alluded, form the prominent acts of this Revolutionary Congress in reference to Military affairs.

After the organization of their military force, the most pressing call upon the attention and care

of the Provincial Congress (not secondary in importance and not less urgent in time, because the means of maintaining armies are as indispensable as the persons who constitute them,) was the providing the arms and munitions of war of every kind, the clothing and shelter, the food and medicine required for their troops, the organization of a Department by which these necessities should be, at all times, procured, secured and preserved at the points where they are needed, and the creation of the pecuniary means by which alone armies are rendered effective, and on which in the end their operations depend for success.

At a very early day, resolutions were passed for the encouragement of manufactures, and particularly the manufacture of saltpetre, an article of indispensable necessity, and for which and for gunpowder the people here were previously dependent upon the foreign market alone; and measures were taken to put in a serviceable state the guns which had been removed from the fort, and to provide the soldiers with blankets, through the agency of the selectmen of the towns from which they enlisted.

The Committee of Safety and the Committee of Supplies, to which I have before alluded, were relied upon as the active agencies by which means were to be provided for the military as well as all the other movements of the new government.

On the 23d of May, Nicholas Gilman was appointed Treasurer and Receiver General of the Colony, an office which he continued to hold till the close of the war, and in which he preserved a degree of accuracy and method which entitle him to a place in our recollections, second only to Morris, in this department.

On the same day, a vote was passed providing for raising a tax of 3000 pounds, in the same manner as the Province taxes had been usually raised, and to be paid to the Receiver General by the first of November; and on the 8th of June, the constables and collectors of taxes were required by vote to pay the Province tax, which then remained unpaid, to Colonel Gilman, the Treasurer for the Colony, and he was authorized to give receipts for the same.

On the 9th of June, it was determined to issue a paper currency, founded on the public faith of the Colony, to the amount of £10,000, lawful money, and to be paid with 6 per cent. interest, by a tax on polls and estates, in the years 1776-7, &c. It was provided that the notes should be struck from copper-plates, engraved under the direction of Congress, and signed by the Receiver General, and should be of the denominations of 40, 20, and 6 shillings and of one shilling, and George Frost and Ebenezer Thompson were appointed the committee to procure the plates, to see the money struck off and signed and delivered to the Receiver General.

*Six blank enlisting orders were sent to Samuel Hobart, Esq. three to Colonel Timothy Walker, one to General Folsom, some to Captain James Hill of Newmarket and Major Thomas Bartlett of Nottingham, one to Colonel Evans, and three to Colonel David Gilman, to be given to captains.

On the first of July, Samuel Sherburne, Pierce Long, Nicholas Gilman and Ebenezer Thompson were appointed to bring in a draft for the further omission of the paper currency, and on the 4th, Bartlett, Hurd and Weare were added to the committee, and on the next day, a further issue was ordered of £10,000 to be paid by a tax in 1776-7-8 and 9, to be printed with types, under the care of M. Weare and P. Long, £8000 to be on interest, and of denominations from 5 to 60 shillings, and £2000 to be without interest, from 6d to 3s. Upon redemption, they were directed to be burned.

It was at this time voted that any person who may be detected in counterfeiting or passing any counterfeit of the Treasurer's notes, shall, on conviction before this or any convention, be deemed an enemy to his country and punished at the discretion of such convention.

On the 2d of September, £4000 was directed to be raised by tax, instead of the £3000 voted in May, to be apportioned according to the last proportion act, and to be paid to the Receiver General by the first of February next; and the Treasurer was directed to issue his warrants to the selectmen for assessing the tax, and, if there were no selectmen in any town, the towns were required to receive the warrants, and choose those officers.

The Committee of Safety were directed to advise the Treasurer in framing warrants for assessing and collecting the taxes.

An excise had long been collected from the taverners in the Province, and they were now recommended by the Convention to pay their excise, for the current year, to the selectmen, who were to pay the same to the Receiver General.

At the adjourned session, Oct. 31, Whipple, Walker, Fletcher, M'Gregor and Dudley were appointed a committee to see what further sums of money should be emitted, and on the next day, on their report, the Congress voted to issue the sum of £20,000, to be printed under the direction of M. Weare and Josiah Moulton, and to be signed by Samuel Hobart and the Treasurer.

At the close of their session, the Congress terminated the financial operations of the year by a very significant recommendation to the town selectmen, committees, and other officers, to proceed as usual in regard to taxes; They trust the good people will cheerfully pay, and if any, inimical to the cause of the country, should refuse, we trust, that all the friends of their country will effectually strengthen the hands of the selectmen, constables and collectors. There is no appearance that, at the time this Congress was summoned, the idea of assuming civil government existed in the mind of any one in New Hampshire. In Massachusetts, where the public mind was much more fully prepared for the probable results of a war, the evidence is to my mind very perfect, that the leading men, though they thought the time had

not arrived when independence was to be openly spoken of, had very clearly foreseen and were prepared for the consequences of successful resistance.

The New Hampshire Provincial Congress was called by a committee, appointed by a convention—a public meeting voluntarily assembled—unknown to the law, and having an authority precisely equal, in a legal view, to that of the caucuses of our time. The objects in terms, for which it was called, I have not found, but the very uncertainty and indistinctness of their authority was their broadest commission. They were the representatives of the people, appointed and assembled to consult together in relation to the common good, and to adopt such measures as should tend to the security of the rights and privileges of the people.

During several weeks of their session, the Congress adopted no action bearing upon matters of a civil character, except such as the urgency of the time forced upon them, in connexion with the military operations, which formed the principal object of their attention.

They established a post office at Portsmouth, of which Samuel Penhallow was Postmaster, and not long afterward another at Exeter, of which Deacon Samuel Brooks was Postmaster.

On the third day of their session, upon the report of a committee consisting of the Rev. Mr. Wingate, Rev. Mr. Fletcher, and Mr. Samuel Sherburne, appointed on the preceding day—

1. It was voted, unanimously, that the good and wholesome laws of this Province be faithfully supported, and that all persons assist the Justices thereof in the due execution of their office.

2. That in these times of general distress, it be recommended to the inhabitants of this Province that they encourage all religious worship, and that they by all means discountenance all manner of vice, and especially the profanation of the Sabbath, which is and has been a growing evil, and that all officers exert themselves for the above purpose. 3. 4. 5 That agriculture and manufactures be encouraged.

6. That, whereas many persons, through inadvertency, wilful malice, or immoderate heat, have thrown out many approbrious expressions respecting the several Congresses, and the methods of security they have thought proper to adopt, and thereby have made themselves obnoxious to the inhabitants of this Province, it is therefore recommended that the committees of the several towns have a watchful eye over such persons; and they shall be the proper persons only to take cognizance thereof, and that their result be final, and that proper complaint being made to either of the committee, they make the most speedy and critical enquiry thereof in order to prevent riots and mobs, and that they discountenance the same.

In February preceeding, Governor Wentworth

had issued his writs of election for a new Assembly and the members had been chosen, but their meeting had been deferred till the 4th of May, a fortnight, as it proved, after the fight at Lexington. Previous to the election of the members, there had been a discussion in the New Hampshire Gazette in relation to the representation of the Province, and Governor Wentworth, partly it would seem with a view to silence the complaint that the county of Grafton had no representation, and partly to strengthen the number of his friends in the Assembly, had issued his writs to the towns of Orford, Plymouth and Lyme, where he supposed the influence of his friends was likely to secure the return of persons of loyalist feelings; and three new members took their seats from those towns. From Plymouth, John Fenton was returned, an English half-pay officer, resident at Portsmouth, and a favorite of the Governor, who had appointed him a Colonel of Militia in the regiment which included Plymouth, Clerk of the Courts of Common Pleas and Quarter sessions, and Judge of the Court of Probate for the county of Grafton, though he still resided and kept his office at Portsmouth. Instructions for his conduct, as member of the Assembly, were voted by the town, which were probably drawn by himself or by one of his friends at Portsmouth, which, though they used the common language of the whigs, were so phrased as to have a strongly royalist bearing.

The zeal of Fenton outran his discretion. On the 26th of April, he wrote a letter,* addressed to the people of Grafton county, in which he called upon them to attend to their farming, and not to think of coming down country to fight, and informed them that a body of Indians was ready to fall on their families, if they left their homes. The circular was brought to the notice of the Conven-

*To the people of the county of Grafton from a real friend who sincerely wishes their well-being:

For Gods sake pay the closest attention to the sowing and planting your lands,—and do as much of it as possible not only for your own & families Subsistence, but to supply the wants of your fellow men down Country; for you may be assured that every kind of distress, in the provision way, is coming upon them;

Let nothing induce you to quit your farming business—mind no reports—nor do not think of Coming down Country to fight—there are enough without you—therefore your diligence in farming will much more Serve your Country than coming to assistance Much Depends on the back settlements raising plenty of Grain.

I am informed—that should the People from the Back Settlements take up arms—a number of Indians & Canadians will fall upon them;—but that if they remain Quiet—they will not.

This I inform you off, from the love I bare you and give it you as a sincere friend should do.

JOHN FENTON.

Ports^o 26th April 1775.

—N. H. State Papers, Vol. 1. p. 167.

To Col^l John Fenton—

Sir,

A Letter with your signature directed to the People of the County of Grafton, has been laid before this Congress the Contents of which they Consider as of some Importance that “A No of Indians and Canadians will fall upon them if they should take up Arms, but if they remain quiet, they will not”—we are anxious for the Security of our Friends in the Frontier Settlements

tion, who on the 22d of May called upon Fenton to inform them upon the subject of his letter. He wrote to them, declaring that he had no information to warrant his statements respecting the Indians, and the Convention referred his letter to the committees of Portsmouth, Rye and Greenland.

The Assembly had been adjourned to the 12th of June, for the purpose of consulting their constituents, and on the first, the Congress took up the subject, and voted that, whereas, H. E. the Governor of this Colony, in calling a General Assembly to meet at Portsmouth, in February last, required three new towns that had never sent members before, to elect persons to represent them in said Assembly, and as said Assembly are to sit by adjournment on the 12th inst., this Congress are of opinion that the Governor assuming the right of sending to such towns as he thinks fit, without concurrence of the other branches of the Legislature, is unconstitutional and subversive of the rights and privileges of the good people of this Colony; and the establishing such a precedent may leave room for some future Governor to occasion a very partial representation of the people, by sending to small towns and omitting large ones, with many other evils. Therefore do resolve further, that it is the opinion of this Congress that the persons called and elected as aforesaid, ought not to be allowed a seat in the House of Representatives of this Colony.

On the 10th, of June the Congress adjourned over to the 27th, and on the 12th, the Assembly met, and voted that the new members returned from Plymouth, Orford and Lyme were not entitled to seats; and the Governor after receiving a civil answer to his speech, and recommending to their serious consideration Ld. North's conciliatory proposition, adjourned the Assembly to July 11th.

as well as ye were—could we rely upon this it would afford us the greatest ease and pleasure—this Congress, therefore expresses their desire that you appear, as soon as possible, and inform ye respecting the grounds of the aforementioned intelligence.

—N. H. State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 163.

To The Provincial Congress at Exeter.

Gentlemen,

This moment rec^d your letter of 23^d instant:—I do assure you Gentlemen, I mentioned the matter respecting the Indians Coming down on our Frontiers, in my letter to the People of the County of Grafton, as a matter of opinion only—nor have I the least Clue, or Circumstance to guide me in that Sentiment but a mere opinion

I am Gentlemen—

Your Most obedient,

& Very h^l Servant—

JOHN FENTON.

Ports: 23^d May 1775

P. S.

I wrote that letter to the People of the County of Grafton out of absolute Friendship & Regard to the Country.

Colonel Fenton's Compliments to the President of the Congress, requests to know, if it will be convenient to be Call'd before them, to morrow Morning; if so, he begs he may be so informed, as his Family are only waiting to know what is to become of him before they quit this Province.

Exeter 27th June 1775.

N. H. State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 165.

The vote of the Congress, which I have recited, and the answer to the Governor's speech, to which I can only refer, afford much matter for reflection, as indicating the state of feeling at the moment as to their relations with England.

Fenton, upon his expulsion, expressed himself with such freedom as to arouse the indignation of the people. He escaped and took shelter at the Governor's house. The mob followed and demanded him, and brought a piece of cannon to the door, upon which the offender was delivered up, and sent to Exeter. At the meeting of the Congress, it was voted that he was not a friend of his country; that he should be imprisoned, and afterward, that he should be sent under a guard to Cambridge. There he was allowed to escape, and never afterwards returned.

The incident to which I have alluded is of no intrinsic importance, and the individual is not worth remembering. The circumstances are recalled merely from their effect on the Governor. He resented as an insult the attack upon his house, and retired to the fort at Newcastle.

The Assembly again met in July, but after exchanging messages with the Governor, at the fort, they were adjourned to the 28th of September, but never met again. The Governor left the Province and sailed for Boston, August 24th, and the last act which he attempted in the execution of his office, was in September, when he came to the Shoals and issued a proclamation again adjourning the Assembly to the next April.

The power and influence of the Royal government entirely ceased on the 13th of June, when the Governor left Portsmouth, and the reins, which Wentworth and his Council had cast from their hands, were slowly and with great hesitation gathered up by the Provincial Congress.

Upon the meeting of the Congress, measures were immediately adopted for the removal of the public records from Portsmouth to Exeter, as a place of greater security. A committee was appointed to remove them, and the officers were invited to remove to Exeter and take charge of them there.

On the 30th of June, it was recommended to the Court of Common Pleas, the Superior Court, and Court of Quarter Sessions, to adjourn those courts, by a proclamation, on the first day of their next term, till the further order of the Congress. This may be considered as the end, substantially, of the courts under the Royal authority. The recommendation was as imperative as a statute, and any attempt to disregard it would only have subjected the Judges to personal indignity and odium. But a majority of the Judges were active and leading Whigs—Weare and Hubbard in the Superior Court, and in the Courts of Common Pleas, March and Tappan, in Rockingham, Wentworth, Frost, Baker and Plummer, in Strafford,

Thornton and Hobart, in Hillsborough, Ashley and Bellows in Cheshire, Hurd and Woodward in Grafton.

From this time until the establishment of the new government in January 1776, no courts were holden, and the laws were silent, excepting that the Congress at all its sessions took cognizance of offences of a political or quasi-political cast, either directly or by committees, or by a reference to the Committee of Safety of the towns.

The Secretary, Theodore Atkinson, who was also the Colonial Chief Justice, and a man of whom, I am led to believe, it is but justice to say that he was a very respectable and excellent man and an accurate and sound lawyer, suffered the committee of the Congress quietly to take the records of the Colony, making no resistance, but taking no part, except that of a spectator. And the Treasurer, George Jaffrey, as quietly paid over the balance in his hands of the Colony funds, amounting to £1516, s4, d8, and received the thanks of the Convention.

On the 5th of July, the Convention ventured on a recommendation looking more like an act of legislation in civil matters than any they had yet adopted. This was a recommendation to the town of Monadnock, No. 5, now Marlborough, to choose town officers, selectmen constables &c., and the appointment of a committee to call the first meeting. It was on the next day the recommendation was passed to which I have before referred, relating to the counterfeiting of the new paper currency.

On the third of November, a committee, consisting of Thornton, Weare, Thompson, Rogers, Dudley, Claggett, and Giles, was appointed to draft a petition to the Congress of the Colonies, praying their direction relative to some mode of civil government.

Instructions had been previously given to the delegates in Congress to press this subject upon the attention of that body, and upon the same day on which the foregoing committee was appointed, that Congress passed a resolution upon the subject, upon which the action of the Provincial Congress was based, as follows:

In Congress, Friday Nov. 3d, 1775.

The Congress, taking into consideration the report of the Committee on the New Hampshire instructions, Resolved, that it be recommended to the Provincial Convention of New Hampshire, to call a full and free representation of the people, and that the Representatives, if they think it necessary, establish such a form of government as in their judgment will best produce the happiness, and most effectually secure peace and good order in the Province, during the present dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies.

Extract from the Minutes,

Charles Thompson, Sec'y.

By order of Congress,

John Hancock, Pres't.

While these proceedings at Philadelphia were still unknown, the Convention, whose term of authority would expire on the 16th, proceeded to discuss the subject of the new government. On the 4th, they adopted the following votes :

That the Delegates or Representatives to be chosen to represent this Colony in future, shall be chosen by the voices or votes of the electors, and not by the value of their estate.

That every elector for Representatives in this Colony be possessed of a freehold or real estate of the value of twenty pounds lawful money, in such town or place where the election shall be.

That every person so elected shall be worth three hundred pounds lawful money, in real estate in this Colony, the election to be adjudged of by the selectmen and the moderator of the meeting, saving an appeal to the Congress or House of Representatives.

That every town, parish or precinct in this Colony, containing one hundred freeholders as aforesaid, may send one Delegate or Representative to the Congress or General Assembly, and that every such town &c., having a greater number of freeholders, may send a member for every hundred such freeholders.

That precepts be sent to every town, parish or precinct in this Colony, directing them to elect a member and send to the Congress to be holden at Exeter, if such town, parish or precinct contain an hundred such freeholders, and if not, then to couple with one or more other towns or parishes, until they make up that number of such freeholders.

These votes do not appear to have been afterwards acted upon, nor the leading idea of them, which was a property qualification of the electors. Nothing appears to show by whom the resolutions were introduced or supported, nor by whom opposed. The fact of their introduction, their adoption and subsequent abandonment, serves to show that the element of that division into parties which has everywhere existed where the people have any weight, was beginning to discover itself here. One party deeming the government safer in the hands of men who have property at stake depending upon its due administration ; the other distrusting the holders of property, as a class, and believing that the body of the people have more to fear from the selfishness and exclusiveness of the wealthy than the wealthy can ever have reason to fear from the people, though the rich and the poor have an entirely equal voice in the government.

We may form some idea of the men by whom these different views were entertained, from the fact that, on the 9th of November, a large committee was appointed to frame and bring in a plan for the future representation of the Colony. Before they had made any report—on the 13th of November—a vote was passed entirely re-organizing the

committee, omitting several of its members, and substituting others. The committee at first consisted of Mesheck Weare, Wyseman Claggett, Richard Downing, Jonathan Martin, John Dudley, Caleb Page, Timothy Walker Jr., Samuel Ashley, Ebenezer Thompson, Benjamin Giles, Ebenezer Smith, Israel Morey, James Knowles, Abel Webster.

When reorganized, Weare, Downing, Claggett, Martin, Page, Ashley and Webster were omitted, and Matthew Thornton, Samuel Hobart, Nicholas Folsom, Cragin, Prentice and Gilman, were substituted ; Thompson, Whipple, Giles, Walker, Morey, Knowles and Smith remaining as at first.

On the 14th the new committee reported :

That every legal inhabitant, paying taxes, shall be a voter.

That every person elected shall have a real estate in this Colony of the value of £200, lawful money.

That no person be allowed a seat in Congress who shall, by themselves or any person at their desire, treat with liquors &c., any electors, with an apparent view of gaining their votes, or by treating after an election on that account. And they reported a plan for the representation of the Colony, allowing in the whole eighty nine representatives, of which Rockingham had 38 ; Strafford, 13 ; Hillsborough, 17 ; Cheshire, 15 ; Grafton, 6. Among the cares of the Convention had been the actual enumeration of the people, which had been done to a great extent, and it may fairly be presumed that in the distribution of the representatives, the committee had acted equitably, upon the principle adopted by them. All legal inhabitants was a description sufficiently broad. It is very apparent that, if the property qualification had been adopted, the preponderance of the older and more wealthy towns in the Eastern part of the Province would have been much greater.

Precepts were ordered to be issued by the President of the Congress to the towns which were not classed, and to a designated town of each class, to elect persons to represent them in a Congress to be held Dec. 21. The members, when met in Congress, to sit as often and as long as they should judge requisite, and to be empowered to prosecute such measures as they judge expedient for the public good, for one year ; and in case of a recommendation by the Continental Congress to assume government, to resolve themselves into a House of Representatives for one year.

The report of the committee was accepted, and the resolutions they reported were passed, and on the 16th, the Congress adjourned ; their last act being to order the recording on their minutes of the resolution of the General Congress, in relation to the assumption of Government.

Thus closed the labors of what may be designated as the Provincial Congress of the Revolution.

The change of public opinion, commenced long before, had become so general that the public mind decidedly favored an independent government, to continue while the contest should be unsettled with the mother country. The military, and step by step all the civil power of the Colony, had fallen into their hands, and they had laid the foundation for a civil government, to be erected by their successors, on the ruins of the Colonial administration, which had fallen without a struggle or a blow, and many of whose active members were now either actively engaged, like Weare and Thornton, Frost and Wentworth, as leaders of the patriot cause, or they were quietly yielding, like Atkinson and Jaffrey and Waldron and Peter Gilman and Phillips and others, to the force of public opinion, which they had in vain attempted to guide or to control.

Looking over the events of that period, we are struck with the remark, how little of outrage, of personal wrong, of injustice and tyranny, is to be traced, during a period when the passions of men were excited, when the laws had ceased to be heard, and nothing but the force of public opinion was left to restrain the commission of crimes. Instances of outrage may indeed be found; it would be wonderful if it were otherwise. Men whose notions were imprudently disclosed, or whose conduct was unguarded, were mobbed and ill-treated, in some few cases; yet I recollect no instance where life was taken or serious bodily injury inflicted, and very few where buildings or property were destroyed.

The resolutions of this Convention, which placed all questions relating to obnoxious persons exclusively under the control of the Committees of Safety of the towns, who were generally among the most considerate and discreet as well as influential persons, (expressive, as it probably was, of the common feeling and sentiment of the community,) probably tended with great force in favor of the security of those who had the misfortune, from difference of opinion, to be exposed to popular indignation.

On the 21st, of December, the second Provincial Congress met. Their number was much less than that of the last Congress; many towns which had elected one or more delegates, being by the resolution of the last Congress classed with other towns.

Of the members of the last Congress who were actively engaged, we find Cutts, Sherburne and Long, March, Moulton and Weare, Worthen, Bartlett of Nottingham and Wilson, Downing,

Thornton and McClary, Dudley and Walker, D. Gilman, Page, Thompson, Rollings, Knowles, Smith of Meredith, Gerrish, Morey and Giles, and Claggett who had been elected to fill a vacancy.

And of new men, who had or have since rendered themselves distinguished in their circles, were Giddings and Emery of Exeter, Calf and White, Baker and Evans, Mooney and Badger, Nichols and Blanchard, Bellows and Emerson, and Hurd.

But we miss many names of men who had been conspicuous in the former conventions, Whipple, Folsom, and Gilman, the Treasurer, and Poor, Wingate and Bartlett of Kingston, Cilley, Frost and McDuffee, Farrar, Webster and Fletcher, Hale and Hobart, and Sparhawk of Walpole, and others.

On the 28th of December, Matthew Thornton, Mesheck Weare, Ebenezer Thompson, Wyseman Claggett and Benjamin Giles were appointed a committee to draft a form of Constitution, and report as soon as may be. If an opinion may be formed from the proceedings of the preceding session, it was a compromise committee. They made a report on the 5th of January, 1776, which was adopted, with some amendments, and established a temporary form of Government, to continue during the controversy with the mother country, to consist of a Council of twelve, five from Rockingham, two each from Strafford, Hillsborough and Cheshire, and one from Grafton, to be elected by the Convention in the first instance, but afterwards by the people for one year; and an Assembly. All public officers to be appointed, for the current year, by the Council and Assembly, except the clerks of the courts, and afterwards elected by the people.

The Council and Secretary were elected on the 6th. Weare and Bartlett, Whipple, Thornton and Folsom, Wentworth, and Thompson, Claggett and Blanchard, Ashley, Giles, and Hurd, composed the Council, of which Weare was President, and Thompson, Secretary. P. White was chosen Speaker, and Emery, Clerk.

The two branches met in convention, and appointed Judges and Sheriffs, and all the other civil officers to which the people had been accustomed, and prohibited the exercise of any authority, not derived from the Colony. The wheels of government at once began to move, and from that day we may consider the Revolution as accomplished here. The people became their own rulers, and have enjoyed as stable and well settled a government, from that day, as England herself has.

III.—THE CONSTITUTION OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. A DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JUNE 16, 1853.

BY HON. WILLIAM PLUMER.

NOW FIRST PRINTED.*

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the New Hampshire Historical Society:

The subject which I have selected for my discourse, this evening, is the Constitution of New Hampshire; not with a view to a legal discussion of its provisions, but to the history of its original formation, and the changes which it has since undergone. The subject is one not only of liberal inquiry, but of practical importance, as involving the right and justice of every member of the community. It is not, however, a subject for popular declamation; nor one in which fancy or the imagination or the flights of eloquence can well be indulged. If I were possessed of those, I should hardly hope to find place for them on a theme like the present. I take it for granted, then, that you come here, this evening, with no expectation of being amused with idle declamation, or light and airy humors, so little in accordance with the grave objects of our institution; and that even the ladies, whose presence adds so much to the interest of our meeting, whom all young men seek assiduously to please, and whom even some old men would not willingly offend, will listen with patience, at least, if not with pleasure, to details which, but for their importance, might be deemed tedious.

The war of Independence threw upon the Fathers of the Revolution the double task of expelling a foreign foe from their shores, and, at the same time, of creating or adopting for themselves, at home, forms of civil government. How bravely, how perseveringly, how gloriously, the war of the Revolution was pushed forward, through trials and discouragements, all but insurmountable, to its desired termination of acknowledged independence, is known to the wide world of civilized man. But a yet more glorious, because more rare and more difficult task, was that imposed upon them when called upon to tear down an old government and build up a new one in its place. Here was the labor, this the achievement, the crowning glory of the American Revolution, that it established free-

dom on the basis of constitutional rights. Independence, without free institutions, would have been but a doubtful blessing. The Spanish American colonies have, in our day, thrown off the yoke of the mother country, and established their independence; but it is a grave doubt in many reflecting minds, whether, on the whole, they have gained by the change. They are independent; but they are not free. Revolution has succeeded to revolution, and tyrant to tyrant, while the people have remained ignorant and unhappy, divided and oppressed; and all for want of what our fathers so largely displayed, the capacity for self-government, and the steady exercise of that capacity through the *known* forms of an established constitution. In 1848, constitutions sprang up, all over Europe, like mushrooms, in a single night; and perished as soon. France has formed constitutions without number, since ours was first established; each pronounced perfect, at the time of its adoption, and each, in its turn, abrogated and annulled, swept out of sight, as unworthy of further endurance. "Not so in this country. The Constitution of the United States, established in 1789, has undergone no change whatever, in any of its provisions, for the last fifty-nine years. Our State constitutions, untouched by the rude hand of violence, have been changed, when changed at all, slowly and cautiously, in the spirit of conservative wisdom, intent to remove defects and supply deficiencies, but jealous of innovation, and careful to preserve what of good is already possessed and enjoyed.

The era of the Revolution was also the era of written constitutions. All States, even the most despotic, have their constitutions; but they are not such in our sense of the word. The English have a constitution; and for many important purposes, it is not a bad one. It consists of certain acknowledged principles, usages and institutions, long established among them, but taking, in their expression, for the most part, no precise form of written words. An act of Parliament may alter, abrogate, or annul the most sacred of these usages or institutions, and is, for all practical purposes, what it is often called by the lawyers, omnipotent. But with us, there is a law above the law; a written rule of action, adopted, in the first instance, by the people themselves, in their primary assemblies, to be afterwards altered only by their own act, superior to and binding on the ordinary legislative and judicial authorities of the State. This is our American idea of a constitution; and it is among the many good things of which New Hampshire may be proud, that she was the first State in the Union to establish a written constitution. This honor has indeed been claimed for another State. "Virginia," says Mr. Jefferson, "was not only the first of the States, but, I believe I may say, the first of the nations of the earth, which assem-

*Soon after the death of Mr. Plumer, which occurred September eighteenth, 1854, we procured, through the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Stearns of Epping, New Hampshire, the original of this Address, and copied it. Our copy was in the possession of Hon. George W. Nesmith, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, for some considerable time, during which he made some *notes* and *amendments* which we hope to publish in some future number of the Magazine. The production of this interesting and valuable paper cannot fail to send joy to the heart of every gentleman of the legal profession, as well as every student of History, in New Hampshire.

bled its wise men peaceably together, to form a fundamental constitution, to commit it to writing, and place it among its archives, where every one should be free to appeal to its text." A reference to dates shows, at once, the incorrectness of this statement. The first Virginia constitution bears the date of June twelfth, 1776; that of New Hampshire went into operation more than five months earlier, January fifth, 1776. The constitutions of the other States were all formed at a later period, so that New Hampshire has the merit of having first set the example to the other States of a written constitution. The form of this first constitution is not without interest, as exhibiting the rude outline of what became afterwards a much more perfect structure.

The last act of royal authority exercised in New Hampshire was a Proclamation, issued by Governor Wentworth, at the Isles of Shoals, in September, 1775. A Provincial Congress had been convened, at Exeter, in May of that year; and its recommendations, powerless in themselves, were regarded as law, by the sons of liberty in New Hampshire. But though public opinion supplied, for a time, the place of regular government, it was soon felt that some universally acknowledged authority, at all times necessary, was more than ever so in time of war and revolution. The Convention therefore instructed its delegates in Congress "to obtain the advice and direction of the Congress, with respect to a method for administering justice and regulating our civil police." When this application came before Congress, that body "recommended to the Provincial Convention of New Hampshire to call a full and free representation of the people, to establish such a form of government as will best support the happiness of the people, and most effectually secure peace and good order in the Province, during the continuance of the present dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies;" for this, you will observe, was before the Declaration of Independence. John Sullivan, then a delegate in Congress from this State, is supposed, by John Adams, the earliest and most strenuous advocate of Independence in that body, to have first suggested to his constituents this application to Congress for advice. When, in June, 1775, Adams moved, in Congress, a recommendation to the Colonies to set up governments of their own, independent of the royal authority, "Mr. Sullivan was," he says, "fully agreed with me in the necessity of instituting governments; and he seconded me very handsomely in supporting the argument in Congress." The application came from New Hampshire in October; the advice was given in November; and on receiving it here, a Convention was called, which met at Exeter, December twenty-first, 1775, and which finished its labors on the fifth of January, 1776, by adopting what we have already said was the first written

constitution in the United States. In the preamble to that instrument, it was declared that this form of government was "to continue during the present unhappy and unnatural contest with Great Britain; protesting and declaring that we never sought to throw off our dependence upon Great Britain, but felt ourselves happy under her protection, while we could enjoy our constitutional rights and privileges; and that we shall rejoice, if such a reconciliation between us and our parent State can be effected, as will be approved by the Continental Congress, in whose prudence and wisdom we confide." Even this profession of good will towards the parent country did not satisfy all the members. Twelve* of the delegates entered their protest against adopting the new form of government, "because," as they say, "it appears to us too much like setting up an independency of the mother country," and "because the Colonies of New York and Virginia, which are much larger and more opulent, and, we presume, much wiser, have not attempted anything of this kind; nor, as we can learn, ever desired it." It was indeed a new and decisive measure, a step in advance of any yet taken, and sanctioned by the example of no other Colony. But the people of New Hampshire, ever forward in the assertion of their rights, would not be deterred by the hesitancy or delay of others. The men who were the first in America to seize a royal fort and carry off its stores, as Sullivan, Langdon and their associates had done, a year before this, at Portsmouth, were not likely to shrink from any duty, however hazardous, which the exigencies of the times required.

By this constitution, the powers of the government were vested in a House of Representatives and a Council; the latter to consist of twelve members; both branches to be chosen annually; the Representatives by the towns, and the Councilors by the counties, in such manner as the Legislature should order. No act or resolve was to be valid unless passed by both branches of the Legislature; and all grants and money bills were to originate in the House. All civil officers except Clerks of Courts, County Treasurers, and Record-ers of Deeds, were to be appointed, and their terms of office fixed, by the Legislature; as were also all military and militia officers, except that the choice of company officers in the militia was left to the respective companies. As might have been expected, from the novelty of the undertaking, the urgency of the times, and the inexperience of its authors, this first constitution was, in many re-

*There is a comical error in *Force's Archives*, Volume fifth, page seventh, fourth Series. He mistook "North-hill," the name of the Parish which Levi Dearborn represented, and which now constitutes the town of North Hampton, for the name of one of the dissenting members, and thus makes thirteen instead of twelve. The protest was not entered in the Convention, or Congress; but in the House of Representatives, January twelfth, 1776. See *ante*, page 152. W. F. G.

spects, an imperfect form of government. It contained no bill of rights, or definition of powers. It created no Judiciary department; though it took for granted the existence of courts, by leaving to the Judges the appointment of their own clerks. It implied indeed the existence of many powers and agencies which it did not expressly name or create. Without such implication, the government could not have been administered for a single day.

The great defeat, however, of this constitution was its want of a distinct Executive Department. It provided for the appointment of no Governor, or chief executive magistrate, all power being concentrated in the two Houses. While those were in session, they were at once law-makers and executors of the law. On their adjournment, this latter power was conferred on a Committee of Safety, which consisted of the President of the Council and a number of other persons, varying, at different times, from six to sixteen. The power of this committee was, for all practical purposes, unlimited; their commission being not unlike that of the Roman Dictator, to see "that the public sustain no damage,"—*"Ne quid detrimenti Respublica capiat."* They had to contend, at once, with foreign and domestic foes; and their records show that, while they met the one boldly, they looked sharply after the other. Orders to enlist soldiers and supply provisions are intermingled with orders, not less stringent, to watch the disaffected and seize and imprison the tories. One of the latter told us, many years after, that New Hampshire never had a more energetic government, nor, as he was willing to admit, a more honest executive than the Committee of Safety; though they were sometimes, as he thought, a little hasty in their dealings with those who, like himself, felt tender in their consciences towards the King! We have searched in vain for an account, in any contemporary record, of the debates in this Convention. It was less a time for elaborate discussion, than for prompt decision and vigorous execution. Matthew Thornton, Meshech Weare, Ebenezer Thompson, Wæseman Claggett and Benjamin Giles were the committee appointed, December twenty-eighth, 1775, to draught the constitution. They were among the most prominent members of the Convention. Others, who then were there or who afterwards became distinguished in the service of the State, were Thomas Bartlett, John Calfe, John Dudley, Timothy Walker, Joseph Badger and Jonathan Blanchard.

The people were not long in discovering the defects of this first constitution; and a second Convention met, at Concord, June tenth, 1778, for its amendment. John Langdon, William Whipple, John Pickering, Meshech Weare, Matthew Thornton, Josiah Bartlett, Richard Dame, John Dudley, Timothy Walker, Noah Worcester, Timothy Farrar, Ebenezer Thompson, Joseph Badger and Ben-

jamin Bellows were among the most distinguished members of this assembly. Weare was appointed President, and Thompson, Secretary. The Journals of this Convention are not now to be found, and we know little of its proceedings beyond the final results. June fifth, 1779, it ordered the Constitution,* which it had formed, to be sent to the several towns in the State for the action of the people on it. This instrument contained a short Declaration of Rights, and a form of government in some respects superior to the Constitution of 1776, though in others it was less to be commended. The Council was to be chosen, as before, by the counties, in certain defined proportions; and the number of Councillors was to be increased with the increase of population in the several counties. The House of Representatives was to be chosen by the towns; each town having a hundred families to choose one member, and so in proportion for a larger number. The small towns were to be classed for the purpose of choosing members. A property qualification and a religious test appear, for the first time, in this Constitution. It provides that "All the male inhabitants of the State, of lawful age, paying taxes and professing the Protestant religion, shall be deemed legal voters, in choosing Councillors or Representative." To be eligible for the place of Councillor or Representative, a person must have, in addition to the above qualifications, an estate of three hundred pounds, one half, at least, to be real estate. While it thus confined the right of suffrage and of office to Protestants, it provided that the Legislature should "make no law to infringe the right of conscience, or any other of the natural, inalienable rights of man." The right to vote or to be voted for, was not therefore, in their opinion, a natural or inalienable right. This Constitution, like the first, made no provision for a Governor, or chief executive magistrate, and like that, left almost unlimited power in the Legislature. It recognized the existence of courts, but did not establish any Judiciary Department. For these and other reasons, but not probably for its religious intolerance, or its property qualifications, it was rejected by the people.

Still, however, there was a very general desire for the introduction of some better form of government than the temporary and defective one then in force. A third Convention was therefore called; which met at Concord, on the first Wednesday of June, 1781. Its most distinguished members were George Atkinson, John Langdon, John Pickering, Jonathan M. Sewall, John T. Gilman, Joseph

*We are the fortunate possessor of one of the original copies of this Constitution, printed on a single sheet, at Exeter, in 1779, by Zachariah Fowle. It will be found at the close of this Address.
W. F. G.

†It met the second Tuesday of June.

W. F. G.

Cilley, Nathaniel Peabody, John Dudley, Timothy Walker, John Sullivan, Joseph Badger, Ebenezer Webster, Timothy Farrar and Daniel Newcomb. Atkinson was chosen President, and Sewall, Secretary. After a brief session, the Convention adjourned to the second Tuesday of September; and having formed a Constitution, and sent it out to the people, it adjourned to meet again on the fourth Wednesday of January, 1782. The Constitution, now formed, the third in the series, was favorably distinguished from the preceding, by the separation which it established between the three great departments of government, the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judiciary, making each, to a certain extent, independent of the other two, and, at the same time, a check on their proceedings. It was preceded by an ample Bill of Rights; the same, in most of its articles; as the one in our present Constitution. The Legislature was to consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, chosen annually, to meet on the first Wednesday of June. The Senate was to consist of twelve members, chosen in not less than five, nor more than ten districts; the districts to be formed according to the proportion of the public taxes paid in each; property, and not population, being the basis on which the Senate voted. No person could vote for Senators who had not a freehold estate, in his own right, of the value of one hundred pounds, or other estate to the amount. No person was eligible to the Senate who was not of the Protestant religion, and possessed, in his own right, of an estate of the value of four hundred pounds, clear of debt. The House was to consist of fifty members, apportioned according to population among the several counties, and elected by county conventions. The delegates to these conventions were to be chosen by the towns, one for every fifty ratable polls, and the smaller towns to be classed for that purpose. No person could be a delegate unless he were of the Protestant religion and possessed of an estate of two hundred pounds value, clear of debt. The counties were to be divided, according to their ratable polls, into as many districts as they were entitled to Representatives; and these latter were to be chosen by the county conventions, out of their own body, each Representative to be elected for the district in which he resided. The chief executive power was lodged in a Governor, who was to be chosen annually by the legal voters through the State. No person was eligible to the office of Governor, unless he were of the Protestant religion and possessed of an estate of the value of one thousand pounds, clear of debt. Persons entitled to vote for delegates to the county conventions were to be voters in the choice of Governor. When there was no choice by the people, the House was to select two persons from the four highest candidates, and send them to the Senate, which was to choose

one of them for Governor. The Governor had a negative on the Legislature, no law being of force to which he should object, unless passed, after such objection, by three-fourths of the members of both Houses. The appointment of nearly all State officers was to be made by the Governor, with the advice of the Council. No person was eligible to the office of Governor for more than three out of every seven years, "to prevent" says the Constitution, "an undue influence in this State, which the first magistrate thereof may acquire by the long possession of the important powers and trusts of that office; as also to stimulate others to qualify themselves for the service of the public, in the highest stations." One might almost suspect, from this latter clause, that certain worthy aspirants for the chief magistracy, long repressed by the constant re-election of President Weare,* thought themselves, by this time, well nigh "qualified for the service of the public, in the highest stations!" The Council was to consist of five persons, to be chosen annually from the people at large, by joint ballot of the two Houses; the qualification of Conncillors being the same as that of Senators.† At the expiration of every seven years, another Convention was to be called "to correct any violations of the Constitution, as well as to make such alterations therein, as from experience may be found necessary."

It will be seen, even from this imperfect analysis,—imperfect, because I would not tax your patience too severely by going more into detail,—that the Constitution now proposed, contained, for the first time, in this State, a form of government fully developed, and similar, in most of its provisions, to that under which we now live. The most striking difference was that respecting the choice of the House of Representatives, which, though more correct, in principle than the mode since adopted, was complicated in its details, and interferred materially with the established system of town representation. On the subject of religion, the Bill of Rights gave the Legislature power "to authorize, from time to time, towns, parishes, and other bodies corporate, or religious societies, within this State, to make adequate provision, at their own expense, for the support of Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality;" giving to such bodies "the exclusive right of electing their own public teachers;" and providing that "no person of one particular religious sect or denomination shall be compelled to contribute to the support of

*Mesheck Weare was President of New Hampshire from 1776 to 1784. W. F. G.

†NOTE BY THE AUTHOR. There was introduced in this Constitution, what had been omitted in the two former, a separate department of the government under the head of the Judiciary Power. The Judges were to hold their offices during good behavior, subject to removal by the Governor, with the consent of the Council, or the address of both houses of the Legislature. They might also be removed on impeachment, by the House, and tried by the Senate.

the teacher or teachers of another persuasion, sect, or denomination." It will be observed that this Constitution required a religious qualification in the candidate for office, and a property qualification in both the electors and the elected. Property was made the basis of representation in the Senate, and the possession of property necessary for the exercise of the elective franchise in the choice of Governor and of Senators. Partly for these reasons, but more, probably, from the mode in which the House of Representatives was constituted, the present Constitution, like the one before proposed, was rejected by the people.

Not discouraged by this ill success of their labors, the Convention proceeded, on its re-assembling, to make such alterations in the rejected Constitution as might render it acceptable to their constituents; and on the third Tuesday of August, 1782, submitted it again to the popular revision. Among the alterations now proposed, was one providing that every male inhabitant of the State, twenty-one years of age, and paying a poll tax, should have a right to vote for Governor, Senators, Representatives and other State officers. The Senators were to have a freehold estate of two hundred pounds; the Representatives, property to the value of one hundred pounds, half freehold. But the principal alteration made was in the basis of representation in the House. Instead of the former mode, it was now provided that every town, parish, or place entitled to town privileges, having one hundred and fifty ratable polls, should be entitled to elect one member. Four hundred and fifty polls entitled the town to two members, and so in proportion, making three hundred the near increasing ratio for every additional Representative. The freehold qualification for the Governor was reduced from one thousand to five hundred pounds; and the disqualification, as to his being elected not more than three years in seven, was removed. The Constitution, thus amended, was again submitted to the people, and the Convention adjourned to meet again on the last Tuesday of December, 1782. It met at that time, and continued to hold sessions, by successive adjournments, till October thirty-first, 1783, when the Constitution, as finally approved by the people, was declared adopted by the Convention. Among the alterations made, in the last revision, was a return to the title of President, instead of Governor, as the name of the chief executive magistrate. This officer was, at the same time, stripped of much of the power at first conferred on him by the Convention. He was to preside in the Senate, with a right to vote in all cases, and with a casting vote in case of a tie. But his veto was taken from him. This Constitution went into operation on the first Wednesday of June, 1784; the old one having been in force about eight years and a half.

At the expiration of the seven years after which a revision of the Constitution was to be made, another Convention was called. This Convention, the fourth in order of these assemblies, met at Concord, September seventh, 1791. Among its most distinguished members were John Pickering, Edward S. Livermore, Samuel Tenney, Christopher Toppan, William Plumer, Nathaniel Rogers, Joseph Cilley, Abial Foster, Timothy Walker, John Calfe, Nathaniel Peabody, Thomas Cogswell, Joshua Atherton, Jeremiah Smith, Benjamin Pierce, William Page, Daniel Newcomb, Nahum Parker and Samuel Livermore. Livermore was chosen President, and Calfe, Secretary. After a session of ten days, the Convention adjourned to February eighth, 1792, having appointed a committee of ten, two from a county, to report to the adjourned meeting such amendments as it might be expedient to submit to the people for their adoption. The report of this committee was acted on by the Convention, and seventy-two amendments were sent out to the people. Of these, forty-six were adopted, and twenty-six rejected. As some of the amendments adopted were inconsistent with parts of the Constitution retained, it was necessary to submit the matter again to the people for their action on it. On the fifth of September, the Convention again met, and in two days completed its labors; the people having ratified their proceedings by the requisite majority of two thirds of those voting on the amendments proposed. In the Bill of Rights no changes were made; but in other parts of the Constitution many alterations and additions were introduced. It was provided, among other things, that, for the choice of Senators, the Legislature should divide the State into twelve districts, having reference to the proportion of taxes paid in each district; such districts to be made as nearly equal as may be without dividing towns. The title of President was changed for that of Governor; and when there was no choice of this officer by the people, the two Houses were to elect, by joint ballot, one out of the two highest candidates. The Governor's veto might be overruled by two-thirds, instead, as before, of three fourths of the votes of both Houses. The Judges were not to hold their offices after they had attained the age of seventy. The sense of the people was to be taken, at the expiration of every seven years, as to calling a Convention to revise the Constitution. The amendments proposed by such Convention were to become parts of the Constitution when approved by two thirds of the qualified voters, present and voting on the subject.

The Constitution, thus amended, went into operation on the first Wednesday of June, 1793; the old one having been in force just nine years. It proved so satisfactory to the people that, though at every septennial term the question of revision was propounded, it was not till 1850 that another

Convention, the fifth in the series, was called. This Convention met at Concord on the sixth of November of that year, and closed its sessions, after two adjournments, on the seventeenth of April, 1851. Of this Convention, Franklin Pierce was President, and Thomas J. Whipple, Secretary. The sixty years, which had well nigh elapsed between the calling of the last and the meeting of the present Convention, had removed by death all but one* of the members of the former assembly; and even he did not live to see the close of the present Convention. With the generation which formed the Constitution of 1792, had also passed away many of the ideas and the maxims to which it owed its birth; so, at least, we should infer from the proceedings of the new Convention, which altered materially many of the most important provisions of the old Constitution. The sixth article of the Bill of Rights was so amended as to authorize religious societies (instead of towns) to provide for the support of public (omitting the word Protestant) teachers of piety, religion, and morality. The religious test and the property qualification were, in all cases, abolished, as was also the property basis of representation in the Senate. The Courts were authorized to try the facts, as well as the law, in cases where the parties should agree to such mode of trial. Power was given to the Legislature, in all cases, to alter, amend, or repeal any legislative act conferring corporate powers, whenever the public good might require such alteration, amendment, or repeal. All elections in the Legislature were to be *viva voce*; and all elections by the people, by a plurality of votes. The Legislature was not, without a vote of two thirds of the members of both Houses, to involve the State in debt beyond the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, except in case of war or insurrection; and towns were prohibited from lending money, giving the credit of their names to or owning stocks in any corporation. No lotteries were to be authorized or allowed in the State. On the subject of representation in the House, it was provided that towns having one hundred and seventy-five polls should have one member; those having seven hundred and fifty polls, two members; fifteen hundred and fifty polls, three members; twenty-five hundred and fifty polls, four members; and so in proportion, making one thousand ratable polls the mean increasing number for each additional representative after the third. Towns having less than one hundred and seventy-five ratable polls were to be classed, or might be represented in times proportioned to their numbers. The Governor, Lieutenant Governor, a new officer now first created, and the members of both Houses of the

Legislature were to be elected biennially. The Senate was to consist of thirty members, chosen in fifteen districts, composed of equal numbers of ratable polls. The Council was abolished; and the appointments, made by the Governor, were to be with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Secretary of State and the State Treasurer were to be chosen by the people of the State, the County Treasurers and Registers of Deeds by the counties. Under the head of the Judiciary Power, it was provided that there should be chosen, in each town, not less than two nor more than three Trial Justices, who should have exclusive original jurisdiction in all civil cases where the amount in controversy should not exceed fifty dollars; this sum to be enlarged by the Legislature to one hundred dollars, if they see fit, and the jurisdiction confined to cases where the title to real estate is not involved; either party having, in all cases, the right to a trial by jury; such jury to consist of not more than six persons. The Judges of the Superior Court, the Attorney General and Road Commissioner were to be chosen by the people of the State, and to hold their offices for six years; County Judges, Judges of Probate, Registers of Probate, Sheriffs and County Solicitors, by the counties, for four years; and Police Magistrates and Trial Justices, by the towns, for two years. A Superintendent of Public Instruction and a Commissioner of Agriculture were to be chosen by the people of the State, to hold their offices for two years. Future amendments, if proposed by two successive Legislatures and adopted by two thirds of the voters through the State, present and voting on the subject, were to become thereby and thenceforth parts of the Constitution; such amendments not to be proposed oftener than once in six years.

The Constitution, thus altered and amended, was laid before the people for their decision on it. This decision was, on every point, adverse to the proposed amendments, not one of which obtained even a majority of the votes cast, much less the two thirds required for its adoption; so that this thorough revision, as it was called, of the old Constitution, deemed so important by many in the Convention, was totally rejected by the people. The final meeting of the Convention, to receive this unfavorable response, was coincident with the tremendous North East storm which swept over New England in April 1851, known along the coast for its many shipwrecks, and especially for the destruction of the lighthouse in Boston harbor. As the Members came in, wet and shivering from the storm, shorn of their glory and humbled by the disapprobation of their constituents, we, who, as it happened, were of the number, could emerging be reminded of Milton's fallen angels, not but from the pool, at the call of their leader, astonished and abashed at this strange and

*Ex-Governor William Plumer, father of the author of this Address, who died December twenty second, 1850.

most unlooked for result. The proud Whig, the triumphant Democrat, the power-defying Free Soiler,

"All these and more came thronging; but with looks
Downcast and damp;"

damp and dripping from the storm, which roared and thundered round these granite walls; and downcast and dispirited, from this most signal and unexpected unanimity of popular condemnation on their doings. It was amusing indeed, as well as instructive, to compare the confident anticipations, the earnest debates, and the careful precautions of the Convention, in its earlier stages, as if life and death depended on its slightest movements, with this most "lame and impotent conclusion" of its vaunted labors. It was my fortune—good or bad—to belong to this Convention; and surprised more than discouraged at the result, not surprised that parts were rejected, but that the whole was discarded in a mass, I thought it became us, like the Convention of 1781, to revise, once more, the whole of our amendments; and, correcting what was wrong in the first attempt, and retaining much which was good, to appeal to "the sober second thoughts of the people," for the reversal, on some points at least, of their former hasty decision. But the general feeling was all the other way. Discouraged by its previous ill success, the Convention sent out, for a second trial, only three of its former amendments; the first dispensing with the religious test; the second, abolishing the property qualification, and the third, providing a new mode for making future amendments. Even of these, the second only was adopted by the people; so that the only change which, on the maturest consideration, the people of New Hampshire, after an experience of nearly sixty years, saw fit to make in the Constitution, was the abolition of this property qualification for office—a provision which had never been much regarded in practice, and, of late, not at all. That some of the changes proposed by the Convention and rejected by the people, were improvements on the old Constitution, there can be little question; others, of a more doubtful character, were yet not unworthy of a trial; but there were some others, particularly that providing a ratio of representation in the House, so decidedly bad, that one can hardly imagine them tolerable under any circumstances.

The large number of members in the House, compared with the small number in the Senate, three hundred to twelve, was, in the first instance, one of the chief reasons for calling the Convention. The obvious remedy for this acknowledged evil would have been to fix on the proper number of Representatives, and then to divide the State into as many districts as there were members of

the House to be chosen.* This had already been done in the analogous cases of Senators and Councillors; and if adopted in the choice of Representatives, the republican theory of equal numbers having equal right in the choice of rulers and in the enactment of the laws, would have been carried into practical operation, in every department of the government. This however would have deprived the small towns of the disproportionate representation which they then enjoyed. When the basis of representation† was fixed in 1783, there were so few large towns that the system was essentially a representation of numbers, though nominally one of towns. Eight years later, the inequality, though considerable, was still not very glaring. But between that period and 1850, the introduction of manufactures and the mechanic arts, the growth of commerce, and the general increase of wealth had drawn the people more into masses; and, if the House was now to be reduced, it was clear that the number from the small towns must be greatly lessened, or the large places could not have their equal share in the representation. But the small towns, far from intending to surrender any portion of the power which they already possessed, were not unwilling to increase it. Unfortunately, the supposed party interests of the majority in the Convention, concurred with this ambition of the small towns; and the result of the whole was that the basis of representation adopted by the Convention, put it in the power of one third of the qualified voters in the State to elect a majority of the Representatives; leaving the other two thirds in a minority. This was too evidently unjust to receive the sanction of the people. There were concurring causes of disgust‡ with the proceedings of the Convention; but this was so obvious and undeniable, that we cannot wonder at the unpopularity attached, from the moment of its adoption, to the Convention itself, or that the people should have rejected the amendments proposed to them, in a mass, however good some of them might be. This particular amendment, however, was condemned by a stronger vote than any other which was separately submitted to the people. It may therefore safely be inferred, notwithstanding the proceedings of this Convention, that the dem-

*The author interlined this sentence as follows,—“first divide the State into as many senatorial districts as there were senators to be chosen, and then to subdivide those senatorial districts into as many representative districts” [as there were members of the House to be chosen] W. F. G.

†[*Note by the Author.* The basis of representation has been from first to last the most difficult question to be solved. To preserve the town representation, without departing from equality of representation, and to secure a House not unmanageably large, have been the points of most difficult solution in this most important and fundamental problem in the theory of government.]

‡It is the duty of the historian to record facts. Allowance should, perhaps, here be made for the Author's political proclivities, which were strongly opposed to the Democratic majority in the Convention. W. F. G.

ocratic tendencies of the age are towards equality of representation, rather than to any partial system of unequal power in small local corporations.

The Convention of 1850, though thus unsuccessful in its labors, was composed of some of the most distinguished men in the State, numbering among its members one Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, several State Judges, two Ex-Governors, several Senators and Representatives in Congress, and the present President of the United States. I forbear to mention others not less worthy, though less distinguished by high offices, than these. You may have felt some surprise, and perhaps incredulity, when in speaking of former Conventions, I mentioned, as among their distinguished members, men whose very names some of you may never have heard before. And yet it is even so; and so indeed it must always be. Men who think themselves great, and who really are distinguished in their day and generation, pass rapidly from the stage of action, and drop quietly out of sight and out of memory, in the succeeding age. We are apt to think that the great men of our day can never be forgotten; not reflecting that an hundred generations of men, equally distinguished, have already disappeared, leaving only here and there a single name, towering, in solitary grandeur, amidst the ruins of the past. Many brave men, says Horace, lived before Agamemnon; but they are unknown because they had no poet to celebrate their exploits.

*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi: sed omnes illoschrimabiles
Urgeruntur ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.*

Vain was the chiefs', the sage's pride;
They had no poet, and they died.
In vain they schemed, in vain they bled;
They had no poet, and are dead.

In other words, gentlemen, to come down from Latin to English, from poetry to prose, from fiction to fact, there were no historians, no reviewers, in those days. Great men lived, we may well believe, before the date of written history; but their deeds are unrecorded, and their memory has perished from the earth. And this brings us, gentlemen, to reflect on the appropriate object of our institution as an Historical Society, which is to record the deeds of the past, for the benefit of the present and the future. Of the many able men, which New Hampshire as well as other States has produced within the last seventy or eighty years, how little is now distinctly known among us; and how much of that little is passing quickly into oblivion! How much is already lost, which can never be recovered! How little do we really know of the distinguished men who, within that period, have successively administered the State government; how little of their friends and opponents, the leading politicians of the State; of its clergymen, its lawyers, its physicians, its schol-

ars and its men of letters—or, what is hardly less worth knowing, its farmers, its merchants, its mechanics and its manufacturers! In the various departments of thought and action, much has been done among us, which ought not to be forgotten; much remains unrecorded, which should not so perish. We have, as yet, no history of the Law in New Hampshire; none of Medicine; none of the Church; none of our Agriculture, Commerce, or Manufactures. All these are subjects of liberal enquiry, and may well engage the attention of men of leisure and wealth. It is the business, may I not say, the duty, of our Society, to gather up the fragments of our history while they are yet to be found among us, and to preserve with care, if we do not ourselves add to them, the materials for the future historian of New Hampshire.

Of the more prominent members of the Conventions whose proceedings we have thus briefly passed in review, it would be in my power to give you here some account, if I had not already occupied too much of your time to hope for much more of your attention. Only the briefest possible notices of a few of them will now be attempted. I have mentioned John Sullivan* as having probably suggested the calling of the first Convention, though he was not a member of it. He was, about this time, appointed to a high command in the army of the Revolution, and was subsequently Attorney General, President of the State, and District Judge of New Hampshire. The name of Sullivan is distinguished in our annals, as having on us a triple claim to respect. Father, son and grandson have held, in succession, some of the highest offices in the State; and the latter is still among us, to add fresh honors, in his own person, to the name which he so worthily bears. This is an instance of hereditary authority—an aristocracy, if you choose so to call it, to which, republican as we are, we do not object; power, influence, office, transmitted from generation to generation, not by the accident of birth, but by the succession of merit.

Josiah Bartlett, a member of the second Convention, had something of the same felicity, in leaving behind him sons who inherited some por-

*John Sullivan was born in Somersworth, New Hampshire, February eighteenth, 1740; read Law with Hon. Isaac Liver more of Portsmouth; was Attorney General from 1782 to 1786; died at his home in Durham, New Hampshire, January twenty-third, 1795. His Military Services and Public Life have been written by Hon. Thomas C. Amor of Boston, and published by Joel Munsell, Esq. of Albany, New York.

George, son of John, was born in Durham, New Hampshire, in 1772; graduated at Harvard College in 1790; commenced the practice of Law in Exeter, New Hampshire; was a member of the General Court in 1805 and 1818; Representative in Congress in 1811, and 1812; State Senator in 1814 and 1815; Attorney General from 1805 to 1806, and again from 1815 to 1835, when he resigned. He died at Exeter, June fourteenth, 1838.

John, son of George, was born in Exeter; educated at "Phillips' Exeter Academy;" read Law with his father; was Solicitor for Rockingham County from 1828 to 1838; Judge of Probate for the same county from 1838 to 1843; Attorney General from 1843 till he died, November seventeenth, 1862, aged sixty-two years. W. F. G.

tion, at least, of their father's favor with the public. He was himself a delegate to the Continental Congress, Chief Justice of the Superior Court, and President of the State. The sons, Levi, Josiah, and Ezra, were all men of note, and held places of honor in the public service. A son of the latter lately atoned a reputable life, by an untimely and lamentable death.

Among the members of more than one of these conventions, another name, which, for three generations, has been conspicuous in the history of New Hampshire, is that of Atherton. Joshua Atherton, though opposed to the Revolution, so far outlived the unpopularity* of his early course as to hold, besides his seat in two conventions, the office, for many years, of Attorney General of the State. His son, Charles G. Atherton, besides his services in the State Legislature and in the Convention of 1850, had been a member of both Houses of Thirty-fourth Congress, and is now again in the Senate of the United States.†

The Livermores are another instance of a succession of able men in the same family. Samuel, Arthur and Edward were all distinguished in the public service. Samuel was eight years Chief Justice, and twice elected to the Senate of the United States. Edward was a Judge of the Superior

Court and member of Congress. Arthur long occupied his father's place on the Bench; and was also, several years, a member of Congress. He still remains among us, a worthy sample of the able men bred in the turmoil of the Revolutionary period, retaining, in his old age, much of the vivacity of his earlier days, and full of interesting reminiscences of the past.

Benjamin Pierce, who was a member of the Convention of 1791, had been an officer in the Army of the Revolution, and was afterwards Governor of the State. He sent two sons to the Convention of 1850; and has since given to the Union a President of the United States. It would be easy to mention other members of these Conventions, who have bequeathed worthy sons to the public service. But these may suffice to show that, however democratic in our principles, we have no jealousy of hereditary power, provided it be won by hereditary worth.

In the Convention of 1776, there was no one whose presence inspired more confidence and respect than that of Mosheeh Weare. Though not a young man when the Revolution began, neither the usual timidity of age, nor the offices which he held under the royal government, prevented his taking early a decided part with his countrymen in the arduous and, as it then seemed, doubtful struggle. He was, during the whole war, President of the Council, President of the Committee of Safety and Chief Justice of the State; a combination, in his own person, of Legislative, Executive and Judicial offices, which, to say that he did not abuse them, either for his own emolument or to the injury of others, is to pronounce on him an eulogium which few, in the same situation, would have deserved. It is a pleasing proof that the services of the Revolutionary Fathers are not forgotten by their descendants, that the Legislature in 1852 ordered the erection, at the public expense, of a monument over the remains of this first President and Chief Justice of the State.

Matthew Thornton, another member of the first Convention, has secured for himself a memorial more lasting than granite, *monumentum ere perennius*, by inscribing his name among the immortals on the roll of the Declaration of Independence. He was afterwards one of the Judges of the Superior Court; and I may relate, in this connexion, an anecdote, which I have never seen in print, though there is no doubt of its truth. John Pickering, afterwards Chief Justice, was counsel in a case before the Superior Court; when, in the midst of an earnest argument, he perceived that Judge Thornton, instead of listening to him, was engaged reading a book which he held in his hand, and on which also he seemed intent; while another of the Judges, with his head reclined on his shoulder and his eyes closed, was giving evidence, quite audible, through the nose, of his happy ob-

*Hon. Joshua Atherton was a son of Peter, of Harvard, Mass., born April twelfth, 1705; who was a son of Joshua, of Lancaster, Mass., born May thirteenth, 1656; who was a son of James, of Dorchester, Mass. Joshua graduated at Harvard College in 1762; and settled in Amherst, New Hampshire, previous to the Revolution. We have searched in vain after his so-called "unpopularity." His political enemies were determined to make him "unpopular." A writ was issued, in 1777, for his arrest, but it appears he was not arrested. The name of John Holland was inserted in the same writ, and also the names of Benjamin Whiting, Leonard Whiting, Richard Cuts Shannon, Samuel Cummings and William Cummings of Hollis, Shannon, Leonard Whiting and William Cummings were arrested. Stephen Holland of Londonderry and Elisha Woodbury were arrested. It was a time when "heresy in political opinion generated popular excesses." Stephen Holland declared publicly, in 1778, that "he was ready to assist his countrymen in the glorious course of liberty, at the risk of his life and fortune;" yet he was proscribed and banished, and his estate confiscated, in 1778. John Holland was also proscribed and banished. Joshua Atherton was a highly educated and refined gentleman who always paid particular attention to his own business, at his home in Amherst. He gave his political enemies too much rope. At the close of the war he appears to have been the most popular man in that town. In 1787, he was elected a delegate to the Convention in New Hampshire which ratified the Federal Constitution. He strove hard to defeat its ratification, unless certain amendments were adopted. He voted against its adoption; the town instructed him so to do. Ebenezer Webster, the father of the great Statesman, was a delegate to that Convention from Salisbury. He did not vote on the final question. George Ticknor Curtis, in his Life of Webster, says he did vote to ratify, but Mr. Curtis is mistaken. If Mr. Curtis will come up here, with his friend Judge Nesmith, and breakfast with me, some laughing June morning, I will endeavor to show to them that there is reason to believe that Daniel Webster's father was opposed to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Mr. Atherton was also a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1791-1792; a member of the General Court in 1792; State Senator in 1793, and Attorney General of the State from 1793 to 1801. He died April third, 1809.

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†The sentence is interlined as follows,—“was in the Senate at the time of his decease.” He died in Manchester, New Hampshire, November fifteenth, 1853.

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livion of the cares and vexations of Court. Not unreasonably provoked at this indifference of the Court to his eloquence, the impassioned advocate turned his back short upon the bench, and said, with strong emphasis, "Gentlemen of the Jury—my unfortunate client has no hope but in your attention, since the Court, in their wisdom, will not condescend to hear him." This sentence, followed by a dead pause in his speech, brought Court and bar and spectators all to a sudden stand. The jury were wide awake; the sleeping Judge, starting suddenly up, rubbed his eyes, and, looking wistfully round for the cause of this unwonted interruption to his slumbers, resumed his seat as suddenly as he had left it, quite abashed at the awkward exhibition which he had made of himself, and but little wiser than when he rose. Thornton, alone tranquil and unmoved amidst the general excitement, said very innocently, just raising his eyes from the book: "When you have anything to offer, Mr. Pickering, which is pertinent to the case on trial, the Court will be happy to hear you. In the meantime, I may as well resume my reading." Will it be regarded as an apology for this indecorum, or as an aggravation of the offence, that the book which the Judge was so intently reading, was the seductive novel of Tom Jones; and that lost to all around him, he was laughing heartily to himself at the coarse humors of Squire Western, while Pickering was growing pathetic over the sufferings of his client? As to his worthy associate, let us not, on a day like this, judge him harshly. He was fat and heavy; and the sweat was pouring copiously down his ample cheeks as he sat nodding in the fever heat of a July sun, screaming in through the window at his back, in that day of primitive simplicity, without a blind or a curtain.

John Pickering was a member of the Conventions of 1779 and 1781, in both of which he took a prominent part.* Of the latter there is reason to think that he was the most active and influential member. This I infer, among other reasons, from a letter of Judge Smith to my father, in which he says of Pickering that the Constitution of 1783 was "a favorite child of his own begetting." He was equally conspicuous in the Convention which, in 1788, ratified the Constitution of the United States. He was appointed, in 1790, Chief Justice of the Superior Court, and probably brought to that bench more law-learning than any Judge who had sat there before him. His end however was unfortunate. He was made District Judge of New Hampshire by Washington, in

1795. But the hypochondria which, at an earlier period, had sometimes rendered him unfit for business, was, at length, aggravated into madness. He was impeached before the Senate of the United States, and removed from office in 1804, on the charge of high crimes and misdemeanors; not without the strenuous opposition of those who could not see in insanity a crime, nor in mental alienation a high misdemeanor.

Another member of the Convention of 1779, was John Langdon. He and John Taylor Gilman, who were together in the succeeding Convention, were, for many years, at the head of the two great political parties in this State. Without the advantages of a polish education, men of strong sense rather than of genius, they both possessed, in an eminent degree, the qualities which inspire confidence and secure the long-continued possession of the public favor. Gilman was Governor of the State for fourteen years. With no great brilliancy of mind or much general information, he had a ready apprehension, a sound judgment, great firmness of purpose, and steadiness of pursuit in what he regarded as the public good. He too was one of three, the Chief among the mighty, of the Gilmans; his brothers, Nathaniel, who was for many years Treasurer, and Nicholas, who was a member of the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States, and twice Senator in Congress. The Exeter influence, which was substantially the Gilman influence, long governed the State.

John Langdon was two years President, six years Governor, and twelve years Senator in Congress. He had a native grace and amenity of manners, a dignified yet affable deportment, which gave him great influence, where he was personally known. "Governor Langdon," said Daniel Webster to us, just before his death, "was, for a man 'who had originally no advantages of education, 'the most perfect gentleman I ever saw.' His dignity of demeanor had in it no haughtiness of manner; his condescension no coarseness of feeling. Polite and courteous to all, he never lost in familiarity the respect of his associates, nor wounded their self-esteem by any assumption of superiority. Woodbury Langdon, who was thought by many an abler man than the Governor, used to say of him: 'My brother John takes off his hat to every 'negro in the street; and he would pat a dog on 'the head, rather than throw stones at him, when 'he barks.' Woodbury Langdon, on the contrary, was rather apt to throw stones, which hit now and then rather hard, and sometimes brought back others as hard on him. To me, Governor Langdon said, in his old age: 'Use gentle words, Mr. Plumer, in 'your intercourse with man. They cost nothing, 'and they go a great way.' This was, in fact, the secret of much of his success in life; kindness of manner, combined with firmness of purpose.

*Interlined, "see the note about Pickering," which is as follows. "August fifth, 1833, W. P. to John Farmer. It was 'reported near the time, that the Address to the people which accompanied the proposed Constitution of 1781, was written by 'Jonathan M. Sewell and John Pickering, and that John Sullivan 'and John Pickering wrote that of 1782. A considerable portion 'of the latter is a liberal copy of the former, but some paragraphs 'are omitted and others added. Letters 8.374."

A very different man, yet not inferior in native powers of mind, was John Dudley, a member of the Conventions of 1776 and 1779, and for thirteen years a Judge of the Superior Court. I would tell, if there was time for it, some curious anecdotes of this illiterate, but strong minded and upright Judge. "Gentlemen of the jury," he would say, "you and I know but little law, that is, law-yers' law; but we do know what is right, and we can do no justice between man and man. If there is anything more, in the present case, let the law-yers look to it. We need not trouble our heads with their nice distinctions." I need hardly add that, law or no law, he very generally carried the jury with him.

Timothy Farrar was another member of the Convention of 1779, who, though like Dudley not bred to the bar, filled successively, for many years, a seat on both benches, with credit to himself and benefit to the public.

Mitchell Sewell, the Secretary of the Convention of 1781, was a lawyer, an orator and a poet; a wit, a man of letters, and a politician. He wrote epigrams, acrostics, and elegies on others; but he has found no one, alas! to celebrate, in verse or in prose, his own virtues and attainments. His small volume of poems is among the rarities, if not the curiosities of New Hampshire literature.

Pickering, Peabody and Atherton were men of mature age and high official standing, in the Convention of 1791, and not without their full share of influence in that body. But there were two younger men in that assembly, William Plumer and Jeremiah Smith, of whom I have not now time to speak, but who ought not wholly to be omitted in a review of this kind. Lawyers by profession, hard workers and willing to work, ready alike with the tongue and the pen, they brought their zeal, their industry and their abilities, on this occasion, conspicuously into action. Smith, who was, at that time, a member of Congress, did not attend the winter sessions of the Convention. Plumer continued through the whole, and shared largely in its labors. It would become others, better than me, to say whether he did not do more than any other member of that Convention to give form and direction to its most important proceedings. On another occasion, and in a different form, I hope to do justice to his services in that body, as well as to other portions of his public life. It is sufficient here not to have omitted his name in this list of our worthies. I have said that the noted men of our generation are often forgotten in the next. This, to the sons of ambition, is no very comfortable reflections. Let them, however, find consolation in the thought that the good they may do is not lost to the community. When able and patriotic men have labored to the extent of their abilities, in the public service, the good done by them remains when they themselves have departed; and

we, their successors, are the wiser and the better for their labors, even though we may have lost, in the lapse of time, the very names of our early benefactors. The consciousness of having rendered such service is the highest possible reward which any public man can possess; and the reputation, great or small, which, in so doing, he may acquire, is altogether subordinate and secondary to that higher and nobler reward of a conscience void of offence towards God and man, in the upright and assiduous discharge of high public duties.

Our study of the Constitution of New Hampshire would be incomplete, if we did not draw from it some of the lessons which it teaches as to the changes of opinion on questions of government which have occurred in New Hampshire within the last seventy or eighty years, as shown in the proceeding of these conventions. And first, as to religion. There was no provision, either in the Constitution of 1776 or in that of 1779, in relation to the support of religious teachers. In that of 1783, the provision adopted was the same as that contained in the present Constitution. There was no religious test in the Constitution of 1776. In that of 1779, all but Protestants were excluded from seats in the Legislature, and even from voting for members of either House. This was modified in the Constitution of 1783, so as to confine the exclusion to certain office-holders,* leaving the right

*[*Note by the Author.* The Convention of 1791 proposed its abolition, and a majority but not two thirds of the popular vote was in favor of the amendment. The Convention of 1850 twice proposed to strike it out; but the people, on both occasions, voted to retain it.]

The careful student of the history of the Constitution for the State of New Hampshire will observe that when the paragraphs under the head of Senate were taken up for consideration, by the Convention of 1791-92, the six first were acted on separately, and when the seventh was taken up, the *whole* of the paragraphs, under that head, were referred to a committee; so that this question did not, at that time, come before the Convention; but when the paragraphs under the head of "House of Representatives," were taken up, motion was made to strike out the words "shall be of the Protestant Religion," and the vote was thirty-three yeas and fifty-one nays. There were one hundred and nine members elected to the Convention, and all attended the first session except John Pickering of Portsmouth. It will be seen, therefore, that the negative vote was *not* a majority of the Convention. When the committee reported the amendments, the "Religious Test" was neither inserted in the *fifteenth*, relating to the qualifications of a Senator, nor in the *twenty-fifth*, relating to the qualifications of a member of the House of Representatives, both of which amendments were accepted by the Convention, but rejected by the people. The vote on the former was two thousand three hundred for and one thousand five hundred against it; on the latter, two thousand four hundred and six for and one thousand two hundred and fifty-five against it.

At the *second* session of the Convention of 1791-92, the "Religious Test" was incorporated in the amendments reported by the committee. These amendments were accepted by the people, by a vote of two thousand one hundred and twenty-two for and nine hundred and seventy-eight against them.

The result of the effort to abolish it by the Convention of 1850, was thirteen thousand eight hundred and thirty six yeas, and twenty-five thousand six hundred and seventy-five nays; at the second trial, nine thousand five hundred and sixty-nine yeas, and twelve thousand and ninety-two nays; and we regret to say, that the "Religious test" still disgraces the Constitution of the State of New Hampshire.

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to vote without any religious qualification; and this is the provision in the Constitution as it now stands. It is worthy of remark that this exclusion of Catholics was of very little practical importance at the time when it was first proposed. In 1779, there were not, probably, twenty persons in the State who would have been affected by it. If it be asked, then, how it happened that this religious test, which has since become an object of so much enquiry and remark, came first to be adopted, we can only say, in the absence of any precise or positive information, that it was no doubt owing, in part at least, to the old Puritanical dread of Popery. Our fathers looked, as indeed many of their descendants still do, upon the Pope of Rome as anti-Christ, and his priests as the ministers of Satan; men alike to be feared and abhorred. For a Catholic to burn incense on the altars of New England, seemed a profanation and a sacrilege in the land of the Pilgrims.* When after the conquest of Canada, the British government gave some privileges and immunities to their Catholic subjects in that Province, this act of justice, (it would hardly be called liberality,) excited great complaint in the Colonies, as if the Protestant religion were in danger from this toleration of the Catholics.† There was another event, however, which, occurring about a year before this provision in the Constitution of 1779, may have been the more immediate occasion of its introduction, and that was the treaty of alliance with France. This treaty, regarded with doubt and

apprehension by many true patriots as bringing us in too close contact with that power, was represented, by the Tories, as a virtual transfer of our allegiance from the British to the French crown. Our liberties, they said, are to be sacrificed to the despotic power of our ancient enemy, and our religion to the wiles of Romish priests and the ridicule of French philosophers. Catholics, on the one hand, and the disciples of Voltaire, on the other, infidel and Jesuit, a host more to be dreaded than an army with banners, will invade the land, and the religion of the fathers will fall before the acts and the arms of this unbelieving and misbelieving band. It was to quiet these honest fears, and to silence this unreasonable clamor, that the clause requiring all voters to be Protestants, afterwards altered so as to confine it to certain office holders merely, was probably first introduced. It was broad enough, in its terms, to exclude infidels, as well as Catholics; though it has generally been considered as applicable to the latter only. It is not known that it has ever been applied to exclude any person elected to office in this State; but it is known that persons have held office in this State, to whom, in the full latitude of its expression, it might have been applied. It was therefore, from the first, and is, little more than a dead letter in the Constitution of the State.

Though the article respecting the support of religious teachers, remains the same as it was in the Constitution of 1783, the practice under it has greatly changed. At that time, the minister tax, as it was called, was, in most if not in all our towns, raised, like the school tax, by a general assessment on all the inhabitants. In other words, it was taken for granted that every man belonged to the Congregational society of the place where he lived; and he was taxed, by the selectmen, for the support of its pastor, unless he proved that he belonged to some other persuasion, sect or denomination. The number of such sects was then small compared with the present. The Quakers were a known and acknowledged sect. There were Baptists in many parts of the State, and some Universalists; but the Methodists had as yet no societies in New Hampshire, and many subdivisions of the larger denominations were then unknown among us. But as the people became more divided in their religious opinions, difficulties on this subject occurred, in many of the towns; suits were instituted in the courts of law; and much controversy and no little ill will were engendered, till what is called the Toleration Act of 1819 removed the grounds of complaint by providing for the organization of religious societies, with power to assess their own members only, and authorizing all persons to withdraw from such societies, on giving notice of their intention and paying the assessments due on them at the time of such notice. From this period, religious teachers have depended for their support, in

*Oh yes! but it was *not* "a profanation and a sacrilege" to hang nineteen innocent persons, and *crush one to death*, accused of the crime of Witchcraft; it was *not* "a profanation and a sacrilege" for Cotton Mather, at the execution of the Rev. Mr. Burroughs, one of the victims, to mount his horse and harangue the multitude, persuading them that no harm had been done! While we think of Mr. Burroughs, on that awful occasion, standing on the ladder, repeating the Lord's Prayer, the multitude weeping at his feet, and the Angels of Heaven hovering over him, let us turn our thoughts, using the poet's licence, to the scene which may be supposed to have unfolded itself when the last breath left the body of that insensate wretch—Mather:

"The Gods of hell the awful signal heard,
"And, thronging round the lofty gates, appear'd
"In various shapes, tremendous to the view!
"What terror from their threatening eyes they threw!
"Some cloven feet with human faces wear,
"And curling snakes compose their dreadful hair;
"And from behind is seen, in circles cast,
"A serpent's tail volubinous and vast!
"A thousand Harpies foul and Centaurs here,
"And Gorgous pale, and Sphinxes dire, appear;
"Unnumber'd Scyllas barking rend the air;
"Unnumber'd Pythons hiss, and Hydraz glare!
"Chimeras here are found ejecting flame;
"Huge Polypheme, and Geryon's triple frame;
"And many more of mingled kind were seen,
"All monstrous forms, unknown to mortal men;"

W. F. G.

†[*Note by the Author.* The Canada bill excited great fears among the Puritans of New England. Lieutenant Spaulding of Dummerston, Vermont, having, on some occasion, called the King of England "the Pope of Canada," was arrested on a charge of treason and imprisoned, October twenty eighth, 1771, at Westminster, but was rescued by a band of patriots, who opened the jail and carried him off in triumph.]

this State, on the voluntary contribution of their hearers, as the tax, even when it assumes that form, owes its validity entirely to the consent of the party paying it.

In other parts of the Constitution, proofs of the change of public opinion are not less observable. The Constitution of 1776 provided for no Chief Executive magistrate: that of 1779 was, in this respect, equally defective; that of 1783 provided for a President of the State, indeed, but gave him little independent power. It was not till 1792 that the Executive was really made a co-ordinate branch of the government. The Constitution of 1850 would, if adopted, have deprived him of much of his patronage, but still left him the independence of his veto power. There had been from the beginning a great jealousy of the Executive. Under the Colonial system, the Governor, appointed by the King, was armed with such extensive prerogatives as justly to excite the apprehensions of the people; and they could not readily be brought to confer, even on a man of their own choice, either the name or the authority of this high magistrate. The veto power, which from its apparently anti-republican character, was, at first, denied, and, in the end, with difficulty granted, seems, on the whole, to have established itself firmly in the public favor, from a feeling, no doubt, that, though the expression of the public will through the two Houses may, in general, be safely trusted there, it is not unwise to have somewhere else, in reserve, a power, not to be often used, but capable, on occasion, of crushing, for a time, the hasty or irregular movement of the popular will.

With respect to the appointments to offices of trust and emolument, the Constitution of 1776 left them very generally with the Legislature; that of 1783 gave them partly to the people, but more to the President and Council; that of 1791 made but little change in this respect; while that of 1850 referred them almost wholly to the popular election. Again, with respect to property qualifications, the earlier constitutions required, in certain cases, such qualification in the voters, and a higher one in the candidates for office. The amount of property thus required was reduced in the successive constitutions, and in that of 1850 no such qualification was required. The Senate too, in the last constitution, was placed on the basis of numbers: and not, as before, on that of property. We see, in all these amendments, the gradual advance of the democratic principle of the government of the people—of the whole people and nothing but the people; not birth, nor landed estate, nor local associations, but men, numbers, population alone.

The doctrine of the Constitution is that "all government of right originates from the people," who are the first source and final depository of all legitimate power in the State. Yet the people act only through certain known forms and established

agencies. They can make laws only through their representatives. Those representatives can pass such laws only as are consistent with the Constitution; because there is another power, the Judiciary, which, if they transcend their rightful authority, pronounces their acts void. Yet the power of the people rises ultimately above all these limitations. If the Judges are obnoxious, they can be removed, on impeachment, or by address of the two Houses to the Governor. If the Governor or the two Houses do not give effect to the public will, new ones may be chosen in their places. If the Constitution itself is found inadequate to the purposes of its institution, it can be altered, amended or annulled; so that the people, after all, are the true sovereigns, yet not so sovereign but that they are habitually limited in the exercise of their power, by restraints, self-imposed indeed, but such as cannot, at once, even by them, be removed. It is this combination of liberty and restraint, of unlimited power with a limited use of that power, which constitutes at once the happiness and the safety of our free yet regulated system of government. To it we are largely indebted for the order, the safety and the general prosperity of our people.

With a cold climate and a barren soil, the people of New Hampshire enjoy as large a share of the choicest blessings of Heaven as falls to the lot of the mass of men in any country whatever may be the sun over their heads or the soil under their feet. That much of this felicity is due, under the good Providence of God, to the wise form of our government, cannot be doubted. Nor is less due to the general moderation and sobriety of our character as a people. While we are as thoroughly democratic, in our habits and opinions and in our general train of thought and action, as the people of any State in the Union, the conservative element of our character is not less strongly developed. For nearly sixty years the people of New Hampshire declined, though regularly invited thereto every seventh year, even to call a Convention to revise their Constitution; and when at length one was convened, and the proposed amendments laid before them, they refused, with an unanimity which surprised all parties, to change the fundamental law under which they had so long and so happily lived; choosing rather to retain the good which they possessed than to attempt the better, which was offered indeed, but which might fail them in the trial. If to some of us their course, in this respect, seemed over-cautious, yet all will agree that it was neither rash nor presumptuous. It showed that no blind impulse of passion, no love of change for the sake of change, had seized on the public mind, and that here, at least, men may be free without being fickle; strong in the consciousness of power, and yet cautious in its use. This stability of temper, this indisposition

to change, speaks well, in an age of change and revolution, for the permanence of our free institutions.

If the Convention of 1850 has produced no other beneficial effect, it is some compensation, at least, for its labors, that it has satisfied all reasonable men that the old Constitution cannot, on the whole, be a bad one. since this grave assembly of the wise men of the State could produce nothing, in its place, which the people were willing to accept is an improvement. If, at the close of the present septennial term, another Convention should be called, we may, without offence, wish for them, if not more wisdom, at least more success, in their undertakings. If, on the contrary, it should be postponed for another sixty years, our grandchildren will then have little reason to complain of the Constitution transmitted to them by the patriots of the Revolution; and they will perhaps be ready to repeat, after us, the prayer that nothing worse or more defective may, at any future day, take its place. *Esto perpetua* was the prayer of the patriotic monk, Fra Paolo,* for his native Venice. Vain, in that case, was the aspiration of the patriotic heart. The Republic of Venice is blotted from the map of Europe:

"The spouseless Adriatic mourns her lord,
And annual marriage, now no more renewed."

Yet in the face of these mutations of time, of time, the avenger, the destroyer, the renovator, we will pray, and we trust not in vain, that the union between New Hampshire and her present happy form of republican government may be perpetual; that, not bigoted in error, she may change where change would be beneficial; yet, steadfast in truth, retain firmly the good which she has tried and not found wanting; that the intelligence, the enterprise and the public spirit of her hardy sons may never fail, in this original seat of her power; and that she may continue to send forth, as she has already sent, samples, neither few nor doubtful, of her talents and her virtues, men who, while they distinguish themselves, may reflect credit on the State of their nativity in every region of our wide extended country; and that she may add to these, statesmen and rulers worthy of herself, and filling fitly the high places of trust and authority in the seats of central power of this great and growing Republic. More than this we can hardly expect even of New Hampshire; less for our beloved, native State, we would not willingly ask.

*Paul of Venice, whose real name was Pietro Sarpi, born August fourteenth, 1552, author of the History of the Council of Trent, published in London in 1619. He died January fourteenth, 1622.

W. F. G.

IV. — CONSTITUTION FOR NEW HAMPSHIRE PROPOSED BY THE CONVENTION OF 1779.

A DECLARATION

of RIGHTS, and PLAN of Government for the State of *New-Hampshire*.

WHEREAS by the tyranical Administration of the Government of the King and Parliament of Great-Britain, this State of New Hampshire, with the other United-States of AMERICA, have been necessitated to reject the British Government, and declare themselves INDEPENDENT STATES; all which is more largely set forth by the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, in their Resolution or Declaration of the fourth of July, A. D 1776.

AND WHEREAS, it is recommended by the said CONTINENTAL CONGRESS to each and every of the said United-States to establish a FORM of GOVERNMENT most conducive to the Welfare thereof. We the DELEGATES of the said State of NEW-HAMPSHIRE chosen for the Purpose of forming a permanent PLAN of GOVERNMENT subject to the Revisal of our CONSTITUENTS, have composed the following DECLARATION of RIGHTS, and PLAN of GOVERNMENT; and recommend the same to our CONSTITUENTS for their Approbation.

A DECLARATION of the RIGHTS of the PEOPLE of the STATE of NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

First, WE declare, that we the People of the State of New-Hampshire, are Free and Independent of the Crown of Great-Britain.

Secondly, We the People of this State, are entitled to Life, Liberty, and Property; and all other Immunities and Privileges which we heretofore enjoyed.

Thirdly, The Common and Statute Laws of England, adopted and used here, and the Laws of the State (not inconsistent with said Declaration of INDEPENDENCE) now are, and shall be in force here, for the Welfare and good Government of the State, unless the same shall be repealed or altered by the future Legislature thereof.

Fourthly, The whole and intire Power of Government of this State, is vested in, and must be derived from the People thereof, and from no other source whatsoever.

Fifthly, The future Legislature of this State, shall make no Laws to infringe the Rights of Conscience, or any other of the natural, unalienable Rights of Man, or contrary to the Laws of GOD, or against the Protestant Religion.

Sixthly, The Extent of Territory of this State, is, and shall be the same which was under the Government of the Governor *John Wentworth*, Esq; Governor of New-Hampshire. Reserving nevertheless, our Claim to the *New Hampshire Grants*, so called, situate to the West of Connecticut River.

Seventhly, The Right of Trial by Jury in all Cases as heretofore used in this State, shall be preserved inviolate forever.

A PLAN of GOVERNMENT for the STATE of New-Hampshire.

First, The State of *New-Hampshire* shall be governed by a COUNCIL and House of REPRESENTATIVES, to be chosen as hereinafter mentioned and to be stiled the GENERAL COURT of the State of *New Hampshire*.

Second, The COUNCIL shall consist for the present of twelve Members to be elected out of the several Counties in the State, in Proportion to their respective Number of Inhabitants.

Third, The Numbers belonging to each County for the present, according to said Proportion being as followeth, viz.—To the County of Rockingham, five—to the County of Strafford, two—to the County of Hillsborough, two—to the County of Cheshire, two—to the County of Grafton, one.

Fourth, The number for the County of Rockingham, shall not be increased or diminished hereafter, but remain the same; and the Numbers for the other Counties shall be increased or diminished as their aforesaid Proportion to the County of Rockingham may chance to vary.

Fifth, The House of REPRESENTATIVES shall be chosen as follows. Every Town or Parish, choosing Town Officers, amounting to one hundred Families, and upwards, shall send one Representative to each hundred Families they consist of, (or such lesser Number as they please) or class themselves with some other Towns or Parishes that will join in sending a Representative.

Sixth, All other Towns and Parishes under the number of one hundred Families, shall have Liberty to class themselves together to make the number of one hundred Families or upwards, and being so classed, each class shall send one Representative.

Seventh, The number of COUNCILLORS belonging to such County shall be ascertained and done by the General Court every Time there is a new Proportion made of the State Tax which shall be once in seven Years at the least, and oftener if need be.

Eighth, All the Male Inhabitants of the State of lawful Age, paying Taxes, and professing the Protestant Religion, shall be deemed legal voters in choosing COUNCILLORS and Representatives, and having an Estate of *Three Hundred Pounds* equal to Silver at six Shillings and eight Pence per Ounce, one half at least whereof to be real Estate, and lying within this State, with the Qualifications aforesaid, shall be capable of being elected.

Ninth, The Selectmen of each respective Town and Parish, choosing Town Officers containing one hundred Families or upwards, and also of each respective Class of Towns classed together as

aforesaid, shall notify the legal Voters of their respective Towns, Parishes or Classes, qualified as aforesaid, in the usual Way of notifying Town-Meetings, giving fifteen Days notice at least, to meet at some convenient Place on the last Wednesday of November annually, to choose COUNCILLORS and REPRESENTATIVES.

Tenth, And the Voters being met, and the Moderator chosen, shall proceed to choose their Representative or Representatives, required by this Constitution by a Majority of the Voters present, who shall be notified accordingly, and a Return thereof made into the Secretary's Office, by the first Wednesday of January then next.

Eleventh, And such Representative shall be paid their Wages by their Constituents, and for their Travel by the State.

Twelfth, And in the Choice of COUNCILLORS each Voter shall deliver his Vote to the Moderator for the number of COUNCILLORS respectively required, with the Word COUNCILLORS written thereon, & the Voters Name endorsed to prevent Duplicity.

Thirteenth, These Votes shall be sealed up by the Moderator, and transmitted by the Constable to one of the Justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the County, before the second Wednesday in December next following.

Fourteenth, And the said Justices of the Inferior Court shall meet together on the said second Wednesday of December annually, to count the Votes, and the Persons that have most Votes to the Number of COUNCILLORS required, shall be declared duly elected, and shall be notified by the said Justices accordingly, and a Return thereof shall be made by them into the Secretary's Office by the first Wednesday in January annually.

Fifteenth, And in Case any two Persons shall have a like number of Votes, the said Justices may determine the Choice in Favour of which they please.

Sixteenth, The COUNCIL and House of REPRESENTATIVES so chosen and returned as aforesaid, shall meet on the first Wednesday in January next after their being chosen, at such Place as the present, or future General-Court may from Time to Time appoint; and being duly sworn, shall hold their respective Places until the first Wednesday in January then next.

Seventeenth, The COUNCIL shall choose their President, Vice President, and Secretary; and the House of REPRESENTATIVES shall choose their Speaker and Clerk.

Eighteenth, The COUNCIL and House of REPRESENTATIVES respectively, shall determine all disputed Elections of their own Members, regulate their own Proceedings; and on any Vacancy, order a new Election to fill up such Vacancy.

Nineteenth, The said General-Court elected

and constituted as aforesaid, shall be invested with the Supreme Power of the State. And all Acts, Resolves, or Votes, except Grants of Money, Lands, or other Things, may originate in either House; but such Grants shall originate in the House of Representatives only.

Twentieth, The said COUNCIL and House of Representatives respectively, shall have Power to adjourn themselves from Day to Day, but not longer than two Days at any one Time, without Concurrence of the other..

Twenty first, The PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL shall hold public Correspondence with other States, or Persons; call the Council together when Occasion shall require; and with Advice of three or more of the Council shall from Time to Time call the General-Court together if need be, before the Time they were adjourned to: And also point out the principal Business of their Session.

Twenty-second, The Military and Naval Power of the State shall be regulated, and all proper Officers thereof appointed, as the Legislature by Law shall direct from Time to Time.

Twenty-third, The Judges of the Superior and Inferior Courts, Judges of Probate, Judge of Admiralty, Judge of the Maritime Court, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Coroners, Attorney-General, Treasurer of the State, and Delegates to the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, shall be appointed by the said General-Court, and commissioned by the President of the Council.

Twenty-fourth, The Appointment of Registers of Deeds, County Treasurer's, Clerks of Courts, Registers of Probate, and all other Civil Officers whatsoever, not before mentioned, shall be regulated by the Laws that now are, or that hereafter may be enacted.

Twenty-fifth, All Civil Officers of the State, shall be suitably compensated by Fees or Salaries for their Services.

Twenty-sixth, No Member of the General-Court shall be Judge of the Superior Court or Inferior Court, Judge or Register of Probate, or Sheriff of any County, or Treasurer of the State, or Attorney-General, or Delegate at the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

Twenty seventh, And no Member of the Council, Judge of the Superior Court, or Sheriff, shall hold a Commission in the Militia, Army, or Navy of this State.

Twenty-eighth, No Member of the House of Representatives shall hold any salary under the Government.

Twenty-ninth, The President of the Council with Advice of Council, may grant Reprieves not longer than six Months, but the General-Court only shall have Power to pardon Offences against the State.

Thirtieth, A Quorum of the Council, and a

Quorum of the House of Representatives, shall consist of a Majority of each House.

Thirty-first, This DECLARATION of RIGHTS, and PLAN of GOVERNMENT, shall have the Force of Law, and be esteemed the fundamental Law of the State.

Thirty-second, The General-Court shall have no Power to alter any Part of this Constitution: In case they should concur in any proposed Alteration, Amendment, or Addition, the same being agreed to by a Majority of the People, shall be come valid.

STATE OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

IN CONVENTION, June 5th, 1779.

Voted, THAT the foregoing BILL of RIGHTS, and PLAN of GOVERNMENT, be printed, and dispersed throughout the State, for the People thereof, to give their Opinion thereon.

Voted, That Colonel Thornton, and Colonel Bartlett, be a Committee to get this Plan of Government printed, and transmit two or more Copies of the same to each and every Town, Parish and Place in this State, to which Precepts for this Convention were sent, and publish the same in the *New-Hampshire News-Papers*.

Voted, That the Selectmen of the several Towns, Parishes, and Districts in this State, upon the receipt of the same, are desired to notify and warn the legal Inhabitants paying Taxes in such Town, Parish, or Place, to meet at some suitable Place therein, giving them at least fifteen Days notice, for the Purpose of taking said Plan under Consideration; and make return of the Number of Voters present at such Meeting, and how many voted for receiving said Plan, and how many for rejecting the same, unto this Convention at Concord in this State, on the third Tuesday in September next.

By order of the Convention,

JOHN LANGDON, President, P. T.

E Thompson, Secretary.

EXETER; Printed by Zechariah Fowle, 1779.

V.—THE "SQUAMSCOT PATENT" IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, A PURITANICAL HUMBUG.

I.

[From the *New Hampshire Archives**]

To the Honorable the Left Governor, Council and Representatives Convened in General assembly

We the subscribers hereof inhabiting in, and about swamscot not Lying in any Township and Living att a Considerable distance from the Pub-

*This is without date. Perhaps it should be 1695. See Farmer's Belknap's History of New Hampshire, page 154, note.
W. F. G.

lique worship of God not having the benefit of instructing our Youth besides many other great inconveniences which we Labour under, Being now by the providence of God at peace in our severall Dwellings and being no Less then thirty five families all well disposed to maintain the Publique ministry, and defraying of all other necessary Charges to the best of our abilities and hoping that within a little time we shall encrease to a far more Considerable number Doe most humbly Pray that your Honours would Please to settle and Confirm us the severall Inhabitants, Extending from Wheelwrights Creek downwards to Sandy Point as a distinct Township of our selves Impowering all such offices among us as your Honours in your great wisdom and Prudence Shall judge most meet: we Crave Leave to Subscribe Your Honors

Most humble and most obedient Servants

Andrew Wiggin Sener
Isaac Cole
Simon Wiggin
Andrew Wiggin inn
Thomas Vesey
Bradstreet wiggin
William french
nathaniell Wright
Jonathan Wiggin
Thomas Read
Tho Wiggin
william moore sener
william moore Juner
oen reuels his mark
george uasay
thomas powel X his mark
Richard Emnds (?)
Jonathan norreis
Mark Stacy
Richard morgan Sener X his mark
James Rundlet
Charles Rundlet
Sam^l Leauett Sener
Wm Seamon
X his mark
Samuell Leauett Junr
Stephen England
Edward masry X his mark
thomas Speld sener X his mark
Richard morgan X his mark

II.

To the Hon^{ble} Geo: Vaughan Esq L^t: Gov^r: & Command^r: in chief of his majesties Prov. of N. Hamp^r: & to his Maj^{ties} Councill of y^e Prov: aforesaid

The Petition of his maj^{ties} good subjects sundry the Inhabitants of y^e town of Exeter

Most humbly Sheweth

The great hardship & Inconvenience which we (yo^r Hon^d Petitioners) are made the Subjects of by a late ord^r: from this Hon^{ble} Board (Viz^t.) y^e:

all y^e inhabitants of exeter to y^e eastw^d: of wall Creek line should be Joynd to y^e parish of greenland in answer to a Petition Presented by M^r Josh: Weeks Subscribed by sundry the Inhabitants of the town of Exeter afores^d praying to be added to y^e. S^t Parish of Greenland, for that we y^e Subscribers who are on y^e east Side of S^t line never had any knowledge of S^t Petition till after twas presented & then not Seasonably enough to Counter Petition before y^e ord^r:

May it Please yo^r Hon^r

We have once & again Petitioned to be made a township y^e; is y^e Inhabitants of Swampscutt Patent w^t. of we are Some and Intend one address more to yo^r Hon^r on the Same head; tho^r were that nothing at all we cannot but represent to yo^r Hon^r the great hardship we labour und^r. on acc^t: of y^e ord^r: afores^d in as much as there is a maj^r: numb^r y^e never knew of S^t Petition that are Joynd to y^e Parish of Greenland by y^e ord^r made upon it) than those y^e Signed it—WHEREUPON We cannot but humbly pray for a Counter Ord^r: to the Order afores^d at least for so long a time as till both parties may have a hearing w^{ch} will be a Plain means to a finall determination of the matter. However all is Submitted to yo^r Hon^r. by yo^r Hon^r Most ob^{dt}:. Serv^{ts}

Andrew Wiggin
Thomas Wiggin
Jonathan Wiggin
Will^m French

Jan^y 4th 1715-6

III.

To his Honour George Vahan Esq^r Leiuaten^t Gouverner and commander in cheiff in & ouer his Majesties prouinc of New Hampshir in New England & to his Majesties honoured Counsell for s^t province we the Inhabitance of Quamescuk: patent humbly sheweth the very bad Cercomstances we lay under by reason of our great distance from the publick Worship of God and having No benefit of any schooll Not: with: stand: ing we have ever paid our proportion to the school of Exeter: and are now by the providence of God increased to such an Number as we hope we are able of our selves to maintain a Minister & a School & other town charges as shall nesiseryly fall upon us, with our proportion of publick assessments Therefore we your petitioners doe humbly pray that your Honours would pleas to set us of from all other towns and parishes and grant us a township by our selves & bound us as followeth Vize beginning at sandey point bounding on Exeter river Vntill it comes unto Wheelrights creeks mouth & from thence upon a southeast Line three mills into the land & from s^d sandy point to run three mills into y^e land upon a south east lines with an line according to y^e s^d patent which will be greatly to the joy & satisfaction of your petitioners whose names are

under writen, We your petioners doe further humbly beg leave to inform your honors of our ill conveniences—being laid some times to one town & some times to another & all wayes a great distance from the publick Worship of God, with submission we would pray your honors to consider which is most reason whether Those men which lay near Greenland should joyn with us your petioners or all we avail to them: we submit to your honors pleasure: Dated this tenth day of January Inst: 17th 18

Simon Wiggin	Thomas Wiggins Junr
Andrew Wiggin	John Wiggins
Thomas Vezey	Danill Moody
William French	John Mason
Jonathan Wiggins	John Searll
Moses Leavitt Juner	James Keniston
Richard Calley	Richard crockitt
Stephen England	John Satchel
John Haniford	John Sinkler
William Powel	Joseph Mason
Owen Runals sener	Samuel Piper
Owen Runals Juner	Gilles Brier
James Palmer	Thomas Toms
Edward Masercey	John Pett
Benjamin Palmer	Thomas Brier
Moses Rallins	William Scamon
Aaron Rallins	Satchel Rundlitt
James Robinson	Jonathan Clark
Sam ^r Green	Nathanill Folsbam
Edward Fisfeld	Richard Morgan
Thomas Rallins	Nathanill Stevens
David Robison	John Roberts
Joseph Rallins	James Doutey
Arthur Benitt	Daniell Leavitt
Joseph Hoitt	Abraham Stockbridge
John Mead	John Jones
mathew Tomson	Widow Leavitt
William More	Iearel Smith
George Veazey	Benj ^r Leavitt
Thomas Wiggins sener	

IV.

To y^r honorable George uaighen Esq^r Lef^t Governor and Commander of his maigistys prouince of new hampshar and The hono^{ble} Counsell now Sitting at porchmouth the petition of us whose names are under writen

humbly Sheweth

that wharas your petitioners are Informed that your honors Intend to incorporate that tract of Land Called the pattand into a township within the Senter of which your petitioners now dwells we your petitioners have euer been of opinion and now are well asured that the peopell Inhabting within y^r Limits aboute Sd are not Capiable of Supporting Such a towne Charg as will be nedfull neither did we euer Sine aney Such petition neither dare we presume So to doe unless we Should deSine the ruining of our families by Remouing

of from thes Small tracts of Land we are now Settled upon we thare fore pray your honors that we may Continue as we are untill beter Inabled to performe Such a Charg Lest men mock us and Saye those men have Laid a foundation before thay have Considered thay ware not able to finnish it and we your petishers that have neuer Contented to petition to be a towne Shalt euer pray whilst

James Sinkler
bengiman Gones
James Rundlit
Jonathan norris
Ithiall Smith
Abraham Stoebrig
John Speed
daniel Smith
Jethrew parson
Ebnezer foulsham
Joseph Lurans
phillop Spendeloa
Thomas Sped
John Clark
Ephreham Leuit
Baeniemen taylor
Samueall leauitt

And we your honors petioners whos names are under writen who unadvisedly and without Consideration Sined the petition that a township mite be granted hauing Sence beter Considered of that matter are Sencible of our unadvisednes and inabrillity to performe such a Charge a must necessarily follow upon our being a townd Ship anles we impouerish our families and frely reaigne with the first abue subscribed petitioners And that we may not be a townd Ship for the a for S^t Re Sons Inabled to bare Such a Charg and your petitioners Shall euer Acknowlidg your honours fafore herein And Subscribe our

Selues your honours dutifull and obedient Saruents

IsKell Smith
Joseph hoyt
bengiman Leuit
mathew tomson
Sachill Rundlit
nathanill foulson
bengiman palmer
mary Leuit widow

Jan 14th 1715-6

V.

To his Excellency Jonathan Belchier Esq^r Cap^t. Generall & Commander in Chief, in and over his Maj^{ties} Province of Newhampshire, and the Hon^{ble} His Maj^{ties} Council for Said Province

The humble Petition of Henry Sherburn Esq^r. Ephraim Dennet Esq^r. Joshua Pierce Esq^r and M^r William Cotton for themselves and others a Committe for the Dividing the the Common land of the Town of Portsmouth In behalle of the Propri-

etors of the Said Common Land, Most humbly Sheweth—

That in the yeare 1696 The^r. was at a legall Town Meeting held at Portsmouth, A vote Past for the Dividing the Common Lands of the Said Town amongst the then Inhabitants and persons as a Committee for Doing the Same then appointed and from Time to Time Continued of which Com^{tee} the above are the Major Part, Which Committees from Time to Time ever since (when not obstructed by the Indian Warr) has Continued to lay out the Said Comon lands to all such as had Right, and Such Rights Quietly Enjoyed, untill the yeare of our Lord 1716: Since Which yeare, Sandry of the Proprietors of the Comon land about Greenland adjoining to the Town of Streatham have been Molested and hindered from Improving their Rights, by the Inhabitants of Said Town of Streatham, and Severall Law Suits Commenced, which is the Cause Great Trouble & Charges &c, all which happens by the Misaplying the Grant or Charter of the Town of Streatham, as y^r Petition^r humbly presumes—which they humbly Sheweth happens as hereafter Exprest

on the 10th day of January 1715-16: Sandry persons Calling themselves the Inhabitants of Squamscoot Patent, (Tho there never was any such Patent*) Petitioned the Hon^{ble}. George Vaughan Esq^r. Then Lieu^t. Governor and Comander in Chiefe in and over this Province of Newhampshire to be Set off a Township: and therein prescribs bounds: The said Lieu^t. Governor with the advice of his Maj^{ties} Councill Did on the twenty⁴. day of March then next following Grant the Petition and Gave them a Charter according to the bounds prescribed (with the Exceptions of fower famillies, as by the Charter may be Seen.

Now those persons that Called themselves the Inhabitants of Squamscoot Patent, Did live upon a Tract of land that its usually Said Was Granted by the Councill of Plimth. to one Edw^d Hilton and his associates three Miles into the Country from the Maine River Going up to Exeter, and as such the Towns Round about acknowledged them and none Ever Interfered or Claimed within the three miles from the Maine River South East into the Country, and tho all this land fell within the auncient bounds of the Town of Portsmouth yet the Town Voted that three miles that m^r. Andrew Wiggins Claimed Should still be to him & his heirs &c, And the Grand father of the family of the present Wiggins (upon the marriage of Son to the Daughter of Gov^r Broadstreet) made a Deed of Gift of that part of the Said Hiltons patent which he Claimed (being three miles square) and Called It squamscoot, the Bounds of which Deed was only three miles South East from Exeter River, and no

Dispute happened till since the Grant to the Town of Streatham as afore Said: In running the Bounds of which according to the Said Charter (at the West End of the Wiggans's Grant) by an advantage of a Southerly Turn of Exeter River the south bounds of Streatham (against the Wiggans's Grant is fower miles very neare: upon a south East point) at the West End of Portsmouth Bounds, and they Claime That Land Between the Charter line and the afore S^t Wiggans's Right and so to a gore at the Easterly End, and say that it was Confirm'd to them By Virtue of the Grant by Lieu^t. Governor Vaughan to Streatham afore said: Which notion has and Do's govern much with our Country Juries, So that those persons that Bare their Comon Rights laid out Between the lines afore said are in a perpetual Controversie & Law Suits For Remedy Whereof—

Your Petitioners for themselves and the others of their Society as a Committee and in behalfe of the Proprietors of the Comon land of Portsmouth Most humbly prays your Excellency & the Hon^{ble}. the Councile, That as the Grant for the Town of Streatham was made only By that Hon^{ble} Board: That an Explanation be made of Streatham Charter (that as Wee humbly presume) that this Board in that Grant, Did not attale medle or pretend to alter the Right of the Soile, and also wee pray that the Hon^{ble} Board would also appint a Committee of Indiferent persons to Run the Dividing line Between Portsmouth and that Deed of Thomas Wiggans Esq^r to his Son Andrew Wiggins: The Town having no Dispute beyownd the Bounds of that Deed which Deed is Conformable to the Patten of Edward Hilton and associates afore said and your Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall ever pray &c.

Hen Sherburne
Eph^m. Dennet
Joth^s; Pierce

Portsmouth Jan^y 3^d: 1733-4

VI.—RIOT AT EXETER, N. H. IN 1734.

[From the New Hampshire Council Records*]

Pro: of } at a Council held at the Council
N. Hamp^r } Chamber in Portsm^r thursday
apr. 26: 1734—

Present

His Hon David Dunbar Esq^r Lt Gov^r

Geo Jaffry Rich^d Waldron Josh^s Peirce Joth^s
Odiorne Benj^m Gambling Jos Sherburne Eph Den-
net Ellis Huske Esq^r

His Hon^{ble}. the Lt Gov^r acquainted the Board that he had formerly Informed the Council that he was Insulted by an unknown number of arm'd

*This effectually answers the request in the NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, Volume twenty-three, page 212, in regard to "y^r Patent of Squamscoot." W. F. G.

*We regret to state that the Volume from which this was copied, a few years since, is missing from the Archives of the State of New Hampshire. W. F. G.

men at Copyhold Mill† in Exeter who in Several parts of the woods near the Said Mill fired many Small Shot and hollowed & Shriekd from place to place wth intent as he imagin^d to terrify any person from meddling with or removing y^e Boards & Joyce there cut out of picked logs Since which he had hired ten men to go to the Said Mill in order to Pile the S^d. Boards In Separate Piles & mark them with y^e broad arrow but that at the House of Capt Sam^l. Gilmans at Exeter the Said hired men at ab^t 9 or 10 oClock at night on y^e. 22^d Instant were violently assaulted beat & abused by a Great Comp^y of men armd wth Clubs & Staves to the number of abt. 30 as by the affidavits on file, and moreover that the Boat wth was Impress^d & hired in y^e. Same Service was Cut to Pieces our Sail Stolen away & the mast Cut down & the other Sail cut to peices, To the value of forty pounds and further that his Hon^r Supposed there was a Conspiracy ag^t his life from the Testmony of Mr Greele wth Says he was told by Sam Gilman three natick Indians were hired to kill y^e L^t Gov & Mr Atkinson the Depo- nent Greele whom his Hon^r was wont to take with him to his assistance in his travels as at large appears by y^e Said Depositions on file. and again his Hon^r Inform^d the Board that as he was present at the Examination of this affair at Exeter & y^e y^e three Exeter Justices vis^t maj^r. Gilman & Col^l. Gilman & maj. King gave him reason to believe by their backwardness to Examine & by their Excusing y^e matter, that they had some knowledge in the affair, & therefore proposed they Should be sent for & Examined before the Council.—His Hon^r: likewise proposed y^e Issuing a Proclam^t. wth. a reward for detecting y^e. Persons that had been guilty of y^e Crimes before mentioned and offer to advance y^e money out of his own pocket in case the General Assembly at their first meeting dont See meet to refund it as to what his Hon^r. has proposed in regard to the Examination of this affair before the Council, The Council Say this they abhor & detest the thing in their Souls, and are Earnestly Solicitous that the truth may be bro^t to light & the Trespassers punish^d according to their deserts yet it is their opinion that the Examination of the matter appertains to Justices of y^e. peace & not to the Council as to the Issuing a proclamation the Council Say it is their opinion that that appertains to the Gov^r as Comand^r. in Chief & therefore dont advise to it without his order—Geo. Jaffry Esq^r & Josh^a. peirce Esq^r. dont agree to the ann^t. ab^t the proclam^t & desire it may be Entered

†Copyhold Mill, says Hon. Charles H. Bell of Exeter, New Hampshire, is situated on the Exeter river, in what is now Brentwood, some six or seven miles from Exeter by the road. It is just above the Jewell's bark mill, and perhaps a mile above Crawley's falls. W. F. G.

VII.—DANIEL GOODWIN OF KITTERY, MAINE, IN 1652, AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS.

[From the Town Records of Kittery, Maine.]

Dec. 16th 1652, Granted and lotted out by the Selectmen for Kittery unto Daniel Goodwin his heirs or assigns for ever a lott of land on the following Marsh joyning Barnard Squires lott Southward and bounded with a fresh gutt of water North and so backward by the breadth of four and twenty poles until fiftie be Completed.

Granted by the Select Townsmen for Kittery unto Daniel Goodwin his heirs or assigns for ever Ten acres of meadow where he can find it about a pond called by the name of Willcox his pond or else where provided it be in no former grant before this By me Humphrey Chadbourn Clerk

July 15. 1856

June y^e. 24. 1659—Granted unto Daniel Goodwin his heirs or assigns for ever Ten acres of Swamp or Marsh where he can find it provided it be in no former grant, five acres or thereabouts he hath discovered y^e uper end of Humphry Chadbourns Meadow on y^e further Side of y^e pond commonly known by y^e name of obonnieesie pond and y^e other five acres hath made Improvement on near unto York pond—

May y^e 28. 1670—Layd out unto Daniel Goodwin, a hundred acres of Land on the North Side y^e pond a hundred & Sixty rods long North East and by east, and a hundred and five rods broad there being an high way between it and y^e pond and an high way of two rods wide between it and John Gattinsby's line with allowance for Some Small pieces of Marsh lying within it, Layd out by John Wincoll Thomas Wills. Entred March y^e 11. 1670.

March y^e 4th. 1674—Layd out and Measured unto Daniel Goodwin his Lot of upland Marsh and Swamps containing Sixty nine acres lying a hundred Sixty Eight rods in Length, bounded with Thomas Spencers Land on y^e South and y^e high way to York on y^e North and m^r. Hutchinsons Land on y^e west and comon Land on the East it being in the place called Sluts corner.*

March 10. 1678-9. Measured and laid out unto Daniel Goodin Sen^r. his grant of fifty acres of land bearing Date as followeth—Viz^t thirty & two acres at y^e east end of his land on y^e North of James Emerys house Lott a hundred and twenty eight poles in length east and west and forty poles in breadth north and South and bounded on y^e East with y^e hill of rocks, also eighteen acres more laid out to y^e S^d Goodin on the North east Side of Moses Spencers fiftie acre lot at pipe

*"Slut's Corner" was in Harlo's field. Mark Earle lived near. Richard Lord once owned the field. It was on the main road to Eliot, South East and about one half mile from Captain Ichabod Goodwin's house. W. F. G.

Stave hill a hundred and Twenty pole in length Northwest from the river and twenty and four pole in breadth Northeast & Southwest
per me John Wineoll Sur^r.

This above return was found among my fathers papers this 11th Septemb^r. 1705 per me Charles Frost—

A true Copie of y^e originall Transcribed and compared Septemb^r 11. 1705

per me Jos. Hamond Cler—

Granted to Thomas Goodden five and twenty acres of land May 16, 1694.

Kittery Aug^t. y^e. 29. 1701— Measured and laid out to Thomas Gooden Eighteen Acres of land by Goodin So. accepted, it being part of his grant of twenty five acres that was given him May y^e 16: 1694, bounded on the west Side of the great works river and is laid out in three particular pieces, two of which is only two points that is as is accounted about half a mile above y^e 2. logging Shulters at a place called Nediguttaquid which two points contain two acres and are about, 10, poles distant, bounded by mark trees—the third piece takes its beginning at a Small white oake tree marked on four Sides that Stands on y^e bank by y^e afore^d tree, about half a mile above little river as the way goes to y^e aforesaid Logging place, And from S^d tree on a W. S. W line twelve poles then N, N, W, fiftie Six poles, the N, N, E, to y^e river Sixty poles and is marked on all Sides but the river, w^h river is the Easternmost bounds of s^d land.

Nicholas Gowen Sur^r. of Kittery

A true Copy of the originall Transcribed and compared

Nov. 10. 1701 per Jos: Hamond Cler.

Measured and Laid out to Thomas Goodwin Seven acres of Land being part of 20 acres of Land granted unto him May 16: 1694.

Nov. 21. 1706.

May 16: 1694—Granted unto William Goodden five and twenty acres of land

May 10th. 1703. Granted to William Gooden thirty acres.

Decemb^r 16: 1709, Measured & Laid out to W^m Gooden fifty five acres of land one grant given him by the town of Kittery May 16: 1694, of five & Twenty acres Another grant given him by s^d town May 10: 1703 of thirty acres & begins about a mile above y^e place known y^e beaver dam Meadow which was given to Benjamin Nason & John Cooper & it Lyes on a mast way beginning at a pine Eastward from s^d way about twenty poles & North west Ninety four poles then Southwest Ninety four poles then South East Ninety four poles then North East Ninety four poles bounded w^h comons on Every Side

per Daniel Emery Sur^r.

A true Copie of y^e Original Transcribed and

Compared March 7th: 1709-10 per Jos. Hamond Cler^k

May 16: 1794, Granted unto Daniel Goodden Jun^r twenty acres of land

May 24, 1699, Granted to Daniel Gooden Jun^r. thirty acres

May 10. 1703 Granted to Daniel Goodin Jun^r fiftie acres

Kittery June y^e 3^d. 1702: Then Measured and laid out to Daniel Goodwin Sen^r. twenty eight acres and one hundred forty four Rods it being in part of a grant of land of fifty acres given him Moses Spencer in the year, 1671, which land belongs to y^e afores^d Goodwin by a Deed of Sale bearing Date Decemb^r: y^e 18th 1674, as appears on Record and is bounded according to y^e bounds mentioned in S^d Deed, which land is reputed to have been laid out by Cap^m. Wincoll and begins at a parcel of Small Maple trees marked on four Sides, which trees Stands at the river Side on y^e North Side of great work river and is a little below a place called the great Eddy*.

per Nicholas Gowen Sur^r.

A true Copie of the Originall Transcribed and compared the 3^d. Novemb^r: 1702.

per Jos. Hamond Cler^k

May: 16 1694—Granted unto Moses Goodden Twenty acres of land

May 24th. 1694, Granted to Moses Gooden thirty acres.

May 10th. 1703—Granted to Ensign Thomas Gooden thirty acre.

Kittery November the 21st 1706. Measured and laid out to Moses Goodwin fifty acres of Land granted May 10. 1703 and to Thomas Goodwin Seven acres of Land being part of 20 acres of land granted unto him May 16: 1694—and to James Ferguson fiftie acres of land granted unto him May 20 1703—The whole of the above s^d Senerall grants contains four hundred and Seven acres of land and lyes all of it in one Square piece of land and takes its beginning about thirty or forty poles below the Logging house or Wigwam—that William Grant and Thomas Goodwin and Daniel Goodwin & Joseph Hodsden kept in the last winter being the year 1705 the logging season beginning at a Maple Tree and running from thence Southeast and by South one hundred and Seventy two poles to a Birch tree mark^d by a little Crook And from the afores^d Maple tree below the houses and Burch tree last mentioned the above said tract of land runs Northwest and by east in Length three hundred and Ninety poles, the overplus for convenient

*The "great Eddy" is about one and a half mile above "Great Works" Mills, on the Great Works river—A gang of saws having been established there at an early period, gave the river that name.

highways the above s^d tract of land lies near Salmonfalls little river above the nine Notches.

By me William Godsoe, Surveyer.

A true Copie of the originall Transcribed and compared, Nov^r. 29th 1706.

per Jos: Hamond Cler.

[DANIEL GOODWIN married, first, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Spencer of Kittery, Maine: secondly, Mrs. Sarah, daughter of John Sanders, and widow of Peter Turbet. After Turbet's death in 1661, she was courted by Robert Elliot, and this courtship was entered into with so much fervency and earnestness that the marriage was considered certain. Accordingly Elliot, as being the sure future husband of the widow, was appointed administrator on Turbet's estate. But the Court Records show that, in July, 1772. "Whereas "former administration was granted Robert Elliot "on Peter Turbet's estate, deceased, in relation to "his marrying the said Turbet's widow, which he "not doing, the said administration is null, and "this Court, from the desire of said Peter Turbet's "widow, grants administration to his son John."

In 1679, Daniel Goodwin, planter, conveyed land to his daughter, Mrs. Daniel Stone, and also to his son, Daniel. In 1683, he conveyed land, in the parish of Berwick, town of Kittery, Maine, to his sons, Thomas and James. In 1797, he conveyed land to his sons, William and Moses, bounded on the head of the land belonging to his son, Daniel.

Mrs. Sarah Goodwin was admitted to the church in Berwick, in April, 1703, and called a *widow*. At the head of the list of the founders of that church, June fourth, 1702, is the name, Daniel Goodwin.

DANIEL GOODWIN, Jr. was born in 1656, as he stated in a deposition in 1686, that he was thirty years of age. In July, 1674, he was presented at the County Court "for being overtaken with "drink." October seventeenth, 1782, he married Ann, daughter of Miles Thompson. In 1721, he was chosen Deacon. August twenty-seventh, 1724, he was voted a Ruling Elder, and September fifth following, ordained. He made his Will April, twelfth, 1726, which was probated May twelfth, 1726, in which he mentioned his children, Daniel, Miles, Nathaniel, Samuel, James, Thomas, Mrs. Margaret Hodsdon, Amy, Sarah, and Mrs. Ann More.

WILLIAM married Deliverance, daughter of John Taylor. He made his Will April twenty-sixth, 1713, in which he mentioned his children, Moses, William, John, James, Adam, Taylor, Margaret, Elizabeth, Hannah, and Mary.

MOSES made his Will April first, 1726, which was probated May twelfth, 1726, in which he mentioned his wife Abigail, and his children, Martha, Patience, Mary, Abigail, Phebe, Elizabeth,

Margaret, Moses and Aaron. The farm in South Berwick, Maine, now occupied by Mark F. Goodwin, Esquire, was the "homestead" of Moses, and is undoubtedly the same given him by his father Daniel, *senior*, in 1697.

I cannot find that either Thomas or James, the other two sons of Daniel, *senior*, made a will. Mr. Willis has committed a grave error in his "*History of the Law, the Courts and the Lawyers of Maine*," page 685, by saying that Capt. Ichabod Goodwin "was the son of Thomas Goodwin, the *first emigrant* of the family to the ancient town of Berwick, who came to this country in 1660." Daniel, the grandfather of Captain Ichabod Goodwin, was in Kittery in 1652.

Thomas married Mehitable Plaisted of Berwick, as we learn from the papers of the late John G. Locke, Esquire, of Boston, now in possession of Colonel Nathaniel Goodwin of Framingham, Massachusetts, a descendant of Christopher Goodwin of Charlestown, in 1648. The children of Thomas and Mehitable were: Thomas, born July twelfth, 1697; Ichabod, born June seventeenth, 1700. Moses Cooper, Esquire, of Dover, New Hampshire, born in Berwick, September twenty-seventh, 1787, says that his grand-father, John Cooper, married a sister to Captain Ichabod Goodwin, whose first husband was an Abbot, and that Thomas Goodwin, who married Elizabeth Butler, December second, 1722, and James Goodwin, who married Margaret Wallingford, were brothers to his grandmother, and that another sister married a Mr. Shapleigh of Elliot. Among the heirs who claimed the township of land which now constitutes the town of *Shapleigh*, Maine, and which belonged to Major Nicholas Shapleigh, was General Ichabod, son of Captain Ichabod Goodwin, who was admitted to rights of Proprietor. Doctor James Scammon Goodwin of Portland, Maine, grand-son of Captain Ichabod, says there was another sister who married a Mr. Davis. On the church records of Berwick may be found these three baptisms:

"March 14, 1707^s, Olive, Daughter of Tho: & Mehitable Goodin."

"June 18, 1710, Mary, the Daughter of Tho: & Mehitable Goodin."

"May 20, 1716, Bial the *Daughter* (?) of "Mehitable Goodin, own^d the Covenant and was baptised"

It was a pleasant morning in the latter part of August, 1869, that I strolled away from the Hotel at South Berwick, Maine, to find the homestead of Captain Ichabod Goodwin, who commenced life in 1729, as a black-smith, and became the most distinguished man that ever lived in that town. I was not long in finding the old mansion. My grand-father, Joseph Goodwin, had gladly sought shelter beneath its roof when an orphan, and for this reason it was especially interesting to

me to take such a ramble. I found it occupied by Professor Ichabod Goodwin,* one of the best belles-lettres scholars Bowdoin College ever conferred her honors upon. His wife was Sophia Elizabeth, the accomplished daughter of the late Judge Hayes of South Berwick, with a heart and courage strong enough for any fate. With them resided "Aunt Sally," born in 1786, grand-daughter of Captain Ichabod. I spent the most of the day in and about the old mansion. Near by is the old grave-yard, in which I found four grave-stones, side by side, with the following inscriptions :

James Goodwin,
Son of M^r Thomas
& M^{rs} ElizaTH
Goodwin Aged. 1
Year 4 M^o & 4 D^r
Dec^d July 21st 1736.

Mary Goodwin,
Dau^r of M^r
Thomas & M^{rs}
ElizTH Goodwin,
Aged 3 Years
& 4 M^o Dec^d
July 18. 1736

M^{rs} Mehitable
Goodwin

Humphrey Goodwin
Son of M^r Ichabod
& M^{rs} ElizTH Goodwin,
Aged 1 Year
& 8 M^o Dec^d
Aug^t 26, 1736

The grave-stone, with simply "Mrs. Mehitable Goodwin" inscribed upon it, was evidently erected long before the others. It was so sunken into the earth that I had to dig it out before I could read the inscription. The story of the captivity of Mehitable Goodwin of Berwick, by the Indians, March eighteenth, 1689 '90, as narrated by Mather in his *Magnalia*, and quoted by Belknap in his History of New Hampshire, volume first, page two hundred and fifty-nine, is familiar to all readers of that history. She was a captive five years in Canada, and then returned to Berwick, Maine. The name of *Ensign Thomas Goodwin* appears on the town records of Berwick, in 1703 and 1707. His wife's name was Mehitable. They sold land,

May twentieth, 1713, to Daniel Goodwin, and both signed the deed. These were the parents of Captain Ichabod Goodwin.

The farm at South Berwick, Maine, on which Mrs. Mehitable Goodwin is said to have resided when captured by the Indians, is now occupied by George S. Goodwin, son of James, and his wife, Sophia S. Hanson; grand-son of Samuel and his wife, Betsey Keays; great-grand-son of Captain James, and his wife, Sally Griffith; and great-grand-son of Thomas Goodwin and his wife, Elizabeth Butler. The family residing on that farm claim to be the descendants of Mrs. Mehitable Goodwin, captured by the Indians.

Captain Ichabod Goodwin married Elizabeth Scammon. Their children were as follows: Hannah, born July twenty-fourth, 1730, married Tristram Jordan; Ichabod, born August Seventeenth, 1732, died in infancy; Humphrey, born December twenty-fifth, 1735, died August twenty-sixth, 1736; Mary, born January twenty-fourth, 1737, married, first, Foxwell Curtis Cutts; secondly, Rev. John Fairfield; Ichabod, born February twenty-third, 1739, died in infancy; Dominicus, born April twenty-fourth, 1741, married, first, Hannah Hill, secondly, Mrs. Betsey Perkins; Ichabod, born May fourteenth, 1743, married Mary Wallingford; Samuel, born August seventeenth, 1745, died unmarried; Elizabeth, born December twenty-fifth, 1748, died unmarried; Sally, born April twenty-first, 1754, married, first, Temple Hight, September twenty-fourth, 1772; secondly, Rishworth Jordan. On the Berwick Town records is the following publication :

"1771, May 25th Doc^r Ivory Hovey & Miss Sarah Goodwin published postpon^d by order of Miss Sarah Goodwin."

Captain Ichabod Goodwin was in Colonel Preble's regiment of Provincials, and was wounded July eighth, 1758, at Ticonderoga. We learn from the London Magazine that he was especially mentioned in Major General Abercromby's Report to Mr. Secretary Pitt. The battle lasted more than four hours, with a loss of four hundred and sixty-four regulars killed, twenty-nine missing, and one thousand one hundred and seventeen wounded; and eight hundred and eighty-seven Provincials killed, eight missing, and two hundred and thirty nine wounded.

The children of Ichabod Goodwin and his wife Mary, daughter of Colonel Thomas Wallingford of Somersworth, New Hampshire, were: Ichabod, married Anna Tompson; Thomas died unmarried; Betsey died of consumption, aged sixteen; Abigail married her cousin, William Hight; Mary died unmarried; Hannah married Josiah W. Seaver; Andrew married, first, Betsey Tompson, secondly Betsey Wallingford; Sarah, born November ninth, 1786, living unmarried, "still jolly;" Olive Elizabeth, died aged two years; Dominicus, grad-

*Since writing the above the melancholy intelligence of the death of Professor Ichabod Goodwin has reached us. He died in South Berwick, December seventh, 1869, leaving a widow and one son. He was, after graduating, a Tutor in Bowdoin College. He was the son of Andrew Goodwin and his wife, Elizabeth Wallingford. Two brothers, both graduates of Bowdoin College, survive him, John Wallingford of Lynchburg, Virginia, and Andrew, at Mobile, Alabama, both distinguished Civil Engineers.

uate of Dartmouth College, died, engaged to be married to Miss Sarah Lang; James Scammon, physician in Portland, Maine, married Hannah Gookin.

The children of Dominicus Goodwin and his wife, Hannah Hill, were: Samuel, married Anna Gerrish; Betsey, married General William Frost; Dominicus, married Peggy Lord; Jordan, married Sally Hill; Hannah, died in infancy; by his second wife, Mrs. Betsey Perkins, *nee* Littlefield, he had: John, married Agnes Rogers; Hannah, married William Thomson; Ichabod, died unmarried; Daniel, married Mary Pray of New York; Sally, died unmarried.

The children of Samuel Goodwin and his wife, Anna Gerrish, were: Ann Thompson, living unmarried; Ichabod, Ex-Governor of New Hampshire, married Sarah Parker Rice; Joseph Gerrish, married Frances Hobbs, daughter of William Hobbs of Berwick; Samuel, residing in Greenville, Penn.; Hannah Jane, married Colonel Love Keay; Mary Elizabeth, died unmarried, December, 1867, and was buried on the homestead farm in North Berwick, Maine, which is now owned by Ex-Governor Ichabod Goodwin of Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Sarah Elliot, married William Hobbs, son of Colonel Nathaniel Hobbs of North Berwick, Maine; Olive Jordan, residing in North Berwick, on the "homestead," with her sister, Ann T.; Daniel Raynes, President of Pennsylvania University, married Mary Merriek of Hallowell, Maine.

When a pupil under the Rev. Dr. Daniel Raynes Goodwin above named, he would frequently say to me, "can you tell me now the name of your great-great-grand father of Berwick, Maine?" If he will read this article he will learn that I can. May I not be allowed to ask the learned Doctor of Divinity when he first learned that Daniel (significant name) Goodwin of Kittery, Maine, in 1652, was his American ancestor?

The children of Thomas Goodwin and his wife, Elizabeth Butler, were as follows:

Elisha, baptized October ninth, 1726.
Thomas, baptized October ninth, 1726.
Olive, baptized July twenty-eighth, 1728.
Moses, baptized October twenty-seventh, 1728.
Elizabeth, baptized September sixth, 1730.
Mary, baptized April fifteenth, 1732-3.
James, baptized April twentieth, 1735.
James, baptized May fifteenth, 1737.
Daniel, baptized August nineteenth, 1738.

Mrs. Anna Burroughs, widow of Joseph P. Burroughs of Lebanon, Maine, daughter of Thomas Goodwin and his wife, Anna Hodgson, says her grandfather was Elisha Goodwin, brother to Captain James Goodwin who married Sally Griffith, and that he was killed at South Berwick, Maine, by a log rolling over him. She was born December

seventeenth, 1787, at Legro's Corner in Lebanon. I visited her October fifteenth, 1869, and found her at her looms weaving. She told me her grandfather Goodwin's children were: Elisha, married Hannah Shackle; Daniel, the father of Jeremiah Goodwin so long Register of Deeds for York County, Maine; Jeremiah, married Mary Remick; Thomas, married Anna Hodgson; Sally, married ——— Johnson; Mehitable, married, first, Thomas Goodwin, secondly, Amos Gordon of Biddeford, Maine; Olive, married Alexander McGooch; Betsey, married William Chadwick. She said also, "I shall be eighty two years old the seventeenth day of next December. I can spin ten skeins of yarn in a day, by the light of the sun. I am now weaving six yards of cloth five quarters wide, daily. When I was eighty years of age I spun, in ten months, four hundred and thirty-three skeins of yarn, and wove five hundred and twenty-five yards of cloth."

John, son of William Goodwin and his wife, Deliverance Taylor, married, June twelfth, 1715, Patience Willoughby. Their children were, probably, John, Jr.; Willoughby, married Lydia Knox, and resided in Somersworth, New Hampshire; Joseph, born June, 1724, married Elizabeth Warren; Henry; Nathan, married in Berwick, and settled in Argyle, Nova Scotia; Martha, William and Noah.

Joseph, who married Elizabeth Warren, was a mason by trade. He resided in Berwick, where his children were born, viz: Nathan, May third, 1746; Patience, 1747; Joseph, December nineteenth, 1749; Nehemiah, baptized February sixteenth, 1752. He subsequently settled at Little Falls in Biddeford, Maine, where he died. His widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Goodwin, married David Young, Jr., of Biddeford, Maine, August fifth, 1761, and settled in Limington, Maine. She died May fourteenth, 1796. After the death of their father, the children returned to Berwick.

Nathan shipped on board the Schooner "Barbadoes," Henry Adamson Commander, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, July thirteenth, 1772, to go to Barbadoes, thence to Philadelphia, thence back to Portsmouth. He was discharged December third, 1772. He served in the war of the Revolution. He sailed from Charleston, S. C., March, 1778, in the "Randolph," commanded by Nicholas Biddle. He says, also, in his Journal now before me:

"Feb 5. 1778 I sailed on a Cruse The Eight day was taken The Eight Day of March arrived at Rhode island

"April 15 Sailed for old England May 13 arrived at Spit head in Said Kingdom then was put on board of a ninty gun Ship —

"Sept 28 was Commit to prison Called fortan prison

"July 4 1779 broke prison the Eight got to

"france by Crossing the Channel in a Small open
"boat the whole number in Said boat was nine."

He learned the shoe-maker's trade with William Warren of Berwick, and married his daughter, Sally. Their children were Betsey, Hannah, Esther, Nehemiah and Sarah, born in Berwick; and Benjamin, Nathan, Edmund, Hiram, and William, born in Shapleigh, Maine. He moved from Berwick to Shapleigh, January nineteenth, 1785, and settled on "Hubbard's Ridge." He was Treasurer of the town five years, and one of the Selectmen fifteen years. His wife died July thirty-first, 1795. He married, secondly, Mrs. Huldah Estes, *nee* Frost, November nineteenth, 1801. He died December fifteenth, 1831; she died December sixteenth, 1832. The farm on which he resided is, perhaps, the best in what is now Acton. His grandson, Oliver Goodwin, Esquire, resides on it.

Joseph, Jr. after the death of his father, lived in Berwick, in the family of Captain Ichabod Goodwin, his grandfather's cousin. March sixteenth, 1774, he purchased fifty acres of land in Buxton, Maine, and built a log-cabin; and February fifth, 1777, thirty acres more, adjacent, on Letter A. Second Division. He was in the Army in 1775, and was with Washington when he crossed the Delaware. The gun he used is preserved in the family. In 1779, he married Mary, daughter of Deacon Timothy Hasaltine, who came from Bradford, Massachusetts, and settled in Narraganset, Number One, now Buxton, Maine, as early as 1752. In the fall of 1791 Joseph Goodwin built a house "on the S. W. end 6th, on A 2d Div." He was strictly a farmer. His children were Joseph, Jr. born June first, 1780, drowned in Saco river, while bathing, June third, 1798, and was buried on the homestead; Anna, born October eleventh, 1782, married Samuel Elliot, and resided at one time at Lockport, New York; Timothy, born April nineteenth, 1785, married Sarah Davis; Ruth, born April first, 1788, married, first, Dearborn Blake, who was killed in the war of 1812, secondly, Major Nicholas Davis, a brother to her brother Timothy's wife; Samuel, born April sixth, 1791, married, first, Mary Emery, secondly, Lucy Alden of Gorham, Maine; Nathan, born Feb. 19, 1794, married Joanna Bradbury; William, born Feb. 19, 1797, married Elizabeth Knight of Calais, Maine; Eliza, born 1799, married Joseph Bradbury. Joseph Goodwin died July third, 1817, and bequeathed his farm to his son, Samuel, who resided upon it till his death, October thirteenth, 1849. It is now owned and occupied by Samuel's son, Joseph W. Goodwin.

Nehemiah resided in Buxton in 1775 when he entered the army and served till 1779, and perhaps longer. Tradition says he was captured by the British and died of small-pox in prison at Halifax, Nova Scotia, unmarried.

Patience, after the death of her father, lived in the family of her uncle, William Warren of Berwick, Maine, till she married Alexander Cooper, December thirty first, 1767. She had ten children, one of whom, the venerable Moses Cooper of Dover, New Hampshire, is still living, hearty, hale and jolly. She died March sixth 1831, aged eighty-three years and four months, and was buried on the "Cooper Farm" at South Berwick, Maine.

TAYLOR, son of William Goodwin and his wife, Deliverance Taylor, married Betsey Nason, and resided in the "Old Fields," in South Berwick. His "homestead" consisted of eight acres of land bounded as follows, "beginning at Newichwan-nich River next to William Warren's land thence East seventy-seven poles by said Warrens land; thence South fifteen poles and twelve feet; thence South 88 1-2° to the aforesaid River; thence by said River to the beginning."

His children were—

Benjamin, baptized April fifteenth 1732-3.

Martha, baptized March thirtieth, 1732.

Benjamin, baptized April twenty-fourth, 1737.

Elisha, baptized May fourteenth, 1738.

Moses, baptized February twenty second, 1740-41.

Molly, baptized March twenty-seventh, 1743-44

William, baptized May nineteenth, 1745.

Hannah, baptized March twenty-seventh, 1747 8.

Martha, baptized March eighth, 1752.

Benjamin { twins baptized November third 1754.
Joseph {

Elizabeth, baptized July thirtieth, 1757.

After the death of Taylor Goodwin, his widow married, September tenth, 1778, Peter Grant, whose first wife was Alice Guptaal.

William, son of Taylor, married Rachel Abbot, October ninth 1765. Their children were Moses, married Eunice Warren; James, married Sarah Grant; William and Elisha, who died at sea; Hannah, died unmarried; Lydia, married Thomas Hubbard of Shapleigh, Maine; Betsey, married John Warren; Polly, died unmarried; John, married Betsey Hubbard, June eighth, 1788. The latter has a son, Colonel John Goodwin, residing in Shapleigh, Maine: He is one of the best farmers in that town. He owns between three and four hundred acres of land, and cuts about fifty tons of hay annually.

Benjamin and Joseph, twin sons of Taylor Goodwin, settled in Shapleigh, Maine. Benjamin married, first, Mary, sister to Deacon Thomas Shackley, May eighth, 1777, in Berwick; by whom he had five daughters, viz; Hannah, married, first, William Emery, secondly, John Goodridge of Alfred, Maine; Mary, married Elias Littlefield of Sanford, Maine; Martha, married Joshua Goodridge; Betty, married Solomon Morrison of Sanford; and Lois, married Nathan Goodridge, three brothers married three sisters. By his second wife, Betsey

Linscott, married November second, 1787, he had six children, viz; Benjamin, Jr. went to New Orleans at the age of twenty and is supposed to have died there soon after; Eunice, born in December 1790, now (August sixteenth 1869) living unmarried; Elisha, married, first, Hepzibah Hooper, who died June twenty-eighth 1816, aged seventeen years, secondly, November twenty-ninth, 1817, Nancy, daughter of Moses and grand-daughter of Aaron Roberts of Berwick; they had no children; he died May twenty-ninth, 1865; Moses, twin brother to Elisha, born April first, 1792, married Mary Hooper, sister to his brother Elisha's first wife; she was born May thirty-first, 1798, and died June thirteenth, 1869; he died November eleventh, 1859, aged sixty-seven years, seven months and eleven days; Olive, married John Patch of Shapleigh; Sarah, married Otis Pugsley of Shapleigh. By his third wife, Mrs. Sally Bedel *nee* Newell, widow of John Bedel of Sanford, he had no children.

Joseph, the other twin brother, married, July twenty-ninth, 1773, Sarah Prichard of Berwick, and settled on "Hubbard's Ridge" in Shapleigh, as early as 1778. He had a son, Ichabod, who married, October fifteenth, 1801, Mercy, daughter of Deacon Samuel Willey, and a daughter, Betsey, who married Samuel Long, in 1800. The family moved into the eastern part of Maine.

WILLIAM, son of William Goodwin and his wife, Deliverance Taylor, married Abigail Stone. Their children were, William, Patience, James, Abigail and Deliverance, all baptized April twenty-second 1725; Elijah, baptized March twenty-third 1726-7; Jeremiah and Shipway, baptized June fourth 1732; Jeremiah, baptized July twenty-fourth 1737.

ELIJAH, son of William Goodwin and his wife, Abigail Stone, settled at "Cranberry Meadow," in Berwick, Maine, and married, first, Abigail Tarbox, by whom he had, Abigail, baptized December eighth, 1751; Elijah, baptized November tenth, 1752; Daniel, baptized June eighth, 1755; Lydia, baptized January sixteenth, 1757; Adam, baptized January fourteenth, 1759; Charity, baptized January fifth, 1761; Reuben, baptized July seventeenth, 1763; Meribah, baptized November twenty-fourth, 1765; Martha, baptized July twenty-fourth, 1768; Lemuel, baptized September twelfth, 1771; Jacob, baptized January ninth, 1773; Charles, baptized August twenty-fourth, 1777. Secondly, he married Mrs. Eunice Hammond, *nee* Foy, by whom he had Simon, baptized May twenty-sixth, 1787.

Charles, son of Elijah and his wife, Abigail Tarbox, married, October eleventh, 1801, Experience Fall, and settled on the "homestead" at Cranberry Meadow in Berwick, Maine, where he resided about three years; he then moved to Lebanon, Maine, about two miles South East of Lebanon Centre, on a farm of perhaps seventy acres,

where he literally wore himself out with hard work, and where he died and was buried. His Children were Tristram, Simon, Lemuel, Otis F. Syrena, Abigail, Charles, Martha and Charles E.

ADAM, son of William Goodwin and his wife, Deliverance Taylor, married, first, Sarah ———, by whom he had Sarah, baptized March thirtieth, 1728-9; Sarah, baptized December twenty-ninth, 1734; a son, baptized November twenty-fifth, 1735. His second wife was Mehitable Thompson, daughter of Thomas Thompson, by whom he had Mehitable, baptized January first, 1743-4; a daughter, baptized August twenty-sixth, 1746; Ephraim, baptized April eleventh, 1749; Amy, baptized November tenth 1752.

MOSES, son of William Goodwin and his wife, Deliverance Taylor, married Amy ———, by whom he had Rachel, Charles, "Katharine," and Priscilla, all baptized December fourteenth, 1727; a daughter, baptized July twenty-fourth, 1729; Amy, baptized May twenty-fourth, 1730; Reuben, baptized April twenty-seventh, 1734; Ann, baptized June eighth, 1735. Moses made his Will May ninth, 1769, in which he mentioned his wife, Ann(?), and his children, Charles, "Katharine" Astin, wife of Benjamin Astin; Priscilla Jones, wife of John Jones; grand daughter, Mary Lord, wife of Jacob Lord and daughter of his late daughter, Ruth Clark; grand-children, Sarah Gerrish and Joice Clark, children of his daughter, Rachel Clark.

Christopher Goodwin, the ancestor of the Goodwins of Plymouth, Massachusetts, was married in Charlestown, in 1648.

Elder William Goodwin, admitted a freeman at Cambridge in 1632, settled at Hartford, Connecticut, about 1636, with his brother Ozias.

In Virginia, we find Sir Francis Goodwin, in 1620; Thomas, in 1650; Major James, in 1658; Richard, in 1681; Matthew, in 1701; Devorax, Joseph and Thomas, Jr. in 1705; John and Benjamin, in 1711; Edmund, in 1713; Robert, in 1748; Thomas, in 1753; Harwood, in 1759; Joseph, in 1780; Corporal Thomas Goodwin received two hundred acres of land in Virginia, November twenty-second, 1783, for three years' service in the Continental line; Lieutenant Dinwiddie Goodwin died in Virginia in 1777, and November twentieth 1783, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six and two-thirds acres of land were granted to Captain Stephen Goodwin, "heir-at-Law of the said Dinwiddie," of Dinwiddie County, the descendants of all of whom we hope to hear from.

W. F. G.]

VIII.—EARLY BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN VIRGINIA.*

Ann Cocke the Daughter of Bowler Cocke & Sarah his Wife was born at Bowlers Point on Rappahannock River the eighteenth day of June MDCCXX. Susanna Cocke Daughter to the Said Bowler & Sarah was born at Bremo the Sixth day of November MDCCXXII, and died the Octo^r following. Tabitha Cocke was born the twenty fifth day of Sep^r. MDCCXXIV. Bowler Cocke was born the eleventh day of March MDCCXXVI. Sarah Cocke was born the Sixth day of February MDCCXX. Eliz^z. Cocke was born the fifteenth day of May MDCCXXJ. Richard Cocke was born the Seventh day of March MDCCXXXIII & lived but twenty five days. Charles Cocke was born the ninth day of September MDCCXXXV, and died the Day of Aug^t. MDCCXXXJX.

Ann Lansford Daughter of Hannah Lansford Mulletts was born Sept^r 13—1731. Elizabeth Lansford Daughter of Said Hannah was Born July y^e. 10 day—1732 William Lansford Son of Said Hannah was Born March y^e 1. Day—1835 John Lansford Son of Said Hannah was Born Sep^r. y^e 19. Day. 1737 Mary Lansford Daughter of Said Hannah was born March 1-day—1739

Entered October y^e. 14—1740, Delivered me by Cap^t. John Redford,

Sack Brewer Clk C vesy—

Catharine Lorton Daughter of Robert Lorton & Lucretia his Wife was born the 12th March 1737—8 Ann Lorton Daughter of the said Rob^t. Lorton & Lucretia his wife was born August 15th. 1740 Thomas Lorton was born July the 14th. 1746. Robert Lorton was Born January 11th. 1749.

Francis Kemp Son of Alexander Kemp and Martha his Wife was born y^e 13. day of October. 1735.

Arthur Mosely was Killed by a fall from his Horse y^e 4th day of October anno Dom. 1736

Ann Middleton Daughter of John Middleton and Judith his Wife was born y^e. 12 Day of October anno Dom MDCCXXXVJJ.

Elizabeth Povall Daughter of Robert Povall and Judith his Wife was Born in December anno 1729—

Robert Povall Son of the above said Robert and Judith was born y^e 3^d Day of July anno 1732

Sarah the Wife of John Rees who lately arri^{ed} here in the Snow Phoenix from London departed this Life the thirtieth day of Aug^t anno 1739

Richard Sharp Son of Henry Sharp and Mary his Wife was born y^e. 17 day of January 1735.

Mary the Daughter of Henry Sharp and Mary his Wife was Born the last day of September—1739.

Henry the Son D^o was born y^e 27 of March 1734. Ann the Daughter of D^o. was born y^e. 10 day of June 1741.

Mich^l. Taylor departed this Life y^e 11 Day of January anno 1735.

Edmond Liptrot departed this life December y^e 12 1735,

Benjamin Hobson departed this life Decemb^r y^e. 12 1735—

M^{rs}. Mary Randolph departed this life Decem^r. y^e. 29. 1736.

IX.—ACCOUNT OF WICKEN BONANT, ENGLAND.

[Communicated by the distinguished Genealogist, Miss Harriet A. Bainbridge, 21 Russell Road, Kensington, London, England.]

Its earliest mention in Domesday Book, is *Wica*. In the Court Rolls of the Hall temp. Edw. II. we find it under the name of *Wykes*, and half a century later as *Wyken*. There is little doubt that these are only the corruptions of *Wickham*. The addition of *Bonant*, from one of the Manors of the parish, is for the sake of distinguishing it from Wickham St. Paul and Wickham Bishops, both in the same country.

There were, from earliest periods, two manors in this parish, that of Wicken, or the Hall, and that of Bonhant. Both of these are mentioned in Domesday Book. They were united in the sixteenth century, and have since been reckoned one.

Matthew Bradbury died seized of it, February twenty-sixth, 1587, having bought it of Robert Chatterlow. It continued in the Bradbury family till the early part of the eighteenth century, when, in default of male issue, Dorinda, daughter of Matthew Bradbury, carried it in marriage to Joseph Sharpe, Esquire. The Bradbury brick house at Wicken Bonant, is forty-five miles from London. It was built by William Bradbuay, who died in 1622, for his second son, Wyman or Wymond, and continued in the second branch of the family till its extinction. Mr. Joseph Martin then owned it, until the last two years. At his demise, it went to his son-in-law, Mr. John Pollitt, who now owns it and resides there.

London, England, February fourth, 1870.

*Copied in 1869, from loose leaves in the "HENRICO PARISH RECORDS," extending from the year 1731 to 1773, in possession of P. R. Carrington, Esquire, Richmond, Virginia.

X.—REVOLUTIONARY OFFICERS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE REGIMENTS.

[From the New Hampshire Archives]*

A Return of the Field, Staff, & other Commission'd Officers in the First N. Hampshire Reg^t. from the 8th Day of Nov. 1776 until the 1st Jan^y. 1780. Noting the casualties that have happen'd dur^g. s^d term

Appointed	Officers names	Rank	Remarks
Nov. 8. 1776	John Stark	Col ^o	Resign'd Mar. 23 ^d . 1777.
Do —	Joseph Cilley	L ^t . Col ^o	Promoted to Col ^o . Feb ^y . 22 ^d . 1777.
Do —	George Reid	Maj ^r .	d ^o . to L ^t . Col ^o . Apl. 2 ^d . 1777. Promoted to L ^t . Col ^o . Com ^{dr} . of the 2 ^d . Reg ^t . March 1778
Ap ^r . 9. 1777	Sam ^l . Cotton	Chap ⁿ	resign'd Aug st . 14. 1777.
Nov. 8. 1776	Benj Kimball	Pay M ^r	Killed Aug st . 23 ^d . 1779—
Do —	Caleb Stark	Adj ^t	left out of the new Arrangement
Do —	Patrick Cogan	2 ^d . M ^r .	died Aug st . 22 ^d . 1778.
May 2 ^d . 1777	John Hale	Surg ⁿ	resign'd Jan ^y 11. 1780.
Do —	John Pool	Mate	
Nov. 8. 1776	Jerem ^h . Gilman	Capt ⁿ	Promoted to Major Ap ^r . 2 ^d . 1777. Promoted Liut ^{ant} . Col ^o . Sep ^r . 20. 1777.
Do —	W ^m . Scott	Capt ⁿ	Promoted to Major Sept. 20. 1777.
Do —	Amos Morrill	Capt ⁿ	
Do —	Jason Wait	Capt ⁿ	
Do —	John House	Capt ⁿ	resign'd March 5 th . 1778.
Do —	Amos Emerson	Capt ⁿ	
Do —	Ebenezer Fry	Capt ⁿ	
Do —	Is. Farwell	Capt ⁿ	
Ap ^r . 3 ^d . 1777	Nath ^l . Hutchens	Capt ⁿ	
Nov. 8. 1776	Simon Sartwell	1 st Lieu ^t .	Promoted to Capt ⁿ L ^t . w th . Rank of Capt ⁿ . 1 st . Sep ^r 20. 1777.
Do —	Moody Dustin	1 st . L ^t	Promoted w th . Rank of Capt ⁿ . 1 st . March 5. 1778.
Do —	Jam ^s Goold	1 st . L ^t	wounded & left out of the new Arrangement
Do —	Jon ^o . Emerson	1 st . L ^t	d ^o . ————— d ^o .
Do —	Peleg Williams	1 st . L ^t	resign'd May 10 th . 1778—
Do —	John Moore	1 st . L ^t	left out of the new arrangement
Do —	James Taggart	1 st . L ^t	resign'd Aug st . 22. 1778.
Do —	Nath ^l . McCalley	1 st . L ^t	Killed in the battle of New Town Aug st . 30. 1779.
Do —	Josiah Munro	2 ^d . L ^t	appointed Q ^r . M ^r . aug st . 23 ^d . 1778.
Do —	W ^m Bradford	2 ^d . L ^t	resign'd Aug st . 22. 1778.
Do —	W ^m Lee	2 ^d . L ^t	resign'd Jan ^y 10. 1778.
Do —	Dan ^l . Clapp	2. L ^t	
Do —	Asa Senter	2 ^d . L ^t	
Do —	Jerem ^h Pritchard	2 ^d . L ^t	appointed Adj ^t . Jan ^y 1. 1778.
Do —	W ^m . Hutchens	2 ^d . L ^t	resign'd June 23 ^d . 1779.
Do —	Bezeleel Howe	2 ^d . L ^t	
Do —	Simon Merrill	Ensign	Promoted to 2 ^d . L ^t . Sept 20. 1777.
Do —	Jon ^o . Willard	Ens. —	d ^o d ^o Jan ^y 10. 1778.
Do —	Jos ^o Thompson	Ens. —	d ^o d ^o Mar. 5. 1778.
Do —	Tho ^s . Blake	Ens. —	d ^o d ^o May 11. 1778.
Do —	Fran ^s . Chandonett	Ens. —	left out of the new Arrangement
Do —	Joseph Lawrence	Ens. —	died June 4. 1777.
Do —	David Mudgett	Ens. —	resign'd Nov. 20. 1777.
Do —	Sam ^l . Sweet	Ens. —	resign'd Sept. 23. 1777.
May 29. 1777	Jon ^o . Pirkins	Ensign	
Sept. 20. 1777	Joseph Mills	Ens. —	
D ^o 28. 1777	Hubbard Carter	Ens. —	
Jan ^y . 10. 1778	Sam ^l . Thompson	Ens. —	

*Judge Nesmith of New Hampshire called our attention, some twelve years since, to a box, in the Attic of the State House, filled with loose papers, among which this and the two following papers were found.

The distinguished historians of this country desire the publication of the "*Revolutionary Papers*" of the State of New Hampshire, and we hope some extensive publishing House in New York or Boston will propose to the State to furnish it with a certain number of printed copies of such records, in consideration of the copy-right. We assure ourselves that the State Authorities for the time being would rather encourage than place any obstacle in the way of such *individual* enterprise. With such a gentleman as Dr. Moore of the New York Historical Society, or Mr. Drake, or Mr. Pulsifer of Massachusetts, or Mr. Bartlett of Rhode Island, as editor, such a series of Historical Works would honor the State of New Hampshire.

W. F. G.

A Return of the Field, Staff & other Commission'd Officers, that are or ever have been in the 2. New Hampshire Regiment with the time of their Appointments promotions, Deaths Discharge or Resignation since the 1st. Jan^y 1777 to 1st. Jan^y 1780

Appointed	Officers Names	Rank	Remarks.
Nov. 8. 1776	Enoch Poor	Col ^o .	Promoted to Brig. General Feb ^y . 21. 1777.
Do —	Nath ^l . Hale	L ^t . Col ^o .	D ^o . to Col ^o . Prisoner July 7 th . 1777.
Do —	Winborn Adams	Major	D ^o . to L ^t . Col ^o . 7 Ap ^l . 1777. Kill'd 19 Sep. 1777.
Mar 5. 1778	George Reid	L ^t . Col ^o . Comd ^t .	
Nov. 8. 1776	Benj Titcomb	Capt ^a .	Promoted to Major 2 ^d Ap ^l . 1777.
Do —	W ^m . Elliot	adj ^t .	Prisoner July 7. 1777.
Do —	Jerem ^b . Fogg	Pay M ^r .	appointed to Capt ^a . Oct ^r . 9. 1777. resigned P M. 17 Oct ^r '79
Do —	Richard Brown	Q ^r . M ^r .	resign'd 22 ^d Aug ^t . 1778.
Do —	W ^m Parker	Surgeon	D ^o 31 st Nov. 1778.
Do —	Pelitia ^h Warren	Mate	D ^o 10 th . Oct ^r . 1777.
	W ^m . Wood	D ^o	
Aug. 18. 1777	W ^m M Bell	Adj ^t .	
Nov. 18. 1779	James Carr	pay M ^r	
Aug. 23. 1778	Joseph Potter	Q ^r . M ^r .	
Oct ^r . 24. 1779	Rob ^t . R. Henry	Surgeon	
Nov 8. 1776	James Norris	Capt ^a	Promoted to Major in 3 ^d . Reg ^t . 20 Sept ^r . 1777.
Do —	W ^m Rowell	Lieut ^t .	Do — to Captain 2 Ap ^l . 1777.
Do —	Jn ^o . Colcord	Lieut ^t .	resign'd May 6. 1777
Ap ^l . 2 1777	Jam ^s Nichols	D ^o	furlough'd 1 st . Ap ^l . 30 days, not return'd
Nov. 8. 1776	Josiah Meloon	Ens. —	left out of the new Arrangment
Do —	Enoch Chase	Lieut ^t —	Promoted to Captain 22 ^d . Dec ^r . 1777.
Do —	Sam ^l Nute	Lieut ^t	resign'd
Ap ^l . 2 ^d . 1777	Jos ^s . Merrow	Ens. —	
Nov. 8. 1776	Fred ^k . M. Bell	Capt ^a .	died 9 th . Oct ^r . 1779
Do —	Jethrow Head	Lieut ^t	resign'd May 8. 1777.
May 9. 1777	Tho ^r . Hardy	Lieut ^t .	D ^o Aug st . 27. 1778.
Nov. 8. 1776	Ebenez. Light.	D ^o .	
Do —	Sam ^l Adams	Ens —	Promoted to Lieut ^t . Oct ^r . 9 th . 1777.
Do —	Caleb Robinson	Capt ^a .	
Do —	Moses Dustin	Lieut ^t	Promoted to Captain 20 Sept 1777.
Do —	Micah Hoit	Lieut ^t	Furlough'd Ap ^l . 1 st . 30 days not return'd
Do —	Luke Woodbury	Ens —	Promoted to Lieut ^t . 20 Sep ^r . 1777.
Do —	James Carr	Capt ^a	
Do —	Sam ^l . Cherry	Lieut ^t .	Promoted to Captain Lieutenant
Do —	Pelit ^h . Whittemore	Lieut ^t .	
Do —	Geo. P. Frost	Ens. —	Promoted to 2 ^d . Lt. 20 Sep ^r . & to 1 st . Lt 22 ^d . Dec. 1777
Do —	John Drew	Capt ^a .	resign'd Aug. 31. 1778.
Do —	W ^m . Wallas	Lieut ^t .	Furlough'd in Oct ^r . 1777, & not return'd
Do —	David Gilman	Lieut ^t .	Cashir'd 9. nov. 1778.
Do —	W ^m . M. Bell	Ens —	Promoted to Lieut 6. May, 1777.
Do —	Elijah Claves	Capt ^a	Died of his wound some time in Nov. 1779.
Do —	Sam ^l . Bradford	Lieut ^t .	left out of the new Arrangment.
Do —	Jo Potter	Lieut ^t .	
Do —	W ^m . Taggart	Ens —	Promoted to Lieut ^t 22 ^d . Dec ^r . 1777
Nov. 8. 1776	Sam ^l Blodget	Capt ^a	resign'd 22 ^d Dec ^r . 1777.
Do —	James Crombie	Lieut ^t	left out of the new Arrangment
Do —	Noah Robinson	Lieut ^t	
Do —	David Forsyth	Ens. —	Dead May 10. 1778.
May 6. 1777	Dan ^l . Gookin	Ens. —	
Sep ^r . 16. 1777	Caleb Blodget	Ens. —	
Sep ^r . 20. 1777	Geo. Burnham	Ens. —	
Oct ^r . 9. 1777	W ^m . Twombly	Ens. —	
Dec 22. 1777	Tho ^r . Challis	Ens. —	

An arrangement agreed upon by the Officers of the New Hampshire Line, and the Names of those who retire agreeable to a general Order of the 1st. November 1780—

1 st . Regiment			2 nd . Regiment		
	Alexander Scammell	Colonel		George Reid	Lieut. Col ^o Comm
	Henry Dearborn	L ^t . ditto		Amos Morrill	Major
	William Scott	Major		Jason Wait	Major
1	Ebenezer Frye	Captain	1	Caleb Robinson	Captain
2	Isaac Farwell	d ^o .	2	James Carr	d ^o .
3	Daniel Livermore	d ^o .	3	William Rowell	d ^o .
4	Isaac Frye	d ^o .	4	David M ^o .Gregore	d ^o .
5	Simon Sartwell	d ^o .	5	Moses Dustin	d ^o .
6	Moody Dudley	d ^o .	6	Jeremiah Fogg	d ^o .
7	Nicholas Gilman	d ^o .	7	Enoch Chase	d ^o .
8	Josiah Monroe	d ^o .	8	Samuel Cherry	d ^o .
9	Benjamin Ellis	d ^o .	9	John Dennett	d ^o .
1	Asa Senter	Lieut ^o .	1	Joseph Potter	Lieut ^o .
2	Jonathan Cass	Lieut ^o .	2	Pelatiah Whittemore	d ^o .
3	Nathan Hoit	d ^o .	3	William M. Bell	do.
4	Bezaleel Howe	d ^o .	4	George P. Frost	do.
5	Jonathan Willard	d ^o .	5	Joseph Boynton	do.
6	Joshua Thompson	d ^o .	6	Nathaniel Leavitt	do.
7	Thomas Blake	d ^o .	7	James Blanchard	do.
8	Jonathan Perkins	d ^o .	8	Luke Woodbury	do.
9	Jonathan Cilley	d ^o .	9	Samuel Adams	do.
10	Joseph Mills	d ^o .	10	Joshua Merrow	do.
11	Archibald Stark	d ^o .	11	Daniel Gookin	do.
12	Hubbart Carter	d ^o .	12		
13	Nathan Weare	d ^o .	13		
1	John Harvey	Ensign	1	Caleb Blodget	Ensign
2	Moses Page	d ^o .	2	Neal M ^o .Gaffey	do.
3	Samuel Thompson	d ^o .	3	Bradbury Richards	do.
			4	Robert B. Wilkins	do.
	Retir'd			Declin'd being Arrange'd as Lieut ^o .	
	Joseph Cilley	Col ^o		Noah Robinson	Cap ^t . Lieut ^o .
	Benj ⁿ . Titcomb	Lieut ^o . Col ^o .		Daniel Clapp &	
	Nathaniel Hutchins	Cap ^t .		Adna Pennyman	

XI.—NARRAGANSET NUMBER ONE, NOW THE TOWN OF BUXTON, MAINE.

[From a manuscript in possession of Cyrus Woodman, Esquire, of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Written by the late Charles Coffin, Esquire, of Buxton.]

The tract of land constituting this township and Narraganset Number Seven, was between and running from Saco river to the Presumpscot, beginning at the north west corner of Biddeford, that part which is now Saco, and running on the head of Saco, Scarborough and Westbrook to the Presumpscot. Number One is now Buxton, in the county of York, Maine; and Number Seven, Gorham, in the county of Cumberland. Number One was assigned to Philemon Dane of Ipswich, and one hundred and nineteen others, belonging to the towns of Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, Haverhill, Salisbury, Amesbury, Methuen, Hampton, Greenland and Berwick. The committee were Philemon Dane and John Gaines of Ipswich, and Colonel Joseph Gerrish of Newbury. It was reported as surveyed in February, 1734, and the report accepted.

The first meeting of the Proprietors was held at Newbury-Falls, when John Hobson, Esquire, of Rowley, was chosen clerk, who, with the following gentlemen, were elected to that office till the Proprietors ceased to act as a body, namely: Colonel Joseph Coffin of Newbury, Colonel Tristram Jordan of Saco, Deacon Thomas Bradbury and the Honorable John Woodman of Buxton. Buxton is bounded westerly by Saco river, which divides it from the town of Hollis; easterly and northerly by the towns of Saco, Scarborough, Gorham and Standish. A settlement in this township was commenced in 1748 or 1749, by Deacon Amos Chase from Newbury, late of Saco, Joseph Simpson, Nathan Whitney, and Messrs. Gage and Bryant. They erected for themselves log houses and a log meeting-house. They all left and sold out to others. It appears by their records that the Proprietors were exceedingly desirous to comply with all the conditions of their grant, by repeatedly offering land and money to induce individuals to settle on their lands. But so far from having sixty families and a learned Orthodox minister settled in the town at the end of seven years or in 1740, neither had been complied with, and they were near losing their grant, for Eliot Vaughan and others had applied, by petition, to the Legislature for the same tract. At a legal meeting in 1742, it was voted "that Joseph Gerrish and John Greenleaf, Esquires, be a committee to represent the Proprietors at the next sitting of the great and General Court or Assembly of his Majesties Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, and then and there offer reasons in behalf of said Pro-

prietors why the prayer of the petition of Eliot Vaughan and others relating to a township called Number One, on Saco river, should not be granted." As nothing more appears on the records relative to this petition, and as the grantees held the township eight years longer before complying with any condition of the grant, it would seem that Messrs. Greenleaf and Gerrish were entirely successful in their opposition to Mr. Vaughan's petition. Of all the seven townships granted in 1733, Number One, Buxton, was the last to make a permanent settlement and comply with the other conditions of the grant.

In the fall of the year 1750, the first permanent settlement was commenced, and William Hancock, John Elden, Samuel Merrill, Timothy Hazeltine, Job Roberts, John Wilson, Joseph and Joshua Woodman and John Nason, with their families, moved into the town. Mr. Hancock was from Londonderry, Ireland; he first went to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, thence to Buxton. He settled on the right of the road leading from the Congregational meeting-house to Salmon Falls. He was a respectable man, died in the meridian of life, and has left descendants in the town. He took the first newspaper that came into the town, which was printed in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Samuel Merrill was from Salisbury, Massachusetts, of a respectable family, was frequently a selectman of the town and a Lieutenant at the battle of Bunker's Hill, in the company commanded by Jeremiah Hill, Esquire, the late collector of the Port of Biddeford and Saco. He settled within a quarter of a mile of the Salmon Falls, on the road leading to Saco, which was then and long after known as the "eight rod road." His descendants are numerous in the town. He died in 1822, aged 93 years.

Timothy Hazeltine was from Bradford, Massachusetts, and settled within a few rods of the meeting-house. As deacon of the church from its first organization in 1763 till his death, he was desirous to have it believed that he had more spiritual discernment than his minister; and in this he resembled many who have held that good office. He died at the age of 70 years. John Elden and Job Roberts were from Saco, and settled on the same road with Mr. Merrill. John Elden was an active and enterprising man, commanded a company at the siege of Boston, with reputation. His descendants are numerous in the town and have been handsomely noticed by their fellow-townsmen from its first settlement. Joseph and Joshua Woodman were brothers, from Newbury, Massachusetts. They settled below Salmon Falls, near to Pleasant Point. They were both leading men among the first settlers, and both lived to old age. John Wilson continued but a short time in the town, and little is known of him but that he settled on the *Beach Plain Road*, near where the

late Jacob Bradbury, Esquire, resided, and on the direct road from the meeting-house to Saco. The first settlers established themselves in the lower part of the town, not because the soil was more productive, but because Saco was their only market, and because it placed them in the vicinity and under the protection of the fort, situated on the river, in the town of Hollis, two miles below the Salmon Falls, for many years commanded by Captain Thomas Bradbury; and because the conveyance and travel for many years by water was much easier than by land, as good roads at that time were not made in a day or year.

In 1752, there appears to have been considerable addition to the settlers; for the names of Samuel Rolfe, Benjamin and John Dunnell, David Martin, John Brooks, Ephraim and John Sands, Thomas and Jacob Bradbury, Samuel, Joseph and Daniel Leavitt, Benjamin ———, Michael Woodsum, Richard Clay, John Redlon and Isaiah Brooks are found among them. It is a singular fact, that when this town was granted and assigned, more than one half of those to whom it was assigned, and who were in the Narragansett Fight, fifty-eight years before, were living. There are at this time the descendants of only three of the original grantees residing in the town, Appleton from Ipswich and Hobson from Rowley and Martin from ———. Both of these names have been and now are among the most respectable citizens of the town. Rebecca Woodman, daughter of Captain Joseph Woodman, was the first child born in the town in the year 1751. She married Lieutenant Moses Atkinson.

From the year 1750 to 1761, the settlers were generally supplied with preaching at the expense of the Proprietors. The Reverend Joshua Tufts continued with them two years as their religious teacher. After him a Mr. Thompson, and early in 1761, the late Dr. Coffin commenced preaching to the settlers, and was ordained March sixteenth, 1763. The only clergymen present on this occasion were Messrs. Little and Hemmenway of Wells, and Merrill and Fairfield of Biddeford and Saco. Others were invited, but were prevented from attending by the unusual depth of snow on the ground. Those who did attend travelled on snow-shoes. Messrs. Little and Hemmenway, with their delegates and other gentlemen, in attempting to travel in the directest course from Kennebunk, through what is now Lyman and Hollis, to the Block House at Union Falls, passed so far to the left of the direct course as to prevent their reaching Saco river the first day. They remained one night in the woods and suffered considerable inconvenience from want of food and the inclemency of the weather. On this occasion Mr. Little, a brother-in-law of the pastor elect, preached. Mr. Merrill gave the charge and Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Hemmenway gave the right hand of fellowship.

At the same time was organized a church, consisting of the following persons: John Nason, Timothy Hazeltine, Thomas Bradbury, Richard Clay, Humphrey Atkinson, Jacob Bradbury and Samuel Leavitt. The two first named were elected deacons. Mr. Coffin was supported by the Proprietors of the township, till the same was incorporated as a town in 1772. He continued the religious teacher of this people from his first coming among them, more than sixty years. He died June sixth, 1821, aged eighty-four. He was a good scholar and learned divine, and possessed that simplicity yet dignity of manners and kindness of heart which secured for him the love and respect of all who knew him.

The Reverend Levi Loring was ordained his colleague in 1817, and succeeded him in the ministry. There are organized societies of Baptists and Methodists in the town. A Freewill or general Baptist Society who worship at Moderation, in the north west part of the town, is respectable for numbers, property and character. Elder Bailey is their present respectable teacher. The first schoolmaster employed by the settlers was the late Reverend Silas Moody of Kennebunk Port, who commenced his school in the winter of 1761-2. Those who received the benefit of his instruction have uniformly borne the highest testimony to his ability and fidelity as a teacher, and considered it sufficient praise to bestow on the most eminent of his successors, that he came next to "Parson Moody." In after life, as a clergyman, his purity of character and integrity of intention have rarely been surpassed among his brethren in the ministry.

The inhabitants of Buxton, although a frontier town during French or seven years war from 1754 to 1761, were never molested by the Indians, and were only once alarmed by the discovery of one or two Indians crossing the path near the garrison, which was annexed to the house of Captain Joseph Woodman. What number of Indians were in the neighborhood at this time or what was their design or object has never been known. This alarm, as was natural, brought all the inhabitants to the garrison, who were aided and assisted on the occasion by the coolness and decision of Lieutenant Samuel Merrill. In the war of Independence the people of this town were all zealous whigs or high sons of liberty, and supplied the Continental army with more soldiers than any other town of its population in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as has frequently been stated by a gentleman who was either in the Legislature of Massachusetts or the Congress of the Confederation during that war. There were three Captains and two subaltern officers on the Continental establishment from this town, beside a number of militia officers who were occasionally called into service. The first town meeting was held on the

twenty-fourth day of May, 1773, when John Hopkinson was chosen moderator; John Nason, town clerk; Samuel Merrill, John Kimball, and John Smith, selectmen, and John Kimball, town treasurer. Deacon Nason was annually re-elected town clerk till the year 1780, when he removed to Limington. His cotemporaries uniformly spoke highly of him for his integrity, respectable abilities and unsullied christian character. In the year 1782, for the first time, the town elected Jacob Bradbury, Esquire, their representative. He was elected a delegate to the Convention in 1788, to assent to and ratify or reject the Federal Constitution. He gave that instrument his full and hearty consent. A large majority of his constituents being opposed to it, his popularity for a short time was affected. He was frequently elected their representative afterwards, and very uniformly employed in town affairs, although differing politically from a large majority of the town. He was personally beloved and respected. In the year 1824, a small part of the upper section of the town, with eight or ten families on the same, were annexed to the town of Standish. Except this alteration, the limits of the town remain the same as when first granted and assigned.

XII.—TRAIN SOLDIERS IN SOMERSWORTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE, IN 1740.

[From the New Hampshire Archives.]

July A True List of all The Train Soldiers 23: 1740 In the Parish of Somersworth Under Com^d of Tho^s Wallingford Capt are as followeth (Viz)

Serj^t John Ricker Serj^t Philip Stackpole Serj^t Thomas Tebbets Serj^t William Wentworth Corp^o Ebenezer Garland Corp^o Samuel Joanes Corp^o Samuel Randall Thomas Steuens Richard Goodin Samuel Downs Drum^m Eben^r Wentworth Joseph Wentworth John Mason Joseph Hussey John Hall Daniel Goodin Samuel Hall James Hall Benj^t Wentworth Ephraim Rickers Meturin Rickers Abram Mimney Samuel Nock Eleaz^r Wyer Henry Nock Thomas Tebbets jun^r Benj^t Twombly Ezeikil Wentworth Eben^r Roberts Thomas Wentworth George Rickers Sen^r James Kinney Robert Cole Benja^t Stanton James Clements Moses Tebbets Sam^l Wentworth John Vicker John Lebrock Samuel Austin Benja^t Austin Edward Eliot George Rickers jun^r Samuel Wentworth jun^r Jonathan Wentworth jun^r Nath^l Nock Jonathan Merrow Eben^r Hearl John Wentworth Hatevil Roberts William Hanson Benja^t Roberts Lemuel Perkins Drisco Nock William Stackpole James Foy Joseph Varney jun^r Elipha^t Cromwell Daniel Smith Meturin Ricker Mark Leualle* Benja^t Heard James Stackpole John Calland Isaac Hanson Daniel Hun-

son Richard Philpott John Sulevant Sam^l Allien Edward Allien John Muzeet Samuel Waymouth James Nock Loue Roberts jun^r Ichabod Rawlins Eben^r Downs jun^r John Rickers jun^r Joshua Roberts Terah Sprages Daniel Libbee Neal Vickers Dodepher Garland Richard Goodin jun^r Benja^t Warren Samuel Roberts Francis Roberts Sam^l Downs jun^r Sam^l Jones jun^r Joseph Hussey jun^r Eben^r Roberts jun^r John Clement jun^r John forall Thomas Westgutt* Zebuⁿ: Coason Elipha^t Randall Oatis Kenev* Marke Wentworth Joseph Richardson Tristeram Head William Chadwick William Downs Peter Cooke John Downs William Childs* Noah Cross

A True List as Attest^d per me

Total 101

XIII.—PETITION OF SUNDRY PERSONS IN SOMERSWORTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE, IN 1743, FOR GRANT OF TOWN PRIVILEGES.

[From the New Hampshire Archives.]

To his Excellency Benning Wentworth Esq^r. Captain General and Commander in Chief in and over His Majesties Province of New Hampshire in New England and to the Honourable his Majesties Council and the Honouable the House of Representatives for the Province afores^d in General Assembly Convened—

The Humble Petition of the Freeholders & Inhabitants of the Parish of Summersworth within the s^d Province Humbly Sheweth that the s^d Parish being Sett of a Separate Parish By an Act of the General Assembly made and passed in the third year of his Present Majesties Reign whereby the Inhabitants of s^d Parish are Invested with all the powers and priviledges of a Parish as to maintain an Orthodox Gospel Minister their poore and Schoole and to Choose all Parish officers, now the Growing Charge of maintaining the minister poore and Schoole and other necessary charges Arising Inasomuch that the Rates for this present Year are Six shillings & Eight pence on the head or four pence per pound in the new tenor which makes the taxes very high and our Numbers being small also the Land not taken up is so mean that there is but little probability of our Numbers Increasing as also that when we have chosen a Collector to Gather the Parish Assessments & he having Served in that troublesome office hath been Re Chosen by the Town of Dover as Constable which office he hath been obliged to Serve in or otherwise to pay his fine and also if any person that was Chosen by s^d Parish as Collector and Refused to Serve there was no Law to compel him to pay his fine—Wherefore to Remedy the above Grievances Your Humble Petitioners Humbly Pray that Your Excellency and Honours would be pleased By an Act of General Assembly

*These names are crossed in the original.

to Invest us with the Priviledges and powers of a Town, and a Small matter to Enlarge our Boundaries according or near our first Petition Viz to Begin at a place in Quochecho River called the Gulf and from thence on a Straight Line to the Southern side of Varneys Great Hill and from thence to Run on a North west point of the compass to the end of the Township and Your petitioners as in Duty Bound shall ever pray

Dover May 19th 1743

Paul Wentworth Gershom Wentworth William Wentworth Moses Steuens Thomas Miller Sam^l Randal Ezekiel Wentworth John Wentworth Loue Roberts Philip Yetten Loue Roberts Joseph Ricker John Ricker Samuel Wentworth Jeremiah Rawlings James Clement John Sullivan Ephraim Wentworth Garsham Downes John Downs John Robertes Daniel Smith Ebenezer Robearts alexander Roberts Richard Downs Silvanus Nock Samuel Nock Benja Wamworthy Daniel Goodin James Hobbs Richard Goodin Jonathan merrow Daniel Plumer Benja mason John mason John Drew Moses Carr Thomas Nock nathaniel Nock Benj^a Twombly John Recker Nathaniel Ricker Phinias Ricker Sam^l Warren Joshua Stacpole george Ricker William Stacpole Joseph Wentworth Samuel Stacpole Joshua Robards juner Philip Stacpole Samuel Downs

In the House of Representatives December the first 1743 the Within Petition read—and Voted That the Petitioners at their Cost Serve the Select men of Dover with a Coppy of the Petition and Votes thereon, and that they appeare before the Gen^l ass^m y^e 2^d day of Jan^y next if the ass^m be y^e Sitting if not the third day of the Sitting of the Gen^l ass^m at their next Sessions, to Shew Cause (if any) why the Prayer of the Petition may not be granted

James Jeffry Cl^r ass^m

In Council December 3 1743
read & Concurr^d

Theod Atkinson Sec^y,
Eodem Die—Assented to

B Wentworth

XIV.—SOME OF THE DESCENDANTS OF CAPTAIN THOMAS BRADBURY, THE EM- IGRANT, THROUGH HIS SON, WILLIAM.

Wymond, son of William Bradbury, who died in 1622, married Elizabeth, widow of Francis Gill, and daughter of William Whitgift, of Essex County, England, by whom he had William, Thomas, Jane and Ann. Thomas was born at Wicken Bonant, Essex County, England, in 1610, and came to America as agent for Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as early as 1634. In 1636, he settled in Salisbury, Massachusetts, and married Mary, daughter of John Perkins, by whom he had Wymond, married

Sarah Pike; Judith, married Caleb Moody; Thomas; Mary, married John Stanyan, of Hampton, New Hampshire; Jane, married Henry True; Jacob, died in 1669, at Barbadoes; William, married Mrs. Rebecca Maverick, widow of Samuel Maverick, jr., son of the King's Commissioner, and daughter of the Rev. John Wheelwright; Elizabeth, married John Buss; John; Ann, and Jabez.

William was born in 1649, married Mrs. Maverick, March twelfth, 1671-2, by whom he had three sons, William, born in 1672, married Sarah Cotton; Thomas, born in 1674, married, first, Jemima True, October thirtieth, 1700, who died December fifth, 1700, and secondly, Mary ———; and Jacob, born in 1677, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Storkman and his wife, Mrs. Sarah Bradbury, *nee* Pike, widow of Wymond Bradbury. These three sons and their half-sister, Mary Maverick, received, by the Will of their grandfather, Rev. John Wheelwright, a portion of his estate in Lincolnshire, England, as well as that in New England.

William and his wife, Sarah Cotton, had Samuel and ———, twins, born in 1698; William; John; James, born in 1701, married Elizabeth Sanders, June sixteenth, 1726; Rebecca, born in 1702; Jacob, born in 1704; Joanna, born in 1706; Mary, born in 1708; Sarah, born in 1710; Crisp, born in 1712, married Mary ———; Benjamin, born in 1714, married March twenty-eighth, 1749, Jemima True, and Barnabas, born in 1716.

James Bradbury and his wife, Elizabeth Sanders had James; Ruth; Elizabeth; Samuel; Sarah; Sanders, born 1748, married Sarah Colby; Elizabeth; and Sarah.

Sanders Bradbury enlisted April fifteenth, 1777, at Nottingham West, (now Hudson, New Hampshire,) for three years, in Captain Emerson's Company, in Colonel Gilley's Regiment. He was a Sergeant in 1778, thirty years of age, and five feet and nine inches in height. Kidder, in his "*Historg of the First New Hampshire Regiment*," says he was discharged November fifteenth, 1779. He died from the effect of a wound received in the melee on Long Island, and was buried at White Plains, New York. His wife, Sarah, was paid by the State "£41, 8, 3, depreciation," March twenty-second, 1781. His oldest son, Daniel, enlisted April sixth, 1781, for three years or during the war, in Colonel Reed's Second New Hampshire Regiment. There was a Jacob Bradbury, enlisted April twenty-third, 1775, in Captain Samuel Richard's Company, in Colonel Stark's Regiment, and served three months and sixteen days; perhaps he was a brother to Sanders.

Sanders Bradbury and his wife, Sarah Colby, had James, born April twentieth, 1768, married Catharine Conant, April, 1795, died in Hollis, New Hampshire, October fourteenth, 1811; Ab-

ner, born March fourth, 1770; Molly, born January thirtieth, 1771; Betsey, born February twenty-fifth, 1773; Jacob, born June ninth, 1775; William, born December sixth, 1776; Joseph, born December fifth, 1778, married, January twenty-ninth, 1804, Hannah Putnam, died in Woodstock, Vermont, April ninth, 1832; Daniel; Nancy, and Sally.

James Bradbury and his wife, Catharine Conant, settled in Hollis, New Hampshire, and had James, born January fourth, 1796; married Louisa Ayers, January fourteenth, 1835, died in Quincy, Massachusetts, December fifth, 1837; Catherine, born March twenty-fifth, 1798; William Sanders, born February fourteenth, 1800, married Elizabeth Emerson, October eleventh, 1824, and is now a merchant in Lawrence, Massachusetts; Charles, born July fourth, 1802, married Mary Worcester, in 1827, died at Oxford, Connecticut, January sixteenth, 1830; Elizabeth, born September eighteenth, 1804, married Francis Caverly, November seventh, 1841, now resides at Morrisania, New York; Samuel Fox, born December twenty-fifth, 1806, married Mary Ann Leathe, June fourteenth, 1836, died February ninth, 1842, in Boston; Josiah Conant, born February twenty-first, 1809, married Almira Hemenway, November twenty-seventh, 1834, and resides in Charlestown, Massachusetts; and Mary Ann, born May seventeenth, 1811. These were all born in Hollis, New Hampshire.

William Sanders Bradbury and his wife, Elizabeth Emerson, had Elizabeth Emerson, born at Westminster, Massachusetts, August eighteenth, 1826, married Amos D. Nourse, April eleventh, 1848; William Frothingham, born May seventeenth, 1829, married Margaret Jones, August twenty-seventh, 1857, now a teacher in Cambridge, Massachusetts; Edward Emerson, born February seventh, 1832, delivered the Latin Salutatory Oration, at Commencement, at Amherst College, in 1856, when he graduated, married Sarah Jane Sykes, November twenty-seventh, 1856, now a Counsellor and Attorney at Law in New York City; Charles Fletcher, born April tenth, 1836, died December ninth, 1854; Esther Caroline, born June twenty-fourth, 1839, now a teacher at Benicia, California; Charlotte Ann, born March twenty-fourth, 1844, married Edwin Augustus Eaton, August twenty-third, 1864, now a resident of Benicia, California.

Crisp and his wife, Mary ———, settled in York, Maine; then in Biddeford, Maine; then in Newbury, Massachusetts, where he died in 1753. Their children were John, born in 1738; Mary, born in 1740, married Samuel Noyes, of Newburyport; Sarah, born in 1744: Elizabeth, married Samuel Nelson; Ruth, James, and Hannah.

Benjamin and his wife, Jemima True, settled in New Gloucester, Maine; their children were Sa-

rah, born in 1750, married Nathaniel Osgood; Jabez, born in 1752; Elizabeth, born in 1755; William, born in 1757, married Hannah Tufts; and Rebecca, born in 1760, married William Haskell.

William Bradbury and his wife, Hannah Tufts, had Hannah, born in 1781, married Dr. William Bridgman; William, born in 1783, married Sarah Merrill; John, born in 1786, married Sally Tufts; Jabez, born in 1789; Benjamin, born in 1792; and Osgood, born in 1798, married Mary M. Dinsmore.

Thomas had no children by his first wife, Jemima True; by his second wife, Mary ———, he had Jemima, born January twenty-fifth, 1703-4; a daughter, born in 1707, and perhaps others. He died March tenth, 1718-19. She died June fifteenth, 1723.

Jacob Bradbury and his wife, Elizabeth Storkman, had Thomas, born in 1699, married Sarah Merrill in 1724; Ann, born in 1701; Ann, born in 1702, married, in 1721, William True; Elizabeth, born February 1705-6, married John Stevens; Dorothy, born in 1708; Jacob, born October sixth, 1710, married, December eighteenth, 1733, Abigail Eaton; Sarah, born in 1713, married, in 1730, Elisha Allen; Moses, born in 1715, married, December twenty-eighth, 1737, Abigail Fogg; and Jane, baptized August thirty-first, 1718, a posthumous child, provided for in the Will of her father, who died May fourth, 1718.

Captain Thomas Bradbury and his wife, Sarah Merrill, had Samuel, born in 1724; Elizabeth, born in 1727, married, in 1747, Samuel Merrill, her cousin; Jacob, baptized in Salisbury, September fifteenth, 1728, married Abigail Cole of Biddeford, Maine, died in Limerick, Maine, in 1801; Moses, born in February, 1730-31, married Mary Page; Samuel, born in 1733; Thomas, born in January, 1735-6, married, in 1762, Ruth Page, and died November ninth, 1803, in Buxton, Maine; William, born in 1738, married, in 1765, Susanna Hopkinson, and lived and died in Buxton, on the farm now owned and occupied by Mr. William Scribner; Sarah, born in 1739, married, in 1763, Joseph Leavitt of Buxton; May nineteenth, 1744-5, Mary, daughter of Thomas Bradbury, was baptized in Salisbury, Massachusetts, by Rev. Caleb Cushing, and November fifth, 1767, Samuel Sands and Mary Bradbury, both of Narragansett Number One, (now Buxton, Maine,) were married; Benjamin, baptized in Biddeford, in April, 1744, resided near Bog-Mills, in Buxton, but moved to Ohio, in about 1800, and settled near Cincinnati; Mercy, baptized in Biddeford, in February, 1746, married in 1771, John Appleton of Buxton; and Jabez, baptized in Biddeford, in May, 1749. These three last are called, on the Biddeford Church records, children of Captain Thomas and "Abigail" Bradbury. Captain Thomas Bradbury's wife was Sarah Merrill, and

his brother Jacob's wife was *Abigail* Eaton. They were both married in Salisbury, Massachusetts, where they were born. April twenty-second, 1744, they each had a son baptized in Biddeford, Maine, Benjamin, son of Captain Thomas, and Jacob, (my great-grandfather; see HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, November, 1869, page 259, note), son of Jacob. When these two baptisms were recorded, Abigail was called the wife of Captain Thomas, and Sarah, the wife of Jacob, and the error was continued in the record when the other children were baptized. Captain Thomas Bradbury had command of the "Block House," or Fort, on Saco river, in Hollis, Maine, in 1748 and 1749. His two sons, Jacob and Moses, were in his Company; also his brother, Jacob, his son-in-law, Samuel Merrill, and brother-in-law, Elisha Allen. At the close of the war, he moved from Biddeford to Buxton, at the early settlement of the township, and settled on the farm his son William afterwards resided on. He died about 1775.

Jacob Bradbury and his wife, Abigail Cole, had Anna, baptized June twenty-first, 1752, married Thomas Gilpatrick, jr., August twenty-first, 1777; John, baptized May eighteenth, 1753, married — Page of Conway, New Hampshire, died in Limerick, Maine, May fourth, 1837; Ammi R., baptized July twenty-first, 1754; Betty, baptized May ninth, 1756, married Gile Follett in 1787; Lucy, baptized April thirtieth, 1758, married Thomas Parsons of Parsonsfield, Maine; Abigail, baptized May thirteenth, 1759, married Jere Page of Fryeburg, Maine; Eunice, baptized November sixteenth, 1760, married Reuben Hill, February twenty-ninth, 1788, died in Limerick, in 1807; Ammi R., baptized March twenty-first, 1762; Eather, baptized August twenty-sixth, 1764, married Thomas Lord of Freedom, New Hampshire; Sarah, baptized May fifth, 1765, married Robert Page of Fryeburg, Maine; Rebecca, baptised September twenty-first, 1766, married in 1790, Phineas Colcord; Jacob, baptized February fourth, 1769, married Jane Piper, May first, 1793, died in Parsonsfield, Maine, May fourth, 1837; Molly, baptized April nineteenth, 1772, married, February fourth, 1807, Joshua Hutchinson of Buxton, Maine; Thomas, baptized June eighteenth, 1775, married — Webster. The above fourteen children were baptized in Biddeford, Maine. There were also Joseph, married Betsey Severns; Charles; Susan, married — Harvey of Buxton; Olive; and two others making in all twenty. The six last were probably born in Limerick, Maine, where their father, Jacob Bradbury, senior, settled in about 1780. He was the first Deacon of the Church in that town. He and his brother, Moses, received, in 1771, from their father, Captain Thomas Bradbury, by deed, each one half of two hundred acres of land "adjoining Gooch's Island," in Biddeford. Moses did an ex-

tensive lumber business in Biddeford, in 1793-98, in company with his son, Samuel. He owned a saw-mill and a fulling and carding-mill, on Gooch's Island. He was killed while driving logs on Little Ossipee river, in Limerick. Moses had seven children, viz: Samuel, married Abigail Cleaves; Moses, married Joanna Hill; Ruth, married, first, — Foster, second, Stephen Woodman of Buxton; Abigail, married Captain Noah Hooper; Nehemiah, married, first, Elizabeth Cole, second, Mrs. Molly Hooper, *nee* Lunt; Molly, married Nathaniel Foss; and Sally, married Samuel Merrill.

Jacob Bradbury, who married Abigail Eaton, moved from Biddeford to Buxton about the time his brother, Captain Thomas, did. He died in 1797. His children were Joseph, born in 1734; Moses, born in 1736, killed in the French and Indian War; Jacob, born in 1737; Elizabeth, born in 1738, married in 1764, Stephen Palmer of Buxton, Maine; Abigail, born in 1741, married, in 1763, Daniel Leavitt of Buxton; Jacob, baptized in Biddeford, Maine, April twenty-second, 1744, married first Mary Goodwin; second, Mrs. Catharine Morris, *nee* Simonton; Hannah, baptized in 1746, married Joshua Heirl (Earl) of Berwick, Maine, who subsequently settled in Hollis, Maine; Joseph, baptized in 1748, married, in 1774, Patience, daughter of John Goodwin of Kennebunk-port, Maine, a native of Berwick; Sarah, baptized in 1750, married, in 1770, John Owen of Buxton; Jabez, baptized in 1752, married first Sarah Atkinson in 1774; second, Mrs. Mary Billings, *nee* Cutts, in 1807, widow of Enoch Billings of Buxton; Mary, baptized in 1754, married in 1773 Samuel Beard of Scarboro', Maine; Elijah, baptized in 1757, married in 1779 Sarah Lane; Miriam, baptized in 1758, married in 1780 Brice Boothby of Buxton; and Wintrop, baptized in 1761. The last nine were baptized in Biddeford, and probably born there; the other five were born in Salisbury, Massachusetts. There was a Wintrop, baptized in Narraganset, Number One, October ninth, 1763, married in 1785 Susanna Hazeltine.

The other brother, Moses, who married Abigail Fogg, settled in North Yarmouth, Maine, and had Mary, born in 1738, married Captain William Harris of New Gloucester, Maine; Jacob, born in 1740; Hannah, born in 1742; Benjamin, born in 1745, married, April, twenty-third, 1766, Eleanor Fellows; Enos, born in 1748; Sarah, born in 1751, married David Dinsmore of Minot, Maine; Moses, born in 1755, married Eunice Millet; Samuel; Naomi, married — Brown of Leeds of Green, Maine; and Abigail, married in 1782 Deacon Isaac Allen of Minot, Maine.

Benjamin Bradbury and his wife, Eleanor Fellows, had Hannah, born in North Yarmouth, Maine, July nineteenth, 1766, married Samuel

Freeman, October tenth, 1784, died at Auburn, Maine, November seventh, 1851; Joseph, born May tenth, 1768, married Tabitha Cotton, October tenth, 1778, died in Norway, Maine, April fourth, 1836; Abigail, born August twentieth, 1771, married Wiswell Scabury, May nineteenth, 1797, died in Auburn, November sixth, 1849; Benjamin, born April tenth, 1775, married, first, Anna Hersey, November twentieth, 1798, second, Arseneth Wheeler, October twentieth, 1839, died in Auburn, May ninth, 1840; Samuel, born in New Gloucester, Maine, December fourth, 1777, married Jane Guernsey, March fifteenth, 1802, died in Auburn, September sixteenth, 1842; Polly, born December twenty-fourth, 1780, married Josiah Berry, June twentieth, 1801, died in Minot, Maine, September sixth, 1820; Eleanor, born in Minot, July fifteenth, 1782, married Wilber Caswell, July seventh, 1803, died in Auburn, in 1868; David, born May third, 1785, married, first, Polly Robertson, November seventh, 1806, second, Sally Vickery, May twenty-ninth, 1816, died in Minot, April seventeenth, 1838; Bethula, born July tenth, 1887, married William Tuck, April twenty-first, 1856, living in Auburn in 1868; and Jacob, born March tenth, 1789, married, first, Sally Chamberlain, October third, 1810, second, Polly Chamberlain, November sixth, 1819, died in Auburn, November, twentieth, 1866.

Moses Bradbury and his wife, Eunice Millet, had Deborah, born January sixth, 1782, married Deacon Benjamin Herring; Charles, born May fourth, 1783, married Polly Chase, died in Anson, Maine; Moses, born October twenty-eighth, 1784, died in Foxcraft, Maine, April thirteenth, 1813; John, born August fifteenth, 1786, married Althea Hersey, was a merchant in Bangor, Maine, where he died; Eunice, born June ninth, 1788, married Samuel Hersey, died in Sumner, Maine, May fifth, 1830; Sarah, born October, 1790, married Benjamin Hersey, died in Foxcraft; Mary, born July fifth, 1792, was the second wife of Samuel Hersey, died in Sumner, November fifteenth, 1859; Hannah, born May eighteenth, 1794, died in Norway, Maine, May thirtieth, 1815; Enos, born April ninth, 1796, married, first, Lucy Atkinson, second, Mary Howard, died in Minot, December third, 1842; Nathaniel, born March tenth, 1798, married Nancy P. Mitchell, died in Foxcraft, March sixteenth, 1827; Joanna, born March twenty-seventh, 1800; Hiram, born April twenty-fourth, 1804, married Nancy Washburn, May 1830. These were all born in Minot.

Joseph Bradbury and his wife, Tabitha Cotton, had Charles A. born in New Gloucester, Maine, July nineteenth 1789, married Mary S. True, February twenty-eighth, 1812; Sophia, born November sixth, 1790, married Amos Young, September twelfth, 1815; Ruth, born August twenty-ninth, 1792, married Joseph Stevens, October fifteenth,

1817; Eleanor, born in Poland, Maine, April twenty-first, 1795, married Asa Packard, November eighteenth, 1820; Betsey, born April eleventh, 1797, died June twenty-third, 1798; Jacob, born June twenty-fifth, 1799, married Sally King Ripley, January first, 1822; Nathan A. born June twentieth, 1801, married Eliza Millet, October fifteenth, 1827, physician in Sweden, Maine; Moses, born July twelfth, 1803, married Hannah Knight, December eleventh, 1825; and Nathaniel M. born December eighteenth, 1806, married Julia A. Foster, October twenty-seventh, 1831.

Jacob Bradbury and his wife, Sally King Ripley, had Sabina E. born in Norway, Maine, December fifteenth, 1822, married William P. Stevens, February twenty-seventh, 1846; Matilda A. born September fifteenth, 1824, married William A. Marston, November twenty-fifth, 1847; Nathan Osgood, born October fourth, 1826, died December twenty-fifth, 1828; Osgood Nathan, born October twenty-eighth, 1828, married Ellen R. Scribner, June thirteenth, 1852, physician in Springfield, Maine; Henry A. M. born August twentieth, 1830, married Persis Ripley, February third, 1855; Harriet N. born July twelfth, 1832, married Willirm K. Ripley, March fourth, 1853; Sarah A. born October twenty-eighth, 1834, married Alden Woodbury, March twenty-sixth 1854; Euphena J. born March tenth, 1837; Jacob F. born June tenth, 1839; Nelly F. born August twenty, 1841; James G. B. born January twenty-second, 1846; and Ida E. born September twelfth, 1849.

QUERIES.

Can any one give me any information in regard to the fate of the gallant Captain Bradbury, of the Confederate service, who invented the torpedoes used by the Confederates on the rivers, during the late war?

Information wanted in regard to the descendants of John Bradbury, who was at or near Newark, New Jersey, in 1692. Also of John Bradbury and his wife, Margaret ———, who had licence to go from London, England, to Rotterdam, Holland, in 1630.

Benjamin Bradbury moved from Buxton, Maine, to Ohio, in about 1800. Where are his descendants?

John Minot, of Portland, Maine, married Jennima Bradbury, in 1764. Where do their descendants reside?

Noah Goodwin, of Somersworth, New Hampshire, married Mrs. Salome Laverdy of Berwick, Maine, May twentieth, 1779, and had a son, Amaziah, born February eighteenth 1780. Will some one give me information in regard to them?

W. F. G.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. IV. SECOND SERIES.]

NOVEMBER, 1868.

No. 5.

This number of the Historical Magazine has been edited by Colonel Theodorus Bailey Myers, of New York City.

I.—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

INTRODUCTORY.

"With what grandeur, with what enthusiasm, should I not speak of those generous men who erected this grand edifice by their patience, their wisdom, and their courage; Hancock, Franklin, the two Adamases, were the greatest actors in this affecting scene; but they were not the only ones. Posterity shall know them, all. Their honored names shall be transmitted to it by a happier pen than mine. Brass and marble shall show them to remotest ages. In beholding them shall the friend of freedom feel his heart palpitate with joy—feel his eyes float in delicious tears. Under the bust of one of them has been written, '*He wrested thunder from heaven, and the sceptre from tyrants.*' Of the last words of this eulogy shall all of them putake.—ABBE KAYNAL."

The letters and manuscripts which follow, form, together, a complete set of the autographs of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, constituting one of the fourteen known to exist. For more than half a century, these collections have attracted the attention and afforded an agreeable pastime for the leisure hours of a number of gentlemen, scattered throughout the United States; and, in addition to the sets above alluded to, it is known that there are a large number which lack but few names of completeness.

To those who do not sympathize in this antiquarian pursuit, it may appear singular that men should devote so much of their time and incur the heavy attendant outlay in collecting a number of old pieces of paper; but the enthusiasm of a collector is a sentiment which cannot be described, but must be experienced to be realized. It is a work which is performed in private, and, like other revels in the charnel-house of Time, is carried on in the witching hour of night, for its laborers are generally those engaged in other avocations, which absorb the ordinary working hours. If it ever manifests itself in public, it is in the pursuit of material, when a sale of Autograph Letters and Manuscripts calls together the collectors or their agents, in an auction-room, in competition; and then it is a matter of amusement to spectators, to witness the extent to which a mania will carry them, overlooking, that in some other collection, perhaps that of greenbacks, they are equally enthusiastic.

The primary object to be attained, is a collection of *something* written by every Signer; and, owing to the rarity of some of the specimens, this, at this time, is almost an impossibility, as the number of complete sets in existence, after so many years' research, attests. After this is accomplished, the object of the collector is to *improve* his set, which is done according to his taste or abilities. All collectors seek to complete a set of "ALS" (*autograph letters signed*) which forms the highest class of specimens, in both rarity and value; and, in this form, some of the names rarely if ever are to be found; while, in other cases, autograph letters occur, left unsigned as a precaution by the writer in time of War. Next to this come "LS"

(*letters signed*) which are more common, because so many official persons availed themselves, then, as now, of the services of an amanuensis. The third class are "ADS" (*autograph documents signed*) which with "DS" (*documents signed*) are not esteemed so highly, but, like the letters, vary in value, according to subject, and date, and similarity of signature to that attached to the Declaration. Some collectors confine their efforts to the points of uniformity in size, desiring all folio or all quarto specimens; while others make the period the test, and desire the date of all their specimens to be Revolutionary.

The collection of which copies are annexed, speaks for itself. It was made without reference to size; but the object has been, as far as possible, to obtain papers of historical interest. Many specimens have been exchanged or rejected; and many still remain, which, if opportunity offers, will be hereafter improved. All of them have been repaired, without mutilation, and inlaid by Trent, in drawing-paper, of large folio size; and illustrated with portraits, views, caricatures, and official and other documents, arms of States, Colonial money and newspapers, etc., etc., illustrative of the period, all similarly inlaid or mounted, and on separate sheets, to the number, at this time, of several hundred, the whole to constitute three folio volumes for the Northern, Middle, and Southern States, respectively.

The copy of the Declaration of Independence annexed, is one of thirteen signed by the President and Secretary of the Congress. It was for many years the property of a gentleman in the South, from whom the Collector procured it, like the other specimens, without "making a raid" or incurring an obligation which he did not attempt to acquit.

In complying with a request to furnish copies of a collection—which, originating in an appreciation of the patriotism of the Signers and gratitude for his share of the result of their labors, has been a source of amusement and pleasant occupation for a number of years—he wishes to disclaim any intention of holding up to the reader as of superior excellence; but feels it a duty to place in more permanent form, some papers of interest, never before printed, and to induce other Collectors possessing, for many of the names, those of greater value, to do the same.

I.—THE DECLARATION.

[From one of the thirteen original copies of the Declaration signed by President and Secretary of Congress and sent to the States.]

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS
DECLARATION
OF THE

THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WHEN in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and

of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise: the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our

coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war—in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states: that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things

which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

GEORGIA	{ Button Gwinnett Lyman Hall George Walton
NORTH CAROLINA	{ W ^m Hooper Joseph Hewes John Penn
SOUTH CAROLINA	{ Edward Rutledge Thos Heyward Jun ^r Thomas Lynch jun ^r Arthur Middleton
MARYLAND	{ Samuel Chase W ^m Paca Tho ^s Stone Charles Carroll, of Carrollton
VIRGINIA	{ George Wythe Richard Henry Lee Th ^e Jefferson Benja ^s Harrison Tho ^s Nelson jr Francis Lightfoot Lee Carter Braxton
PENNSYLVANIA	{ Rob ^t Morris Benjamin Rush Benja Franklin John Morton Geo Clymer Ja ^s Smith Geo Taylor James Wilson Geo Ross
DELAWARE	{ Caesar Rodney Geo Read
NEW YORK	{ W ^m Floyd Phil Livingston Fran ^s Lewis Lewis Morris
NEW JERSEY.	{ Rich ^d Stockton Jno Witherspoon Fra ^s Hopkinson John Hart Abra Clark
NEW HAMPSHIRE	{ Josiah Bartlett W ^m Whipple Matthew Thornton

MASSACHUSETTS BAY { Sam^l Adams
John Adams
Rob^t Treat Paine
Elbridge Gerry

RHODE ISLAND AND { Step Hopkins
PROVIDENCE &c { William Ellery

CONNECTICUT { Roger Sherman
Sam^l Huntington
W^m Williams
Oliver Wolcott

IN CONGRESS. JANUARY 18, 1777
ORDERED

THAT an authenticated Copy of the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCY with the Names of the MEMBERS of CONGRESS subscribing the same be sent to each of the UNITED STATES and that they be desired to have the same put on RECORD.

By Order of CONGRESS
JOHN HANCOCK, President

a True Copy
JOHN HANCOCK, Presid^t

Attest

CHAS THOMSON, Sec^y

BALTIMORE in MARYLAND: Printed by MARY
KATHARINE GODDARD.

II.—THE CONGRESS.

I.—A COMMISSION OF THE CONGRESS.

IN CONGRESS

THE DELEGATES of the UNITED STATES of New Hampshire Massachusetts Bay Rhode Island Connecticut New York New Jersey Pennsylvania the Counties of New Castle Kent and Sussex in Delaware Maryland Virginia North Carolina South Carolina and Georgia

To Andrew Porter Gentleman

We repose special Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism Valour Conduct and Fidelity Do by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be first Lieutenant in Capt Jesse Cardens Company of the Maryland forces in the Army of the United States raised for the Defence of American Liberty and repelling every hostile invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of first Lieutenant by doing and performing all manner of Things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command to be Obedient to your Orders as first

Lieutenant. And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United States or Committee of Congress for that Purpose appointed or Commander in Chief for the time being of the Army of the United States or any other your superior Officer according to the Rules and Discipline of War in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you This Commission to continue in force until revoked by this or a future Congress

Dated at Philadelphia the 10th day of December Seventeen hundred and Seventy Six

By order of the Congress
Attest JOHN HANCOCK, President
CHAS THOMSON, Sec^y

II.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS.

IN CONGRESS July 3^d 1776

Congress took into consideration the letter from the Convention of New Jersey, Whereupon Resolved that the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania be requested to send as many of the Troops of their Colony as they can spare to Monmouth County in New Jersey to the assistance of the Inhabitants of that Colony and to be subject to the Orders of the Commander in Chief: the said Troops to be allowed the same pay and rations as the Troops in the service of the Continent from the time of their march until they return

Extract from the Minutes

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec^y

By order of Congress
JOHN HANCOCK Pres^t

In Congress October 22^d 1776

Resolved, That the Commissioners going to the Court of France be directed to procure from the Court at the expense of these United States either by purchase or loan eight line of battle ships of seventy four and sixty four guns, well manned and fitted in every respect for service, That as these ships may be useful in proportion to the quickness with which they reach North America the Commissioners be directed to expedite the negotiation with all possible diligence

By order of Congress
Attest JOHN HANCOCK Presid^t
CHAS THOMSON Sec^y

III.—RESOLUTION OF MARINE COMMITTEE.

IN MARINE COMMITTEE 15th January 1777

Ordered that Messrs Purveyance & Stewart the Continental Marine Agents in the State of Maryland be directed to proceed immediately to provide Timber for building the two thirty six gun Frigates ordered to be built in the said State, and to proceed in other respects to provide materials for the completion of said Frigates.

JOHN HANCOCK

The particular RICHARD HENRY LEE
Dimensions shall be WM WHIPPLE
delivered you

IV.—THE SECRETARY OF THE CONGRESS.

PHILA. June 9. 1779.

Sir

The voyage of the vessel that carries this being altered, and she being ordered to touch at Martinique & perhaps to return from thence I take the liberty of enclosing to you a letter and bill which I had prepared for Messrs. Curson & Gouverneur and requesting the favour, if you can procure the articles, to negotiate the bill & send me the articles and in that case you may suppress the letter to Messrs. Curson & Co. The linen I am in great want of. If you cannot get good black satten you may substitute plumb coloured mantua instead thereof.

The armies have taken the field, Clinton is directing his force up the North River, where it is expected he will meet with a warm reception. Our forts in the highlands are in good repair, McDougal is on the east and Genl Washington on the west side of Hudson river to support them. We have had various rumours of a victory gained by our troops in South Carolina, but nothing certain is yet come to Congress.

I am

Sir

Your obed: humble serv^t

CHAS. THOMSON

P.S. If you cannot conveniently procure the articles, you will please to enclose the bill in the letter and forward them as directed.

Addressed

WILLIAM BINGHAM Esq^r in Martinique.

III.—THE STATES.

I.—NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1.—Josiah Bartlett.

Born at Amesbury, Mass., in November, 1729, and was a successful medical practitioner, before his entrance into public life, in which he was one of the earliest opponents of the asserted rights of the Crown, although holding a Magistrate's Commission and the command of a Regiment of Militia, under the Royal Governor. In 1763, he was a

Member of the Provincial Legislature, and served in the first Continental Congress; and his signature to the Declaration, follows Hancock's. He was Chief-justice of the New Hampshire Common Pleas, in 1759, and, subsequently, a Judge of her Supreme Court. Elected a Senator of the United States, on the adoption of the State Constitution, in 1787, he preferred his position of President of his State; and, in 1793, was elected her first Governor, under the revised Constitution, but soon abandoned office for the retirement of private life. He died on the nineteenth of May, 1795, in his sixty-sixth year.

PHILADELPHIA, September 2^d 1776

MY DEAR SIR

I have Rec^d yours of the 14th ulto with the acts of our Legislature inclosed, for which I thank you as it gives me particular satisfaction to be informed of the situation of affairs in our own State. I am fully sensible of the great difficulties we labor under by the soldiers being enlisted for such short periods, and that it would have been much better had they at first Rec^d a good bounty & been enlisted to serve during the war. But you may recollect the many and to appearance almost insuperable Difficulties that then lay in our way, no money, no magazines of provisions, no military stores, no Government, in short when I look back and consider our situation about 15 months ago, in stead of wondering that we are in no better situation than at present I am surprized we are in so good; who of us at that time expected that the infatuation of Britain would have forced us to the State we now are in, as circumstances now are I think we ought by all means to be provided with a well Disciplined army to serve during the war, and that they ought to be raised as soon as possible. I am Glad to hear that our powder mill is ready to be set going: pray take particular care that the powder is good; a Considerable Quantity made by one of the mills in this State appears not to have above half the force of good powder and does not catch quick. The danger from bad powder in an engagement is so great that the Congress have ordered that no powder shall be sent to the Army but such as have been well tried & approved by inspectors appointed for the purpose and have Recommended it to the Several Legislatures to appoint inspectors to prove all the powder that is made or imported into their respective States; a copy I will enclose if I can procure one before the post sets off, I will also enclose the order of Congress concerning wounded & maimed soldiers & seamen.

The affairs at New York seem at present almost wholly to engross our attention; we have not had the full of the particulars of the action of the 27 ulto on Long Island from the General, but by the best accounts we have obtained it appears that our people were decoyed & surrounded by the main Body of the Enemy

and obliged to fight their way thro' or surrender prisoners. It seems there must have been some very great neglect either in not sending out proper guards & parties to gain intelligence or they not doing their Duty. General Sullivan & Lord Stirling are prisoners & I believe 6 or 700 others, the consequence has been the Evacuation of Long Island & Governors Island, of both which the Enemy are now in possession, a very unfortunate beginning of the Campaign there. However it is not irreparable and I hope it will make both officers & soldiers more careful to keep proper Guards & not suffer themselves to be taken by surprize any more.

After writing the above General Sullivan came to my lodgings in the City and by his accounts the affair of Long Island was much as I had heard. He says he has two verbal messages from Lord Howe which he is permitted on his parole to come to Congress to propose, one is the exchange of himself & Lord Stirling for Gen^l Prescott & McDonald, the other is to propose a meeting with some of the Members of Congress (as private Gentlemen for he cant acknowledge any such body as Congress) to see if they cant agree on some proposition for an accommodation without further Bloodshed and says he will meet at almost any place for the purpose, These are but verbal messages & I can easily see great difficulties that may arise let the Congress accept or refuse the proposed Conference. What the Congress will do is at present uncertain but hope they will be directed by the Supreme Disposer of all Events, to do in this and every other affair before them what will be most Conducive to the Safety & Happiness of these American States.

So wishes your

friend & most obedient

Humble Serv^t

JOSEPH BARTLETT

Gen^l FOLSOM.

EXETER November 4th 1779

MY DEAR SIR

While at Hartford (from whence I returned the 2^d Inst) I Rec^d your favor of the 12th ulto and since my return I Rec^d yours of the latter End of September & 5th of October and in those letters I Rec^d the Copies of G^l Burgoynes private Letters to the Secretary of State sundry pamphlet of the Journals of Congress with newspapers &c &c for which I am much obliged to you. The General Court have been sitting about a fortnight, have resolved to lay in our Claims to the New Hampshire Grants West of Connecticut River, and appointed Mr J. Livermore in conjunction with our Delegates in Congress to appear assert and prosecute our Rights and an act is now Drafting to impower

Congress to take up the matter agreeable to their Resolves for that purpose. A vote has passed empowering you & Mr Woo'bry Langdon to Represent the State in Congress till Relieved or Recalled a Copy of which I suppose will besent by the President. Gen Whipple & Gen^l Folsom are appointed Delegates but whether either of them will accept is at present uncertain, I Believe Gen^l Folsom will accept and perhaps Mr Whipple may be prevailed on to attend next Spring if necessary. Col Samuel Folsom & Col Moses Nichols are appointed to repair to the Army & Endeavor to reinlist our Soldiers During the war whose times are now Expiring. The G Court seems to be of opinion that no more taxes can be raised by this State till there is a new proportion amongst the Several Towns, and are about sending out precepts for that purpose. The Requisition of Congress for our proportion of 15 millions monthly has not yet been acted upon but from what I can at present learn am in hopes it will be raised tho not so soon as is Desired.

The result of our meeting at Hartford will come to Congress before this reaches you. Please to inform me what are the sentiments of Congress Relative to the measures proposed & whether there is a probability of the Several States coming into those measures. I well knew the Difficulties of Regulations of prices but unless something is soon Done to Stop the Depreciation of Currency it will soon cease to be a circulating medium and the Distress and Dangers that will follow are obvious to Every man of Common Sense and what better measure can be taken to keep off so Dangerous a Situation? Taxes alone we find by fatal Experience will not, and if the Taxes are Collected and the money will not purchase the necessaries for the army what will it avail. If anything better can be adopted than we have proposed I shall Cheerfully agree to it, if not is it not best to try regulations once more on the proposed plan until the opposition Expected from those large Taxes begin to take Effect? if that alone will Relieve us the Regulations will of course be at an End when people cannot get so much for their articles as the stipulated prices.

The Committee of Safety in the last Recess of the General Court had Rec^d information that some persons in this State & the State of Massachusetts were Concerned in Carrying on a Correspondence with the Enemy by means of a Salt Works near Cape Cod and that one or two of the Refugees were in this State secreted that Came out that way The Committee ordered Robert Smith to take up Sundry suspected persons and enjoined ourselves to Secrecy, the matter however got to the ears of the

parties and such proof was made that it was conveyed to them by Col S H——t who you know has lately been of that Committee that the others of the Committee ordered him not to meet with us til the matter was cleared up or the siting of the General Court. the Court since their siting have taken up the matter and after a full hearing and the Evidences on both Sides produced the Assembly have expelled him their House, as I am informed, nem con

We have for sometime had various rumors of the success of the French Fleet to the Southward but no certain intelligence to be depended on The enemy's leaving Rhode Island and the Forts up the North River shew their apprehensions. There is a report here that the British Troops have left Penobscot and from several circumstances I apt to believe it true tho there is no certain accounts come to hand.

I am, Respectfully yours

J. BARTLETT.

Nov 6th Mr Jesse Johnson & Dr Hedges are in Town and were last Evening with the President Mr Dudley & myself, &c.

Col N PEABODY,

[Endorsed]

Colo Bartlett Nov 4th 79

Rec^d — 22 Do.

2.—William Whipple.

Born at Kittery, in Maine, in 1730, and was a neighbor of Sir William Pepperell, and drank in, as a boy, the inspirations of the glory of the capture of Louisburg by the New England Militia. In his youth, he followed the sea; but, at twenty-nine, became a merchant in Portsmouth, N. H. When the struggle for freedom took place, his neighbors having discovered his merits, the cabin-boy was successively a Member of the Provincial Congress of 1775, one of the Committee of Safety, and, in 1776, a Delegate to the Continental Congress; and became a prominent member of the Marine Committee, which founded the first Navy. He served with distinction at Saratoga, as a General Officer, and was entrusted with the charge of the Convention troops, after Burgoyne's surrender. He also served with General Sullivan, in Rhode Island. He held many responsible positions; and died in harness, on the twenty-eighth day of November, 1785, in his fifty-sixth year. The block-house in which he resided at Portsmouth, fortified against the Indians, was torn down a few years since.

PHILADELPHIA 20th June 1779

MY DEAR SIR

You may well think it strange that we are so long without intelligence from Europe a circumstance that I cannot acc^t for unless we may suppose there has been many miscarriages.

Your distress on account of the Currency is not to be wondered at, it is really an object of great concern & demands the most serious and diligent attention, three days in the week are devoted to that business & I hope a bill will soon make its appearance that will dispel the gloom

that now overspreads the countenances of America Friends You ask where Gen^l W and his army is. I can only answer that they are in the Neighborhood of Hudsons River; the movements of the Enemy on that River and of our army in consequence, you undoubtedly have a history of, before this time. It is surprising that we have no authentic intelligence from S Carolina since the 5th May, when undoubtedly very important events have taken place there, since that date, the reports (which are many) all agree that a general action has happened & that we have gained a complete victory the particulars are hourly expected perhaps I may have the satisfaction of inclosing them in this letter.

I believe the drawing of the lottery is nearly finished but my attention has been so much engaged in other matters that I have not tho^t lately of making inquiry. I suppose the General Assembly are now sitting & I hope something will be done respecting the Grants. New York are continually pressing to have that business drawn to a conclusion, and insists that there shall not be a separte state, but will acquiesce in any other mode of settling the dispute. I think it of importance that N H sho^d lay in her claim and send some person here well informed, to support the claim. sho^d that country be added to N Y she will be a powerful and I am apprehensive a troublesome neighbor. I know you must have important business before you, but this is an object of such magnitude as in my humble opinion demands the earliest attention. I have been for a long time daily expecting a colleague but am still without one; you are not acquainted with the disadvantages I must necessarily labor under for want of assistance. When I left home it was my intention to return in May but as I am determined never to turn my back upon difficulties I have no objection to continue here till those we have now to encounter are conquered but must confess I think it hard that I cannot have the aid of a Colleague—both the Lee's have taken leave of Congress, the *Dominion* now makes a very indifferent figure, but I understand there are some appointments which (when they arrive) will place that State in a more respectable point of light. It is not an agreeable thing to see a state divided, that has never yet been the case with N H, but will it not be the case when the two last chosen gentlemen appear together? Unanimity is ever desirable in public councils but never more necessary than at the present day, besides the disadvantages to the public it must be very disagreeable to any Gent^l to be opposed to his Colleague in office. I think these considerations ought to have some influence in the choice of public characters

22^d Colo Peabody arrived last evening. I find by him that I am not mistaken in my conjecture respecting him and his intended Collague, cannot something be done to prevent the evils that may be the consequence of a division of sentiment

I am happy to hear you have such promising prospects of a plentiful Harvest, from all accounts there never was so great an appearance of plenty in this country as the present season affords. Will not these distinguished marks of the favour of Heaven dispel our Glooms and animate us to cooperate in the promotion of our Country, happiness & in that way show our gratitude to divine Beneficence.

The Boston & Confederacy have sent in here a ship of 24 guns and 95 men, a private cruising ship & it is reported this morn'g they have taken the Delaware & destroy'd another ship of war but this wants confirmation. I hope shortly to have it in my power to give you such information as will tend to dispel the clouds that seem at present to interrupt your happiness, in the mean time be assured that I am,

Your very sincere
Friend & Obed^t
W. W.

Hon^{ble}

JOSIAH BARTLETT Esq^r
KINGSTON, New Hampshire
[Endorsed by Bartlett]
Whipple 20th & 22^d June 1779.

PORTSMTH 9th Sept 1776

MY DEAR BRO^r

I have this moment heard of this opportunity by Chadborne who is just going out of town that I have time to say but very little. I arrived here y^e 30th ulto & shall set out again in about 4 or 6 weeks, there has been some skirmishes between our Troops & the Enemy at York but the acct^s are so various that there is no depending on them, the accounts from abroad concerning the disposition of France towards us are very favorable, we have nothing to do but keep our Ground this year, and all's our own, even if we sho^d loose some ground it will be of no great consequence, the last advice from the Northern Army is much more favorable than they were some time ago, so I hope you will be more at ease than you have been for some time past. I can hardly flatter myself that I shall have the pleasure of seeing but hope shall hear very particularly from you before I return to my Winter quarters

Adieu

W. WHIPPLE

TO JOSEPH WHIPPLE Esq^r
[Endorsed.]

W W. PORTSM Sept 9th 1776
rec^d in Dartmouth

3.—Matthew Thornton.

Born in Ireland, in 1714, and accompanied his parents in their emigration to Worcester, Mass. He was liberally educated and a prominent physician. He accompanied Sir William Pepperell's successful Louisburg expedition, as a Surgeon; and, on his return, the Royal Governor, Wentworth, gave him the command of a Militia Regiment, and made him a Justice of the Peace, both coveted positions. When Governor Wentworth abdicated, Thornton's great popularity led to his elevation, as his successor; and he was made Speaker of the House, in the Provincial Congress, a Judge of the Superior Court, and a Delegate to the Continental Congress. In 1782, he retired from public life, which held open a bright vista of usefulness at Exeter. He died at Newburyport, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1803, at the age of eighty-nine. His grand-son, Captain Thornton, of the Navy, was second officer of the *Kersage*, in her engagement with the *Alabama*. His letters are of great rarity, and his signature generally occurs to business papers.

An autograph document, being a conveyance by James Lindsay of Londonderry in the Province of New Hampshire, yeoman, to William Eayrs of the same Town & Province yeoman in consideration of Ten Pounds Lawful Money, of certain premises in Londonderry; dated nineteenth day of January A. D., 1767, drawn and witnessed by & acknowledged before Matthew Thornton Justice of the Peace.

Also another document signed, dated Jan. 20 1797, likewise of no interest except as a specimen of his signature. (Both these to be replaced by letters when practicable.)

II.—MASSACHUSETTS.

Credentials.

In Provincial Congress, Cambridge.
December 5th 1774

Province	}
of the	
Massachusetts	
Bay	

Resolved

That the proceedings of the American Continental Congress held at Philadelphia on the 5th of September last and reported by the hon^{ble} Delegates from this Colony, have with the deliberation due to their high importance, been considered by us, and the American Bill of Rights therein contained appears to be formed with the greatest ability and judgment, to be founded on the immutable Law of Nature and Reason, the principles of the English Constitution and respective Charters and Constitutions of the Colonies, and to be worthy of their most vigorous support as essentially necessary

to Liberty. Likewise the ruinous and iniquitous measures which in violation of these *Rights*, at present convulse and threaten destruction to America, appear to be clearly pointed out and judicious plans adopted for defeating them.

Resolved, that the most grateful acknowledgements are due to the truly honorable and patriotic Members of the Continental Congress for their wise and able exertions, in the cause of American liberty and this Congress in their own names and in behalf of this Colony do hereby with the utmost sincerity express the same. Resolved that the Hon John Hancock, Hon Thomas Cushing Esqr, Mr Samuel Adams, John Adams & Robert Treat Paine Esqrs or any three of them be, and they hereby are appointed and authorized to represent this Colony on the Tenth of May next or sooner if necessary at the American Congress to be held at Philadelphia with full power with the Delegates from the other American Colonies to concert agree upon direct and order such further measures as shall to them appear to be the best calculated for the recovery and establishment of American Rights and Liberty and for restoring her wrong between Great Britain and the Colonies.

A true extract from the Minutes ———

BENJAMIN LINCOLN, Secretary

1.—*John Hancock,*

Born at Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1737, son of the Rev. John Hancock, an orphan at seven years of age; at seventeen, after graduating at Harvard, he entered the warehouse of his uncle Thomas, from whom he inherited his fortune and his home on Boston Common, lately destroyed. He visited England in 1760 and witnessed the coronation of George III., to whom he was destined to afford so much annoyance. At the age of twenty-six he inherited a large estate from his uncle and soon entered political life as a Representative in the Provincial Assembly of 1766. As the first President of Congress his bold signature was appended to the Declaration, and stood alone with the Secretary's at the foot of its first publication, of which a copy precedes this notice. He was the first State Governor elected, and presided over the affairs of Massachusetts for several terms with signal ability, and continued in active life up to his death on the eighth of October, 1793. The story of his patriotic career is too familiar to justify repetition.

An official document signed as President of of Congress, dated April 3, 1776.

PHILADELPHIA, June 11th 1776

GENTLEMEN

The Congress have this Day received advices and are fully convinced, that it is the design of General Howe to make an attack upon the City of New York as soon as possible. The attack they have Reason to believe will be made within ten Days. I am therefore most earnestly to request you, by order of Congress, to call forth your Militia as requested in my Letter of

the 4 Inst and to forward them with all Dispatch to the City of New York; and that you direct them to march in Companies, or in any other way that will hasten their arrival there.

The important Day is at hand that will decide, not only the Fate of the City of New York but in all probability the whole Continent. On such an Occasion there is no necessity to use Argument with Americans. Their feelings, I well know, will prompt them to their duty, and the Sacredness of the Cause urge them to the Field.

The greatest Exertions of Vigour & Expedition are requisite to prevent our Enemies from getting possession of that Town, I would therefore again most earnestly request you, in the name and by the Authority of Congress to employ every mode in your power to send forward the Militia agreeably to the Requisition of Congress, and that you will do it with all the Dispatch which the infinite importance of the Cause demands

I have the honour to be

Gentlemen

Your most obed^t &

Very Humble Servt

JOHN HANCOCK, Prest

Honble Convention of New Jersey

PHILADELPHIA July 15 1776

GENTLEMEN,

The article of lead being so essentially necessary, and the Propriety of every Colony being furnished with it so evident that the Council of Safety of this Colony recommended to the Inhabitants to spare the Lead Weights from their Windows and the Lead from their Houses: by which means they have been furnished with a considerable quantity which has been run into Ball, and part of which the Council of Safety here have willingly spared, and is now on the way to the Jerseys. But as under the present Exigency, that quantity is far short of what is wanted for the Army in New Jersey and every Method should be used to furnish it, I have it therefore in charge from Congress, most earnestly to request you to supply the Flying Camp and Militia with all the Lead in your Possession, or that you can possibly procure.

The Exigency of our Affairs will not admit the Least Delay; and I am convinced there is no necessity to use Arguments to induce you to an instant compliance with this Requisition

I am to inform you that as you have not enclosed to Congress Copies of Gen^l Washington's and Brigadier Gen^l Livingtons Letters no judgment can be found by Congress concerning the Contents of them and to request copies of them to be sent hither

Measures are taking in Pennsylvania &

Maryland for forming the Flying Camp; and in the mean time the associated Militia are marching in great numbers from Pennsylvania for the defence of New Jersey. Ammunition has been and will be supplied by this Congress for the defence of New Jersey. With regard to the pay of the Militia I am to acquaint you that Congress will observe the same Rule of Conduct towards New Jersey as towards other Colonies

Four tons of Powder are on the way to New Jersey, and a large number of Muskett Cart-ridges well balled will this day be sent forward

I have the Honour to be

Gentlemen

Your most obedt &

very hble servt

JOHN HANCOCK, Presid^t

Hon^{ble} Convention of New Jersey,

GENTLEMEN

Your Favour respecting the proper measures to be taken with your late Governor William Franklyn Esq came to hand on Saturday the 22^d Inst, But as the Congress did not sit on that Day I could not lay it before them till Monday

I now do myself the Honour of enclosing to you the Resolves of Congress, which they have this Day passed with regard to the Treatment of him. You will there perceive the Congress have directed him to be sent to Connecticut under a Guard

I shall write to Gov^r Trumbull to treat him as a Prisoner should he refuse to give his Parole in Writing

The other resolves herewith transmitted are of such a nature that no arguments are necessary to enforce them You will be pleased to attend to them as soon as possible.

I have the Honor to be

Gentlemen your most obed^t

& very hble servt

JOHN HANCOCK, Pres^t

Honble Convention of New Jersey

An official document signed as Governor of Mass., dated July 1, 1781.

An autograph message to the Assembly of Mass., signed 'J. H.' dated Council Chamber Boston 18th Feby 1783.

2.—John Adams,

Born at Quincy, Massachusetts, on the thirtieth of October, 1735. After graduating, with honor, he was admitted to the Bar, in 1758, and became distinguished in his profession. He was a constant disturber of the tranquility of the vice-regal authority of Barnard, Hutchinson, and Gage. A Member of the Congress of 1774 and subsequent Congresses, Vice-President under Washington's Administration, and his successor as President; a member of Committee that

drafted the Declaration; from 1777 to 1788 (when he finally returned home) repeatedly a Foreign Minister; connected with every detail of the foundation of the Government and its administration, he left the scene of his usefulness, appropriately, on the anniversary of its birth, the fourth of July, 1826, in his ninety-second year, followed, in three successive generations, by men worthy to adorn his name and record his greatness.

BRAINTREE, NOV 28 1776

SIR

I had this moment between two and three o'clock the Honour of your Letter of this Days Date requesting my attendance on the Hon House of Representatives. Some particular circumstances render it inconvenient for me to Sett off this afternoon but tomorrow morning I will do myself the Honour of waiting on the Honorable House. Mean Time

I am your humble Servant

JOHN ADAMS

Hon JAMES WARREN Esq

BALTIMORE Feb 20th 1777

D^r SIR

Yesterday I had the pleasure of yours of Jan 28. I am rejoiced to hear of the Measures taken by our State to raise their Battalions and to tax an hundred Thousand Pomds. Congress have been upon the subject of regulating the prices of Labour and Provisions, I shall inclose you what they have done. Are not these mere temporary expedients and palliative Remedies—He must aim at a radical cure. The success of our cause appears to me to depend entirely (under God) on our Supporting the Credit of our Currency. This must be done at all Events but cannot be done long by regulating Prices We must cease emitting, We must borrow and we must import it possible a Fund of Gold and Silver to redeem the Bills as they become payable. Pray write me your thoughts on this subject I wish I had time to enlarge,

The Hon JOSEPH PALMER Esqr

Braintree, Massa Bay,

To the Officers of the late American Army and Navy assembled on the 4th of July 1798 in the Society of the Cincinnati, of the State of New York

GENTLEMEN

Your respectful address has been presented to me by your Senators in Congress M^r North and M^r Lawrence, who are also Members of your Society

The interesting and critical situation of our Country, threatened as it is by a very powerful foreign Nation could not fail to command the attention of gentlemen of your character and habits of Life.

I am happy to find that your opinions coincide

* Original letter sent unsigned, as a precaution.

with mine upon all the cardinal points: that our essential rights as a free and Independent Nation are at every hazard to be maintained, that the Constitution of our country as established by the choice of the people is in every event to be defended against all foreign controul or interference: that invasion from abroad from whatever quarter is to be repelled by united and vigorous exertions, that our Government never ought to subscribe to national degradation, that the evils of war can bear no comparison with the sacrifice or abandonment of any of these great principles.

It has ever been a maxim with all sound republics, that to give way to injustice is the most flagrant act, and to submit to insult the most pernicious effect of cowardice, it is impossible therefore that (you) who fought the battles of our Revolution with so much reputation upon such principles should not dedicate your lives to the maintainance of them

JOHN ADAMS

Philadelphia, July 9th 1798.

3.—*Samuel Adams,*

Born in Boston, Massachusetts, on the twenty-second of September, 1722. Possessing both influence and property; fearless in the assertion of what he believed to be right; and with the eloquence and talents to express his views, Mr. Adams was an early and powerful champion of the people. He was one of the foremost men of the Revolution, although less commemorated by posterity (it is hinted by the influence of hereditary hostility) in his native town than some of his cotemporaries. He represented Boston, in 1765, in her General Court, and, for forty years afterwards, held positions of honor and trust. One of the projectors of the plan of a General Congress, he served as an active and influential member, from 1774 to 1781. After holding the most distinguished positions, including those of President of the Senate, Lieutenant-governor, and, for successive terms, Governor of his native State, he died, at the mature age of eighty-two, on the third of October, 1803.

Boston Jan^y 31 1775

Sir

I received your kind letter some time ago, which should have been acknowledged before this time but I beg you would consider that our hands are full. Our "worthy citizen" Mr Paul Revere will explain to you the intelligence which we have just received from England. It puts me in mind of what I remember to have heard you observe, that we may all be soon under the necessity of keeping *Shooting Irons*. God grant that we may not be brought to experience or otherwise prepare us for all events.

Mr Tudor has informed me that a report has prevailed in Philadelphia of a Fracas between Mr Cushing and myself at our late Provincial Congress, he showed me your letter; you may depend upon it there is not the least Foundation for the Report Any Difference between Mr. Cushing and me is of very little conse-

quence to the public cause. I take notice of it only as one of the many Falshoods which I know to have been propagated by the Enemies of America. It is also a Misrepresentation that the sect taken notice of for opening their Shops on our late Thanksgiving Day, was that of the People called Quakers. They were the Disciples of the late Mr Sanderman, who worship God here without the least Molestation according to their own manner, and are in no other Light disregarded here but as it is said they are in general avowed Friends of the Ministerial Measures. This is what I am told, for my own part I know but little or nothing about them. The Different denominations of Christians here (excepting those amongst them who Espouse the cause of our Enemies) are in perfect peace and Harmony, as I trust they always will be.

I have written this letter in very great Haste, while in the Committee of Correspondence and conclude with due Regard to your Sponse, and all friends

Yours affectionately

SAM ADAMS

Mr STEPHEN COLLINS.

Also official document signed as Governor, dated May 8th 1797

4.—*Robert Treat Paine,*

Born in Massachusetts, in 1731. After distinguishing himself in his course, at Harvard, he visited England; and on his return, entered the ministry, but soon left it for the legal profession, in which he attained a high position. He early took ground against the ministerial party, and from the time he entered the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, in 1774, as a legislator, a Judge, or a citizen, was equally useful and distinguished, until 1804, when he quitted public life. Judge Paine died in May, 1814, at the age of eighty-four.

Boston Dec^r 7th 1792

Sir

In July last I transferred 1800 Dolls 6 p c^t stock to the use of the United States to fill up my 12 shares in the Bank of the United States; there was then 3 m^o Intr^t due on the same. Please pay the same to Peter Roe Dalton Esq Cashier of the Branch Bank Boston for my use & oblige your most humble serv^t

R. T. PAINE

JOHN KEAN Esq^r

Cashier of the Bank of the United States
Philadelphia

We certify that at the Supreme Judicial Court held at Worcester in and for the County of Worcester on Tuesday next preceeding the last Tuesday of April 1794 Isaac Cole & Burden Cole both of Spencer in the Same County Yeomen Were upon an Indictment against them for uttering and passing Four false and

Counterfeit Dollars convicted thereof by Verdict of a Jury and thereupon the said Burden was sentenced by said Court to be Confined to hard labour on Castle Island in the Harbour of Boston for the Term of Two Years from the 26th day of April A D 1794—Sentence against the said Isaac was suspended—and that Robert Cutter and Israel Hamilton both of Brookfield were the Informers and prosecutors of the said Burden and Isaac for the crime aforementioned—in which case the Law entitles the informers to a Reward of Fifteen Pounds

ROBERT TREAT PAINE	} Justices
INCREASE SUMNER	
THO ^s DAWES JUN ^r	
} of said Court.	

5.—*Elbridge Gerry,*

Born at Marblehead, Massachusetts, on the seventeenth of July, 1744. His father, a merchant of means, educated him at Harvard, where he graduated with credit, in 1762. Entering into mercantile business, he acquired both reputation and property. One of the early opponents of the policy of the Ministry, he was an active member of the General Court, in 1773, and was returned to the first Provincial Congress. He was the friend of General Warren, its President, and is said to have shared his bed, the night before his death, at Bunker-hill. He was a Member of the Continental Congress, was Minister to France, and Governor of Massachusetts, and died suddenly on the twenty-third of November, 18 4, while Vice-President of the United States, at the age of seventy, and was interred in the Congressional Cemetery, at Washington, under a monument erected by Congress to his memory. A son, Captain Gerry, of the Navy, was lost in command of the ill fated sloop-of-war *Albany*; and a grandson and namesake is a practicing lawyer in this city.

PHILADELPHIA 26th of Aug^t 1783

DEAR SIR

In compliance with your Request, I have made Enquiry about Col^o Lee. I find that he is in Virginia as far from this place on the one side as Atkinson is on the other, I shall therefore keep your Note until it can be sent by a Safe Conveyance or delivered to your order

The Court of Madrid has at length given a publick reception to M^r Carmichael, but he has not been presented in Expectation that M^r Jay who was then at Paris would repair to Madrid & in quality of Minister go thro' the Formalities of the Court

A Treaty of Commerce is ratified with Sweden & one is on ye Tapis with Denmark but the Emperor of Russia has acted cavalierly with Mr. Dana, who in his Turn has conducted with great Spirit, Address & Dignity

I wish you was present, as a Member of Decision is much wanted on ye New Hampshire Seat to form a Representation

I remain Sir in Haste your Friend & hum^l Serv^t

E GERRY

Hon M^r PEABODY,

CAMBRIDGE 31st March 1801.

DEAR SIR,

Mr Sprague, a respectable merchant of Salem, who will present this, has a claim on the French Government, the circumstances of which he will communicate to you, for a considerable sum. the demand, it seems, has been established by an award, which was lodged with Major Mountfloreence, whilst chancellor of the consulate: & as Mr. Sprague has only a copy of the document, it will probably be requisite that he should recover the original. I know not with whom the consular papers are lodged, but have recommended his application to yourself, for information on this & any other point touching his claim, & for such assistance as may promote its recovery. I propose to write to you soon, & request you in the interim to present Mrs. Gerry's & my own & petitsincere regards to Madame Villette, Mademois^e Charlotte & Charles, & to remember me generally to all our friends, being assured Dear Sir that

I remain your assured friend
& hum^l Serv^t

E GERRY

FULMAR SKIPWORTH Esq

III.—RHODE ISLAND.

1.—*Stephen Hopkins,*

Born at Scituate, R. I., on the seventh of March, 1707. his early years were passed in agricultural pursuits. In about the year 1731, he engaged in mercantile business in Providence, and was immediately elected to the Provincial Assembly, of which he remained for twenty years a member, and most of the time, Speaker. He was also a member of the Congresses of 1774, '5, '6, and Chief Justice of the State. An early patriot, he enjoyed the public confidence; and when, as a Member of the Continental Congress, he affixed his name to the Declaration, the disease which had stricken his hand had not affected his courage. After filling many positions of importance, legislative and judicial, he died on the thirteenth of July, 1783, in his seventy-eighth year.

ALBANY Novemb 25 1755

SIR

We expected to have had the pleasure of visiting your Camp, but find our arrival in Albany is too late to attempt it with that advantage in the Destination of the Rhode Island Forces as we might have had if we had been sooner. Therefore we have contented ourselves with sending an Express to Col Harris ordering him under your Direction to draw off our Proper Proportion for Garrisoning and to cause them to be put under the care of proper officers and to march the remainder of said Forces down to Albany as soon as may be with Convenience and would depend on your Goodness in directing him how to make the march the most easy advantageous and expeditious; as we shall be under a necessity of leaving this City in a short Time, but cannot do it before the arrival of said

Troops

We should have rejoiced greatly if the Provinces concerned in this Expedition could have reaped the hoped for & much desired fruits of it, but are not of the number of those who undertake to form a judgment in a Case of this Nature without being acquainted with or taking in all the circumstances that attend the Affair.

We doubt not but that the Course of this Expedition has been conducted with that judgment which the difficult circumstances attending it required and hope the Governments concerned will in the further Prosecution of it have the advantage of your Conduct and the Experience you have gained in this troublesome campaign, and we also hope to have the pleasure of seeing you here before our departure and are with the utmost Respect

Sir

Your most obedient humble servants

STEP HOPKINS

D. UPDIKE

To The Hon^{ble} William Johnson Esq^r

Commander in Chief of the Provincial Forces
at Lake George

Endorsed

"Gov^r HOPKINS & M^r UPDIKE's letter

" 25th Nov^r

" Rec^d en march to Albany,"

Providence Superior Court

September Term 1771.

Baulston Brayton App^t } Costs

vs

Samuel Gardner Appel } for Appel

Answering Reason & } 0. 0. 11

Copy of Do } 11. 4

Att^r Fees &c } 5. —

Attendance } 1. 6

Travel } 12. 4

Written Depositions } —

Filing objection to Evidence } 4

filing answer thereto } 6. 3³/₄

Reading Papers } 6

Swearing Witnesses } 7

Recording Judgm^t } 10

Dr. Ex^m & Taxing } —

£1. 19 7³/₄

Inf^r Court Costs } 3. 19 2

£5. 18 9³/₄

Ex E

Allow^d

* S. HOPKINS *C. Just*

Also official document signed as Clerk of the County of Providence, R. I. dated 9th of November 1742.

2.—William Ellery,

Born at Newport, R. I., on the twenty-second of December, 1727; graduated at Harvard, with credit, in 1747; and practiced law with distinction, for nearly twenty-five years. He was an early and intelligent patriot and a lover of the classics. When the struggle was over, he was rewarded with the Collectorship of the port of Newport, which he held for forty years; and the routine of his official ledgers had not dulled his love for literature, for he is said to have died at the age of ninety-three, on the fifteenth of February, 1820, with his Cicero in his hand. His letters, however, are rarely on interesting subjects.

NEWPORT Aug^t 31st 1789

Sir

Expect^s that Mr Bourne would immediately after his arrival here proceed on to New York I finished & closed the letter which I have sent to you by him before he came here

Yesterday he came down from Providence and informed some of the gentlemen of the town that he should not have engaged to attend the Providence Petition if he had not been advised that some person in this town would be employed to take ours to New York, and in short appeared to be so uneasy upon the occasion that a number of citizens thinking it might be advantageous to our petition and agreeable to the town of Providence persuaded M^r Marchant to take charge of it and accompany Mr Bourn.

M^r Marchant was formerly a member of Congress and I believe is not unknown by you. He was a worthy member of that body & highly esteemed, is a firm patriot and a staunch friend to the federal government. In a word wherever he goes he carries along with him his own recommendation. The Providence Petition agrees pretty nearly with ours in the petitioning part. They have carried on a considerable commerce by land with Massachusetts and your State and therefore have requested that they might be permitted still to carry it on, an indulgence which from our situation would not be so beneficial to this town as to that, This and an enumeration of their services formerly in the common cause of our country constitute the principal differences in the Petitions. Their petition passed before we were acquainted with the plan they meant to pursue otherwise they would have been more alike. As it is they are substantially the same.

Petitions coming from so respectable a part of the State seem to be entitled to the favorable attention of Congress, and I hope will be granted

I am in great haste

Your most obd^t servant

WILLIAM ELLERY

* Written when paralyzed, as is signature to Declaration.

[Addressed:]

The Hon'ble,
BENJAMIN HUNTINGTON Esq
Representative
in Congress
New York

Honored by
H MARCHANT Esq

IV.—CONNECTICUT.

1.—*Roger Sherman,*

Born in Newton, Mass., on the nineteenth of April, 1721. At the age of nineteen, a shoemaker's apprentice, he found himself, by the death of his father, charged with the support of a large family. He travelled, with his kit on his back, to New Milford, where he worked for some time. Struggling against these difficulties and the want of early culture, he was destined to improve the understanding of more considerable people than the rustics whose shoes he patched, and to be, not only a member of the Continental Congress, but charged, with Jefferson and its other most gifted members, with the forming of the Declaration, in Committee, and, subsequently, as a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution and constructed the basis of the Government. After aiding in revising the Statutes of Connecticut, showing marked ability on the Bench, and serving repeatedly in Congress, he died on the twenty-third of July, 1793, a member of the Senate of the United States, aged seventy-one years.

PHILADELPHIA April 28 1792

DEAR SIR

Both Houses of Congress have agreed to close the Session the 5th of May on Saturday. If they do I shall if well set out to come home on Monday the 7th and if I can have a good passage from N York by water shall likely be at home, the Thursday evening following—or on Saturday by the Stage—There has been no nomination sent from the President to the Senate for a Surgeons Mate—I wrote to General Knox that Doct^r Strong would accept the office if appointed and I believed execute it faithfully. I have in my hands a Letter for Mrs Wooster from Gov^r Johnston in answer to her wherein is enclosed a Bank Bill for 100 dollars. I thought it not best to send it by the Post lest it should be lost you may tell her of it.

I am in health
ROGER SHERMAN

[Addressed]

MR ROGER SHERMAN Jun^r
New Haven

Free
ROGER SHERMAN

Also, an A. D. S. dated 20 April, 1751

2.—*Samuel Huntington,*

Born at Haddam, Conn., on the second of July, 1732. His father was a small farmer. He was practicing law at Norwich, in 1764, when first known in public life, as a member of the General Assembly. He was made a Judge of the Superior Court, in 1774, and elected a Representative to the

Continental Congress, in 1775, where his distinguished ability and patriotism elevated him to its Presidency, in 1779, which position he resigned from ill health. Succeeding Mr. Jay in the Spanish Mission, he consummated a Treaty with that power. He was elected Governor of his native State, and occupied that position when he died, at the age of sixty-four, on the fifth of January, 1796.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan^y 18. 1780.

SIR,

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed two Acts of Congress of the 13th & 14th Instant.

The former containing the regulations adopted relating to prisoners of war, taken by the Continental Troops or captured by the arms of any particular State either by Sea or Land.

Many difficulties have frequently occurred for want of such a general regulation too numerous to be recited. It is proper to observe that the first paragraph of the Act recommending to the Executive of the several States to transmit with all possible expedition to Gen^l Washington the names & rank of all officers, and the number of privates belonging to the Enemy held as prisoners of war in each State, and the places they are at &c should be complied with as soon as possible by those States that have any number of prisoners.

The other Act of the 14 Inst recommending to the Legislature of the several United States to make provision when not already made for conferring like privileges and immunities on the Subjects of his most Christian Majesty as are granted to the subjects and Inhabitants of these United States by the recited Articles in the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, will no doubt be cheerfully complied with by each of the States.

His Most Christian Majesty as soon as the Treaty became known published an Edict Conformable to that Article exempting the Subjects & Inhabitants of these United States from the Droit D'Aubaine &c.

I have the honour to be
with every sentiment of respect
your Excy's hble Servt

SAM. HUNTINGTON, President
The President of the State of Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA June 16. 1780.

SIR,

I am to inform you, that Major General Gates is ordered to the Command of the Army in the Southern Department and you will see by the Act enclosed of the 16th Instant it is the Pleasure of Congress that you be employed in the Service in that Department as General Gates shall direct

I have the honor to be
Sir,

Your most hble servt
SAM. HUNTINGTON, President
Brigadier Genl WEEDON

NORWICH August 22d 1791.

SIR

I am favour^d with your letter of the 10th Instant The question you propose respecting the public paper in the Treasury viz: will it not be advisable on the last day of Sept^r to subscribe what shall then be on hand to the United States Loan, as the property & in the name of this State; is a question attended with delicacy, it appears to me from a present view of the subject, that the mode proposed to Loan it, most probably would prove beneficial to any Interested party in future, whether an Individual or the State as events shall determine, but on the other hand a weighty objection arises which is the want of Authority or direction from Government to negotiate the paper in this manner.

By the leave of providence I shall be at Hartford the fore part of Septem^r Shall farther consider the subject & freely give you the best advice in my power relative to the matter.

I am Sir with Sentiments
of Esteem & Respect
Your humble Servant

S———— H————

Mr. Treasurer COLT.

[Endorsed] "Copy of a letter to
Treasurer Colt
August 22^d 1791."

Also official document signed as Captain General and Commander in Chief of Connecticut, dated 17th October 1793.

— William Williams,

Born at Lebanon, Connecticut, on the eighth of April, 1731. He graduated, in 1751, at Harvard, and commenced the study of divinity with his father. He accompanied his relative, Colonel Ephraim Williams, in the expedition to Lake George, in the French War, in 1754, in which the latter lost his life; and, soon after his return, abandoned his studies for a successful mercantile career, in his native town. At the age of twenty-five, he was elected to the Provincial Legislature, of which, after forty-five years service, he might be called the Nestor. Elected a Delegate, also, to the Continental Congress of 1775, he was an ardent supporter of Liberty in that and in its successor. When the traitor, Arnold, undertook, in 1781, to wreak upon the people of New London, within fourteen miles of his birthplace, the vengeance he had threatened, in case his victim, Major Andre, was executed, Colonel Williams, who commanded a militia Regiment, rode twenty three miles in three hours to join in the defence. His letters show the intelligent interest he took in public events. He was a son-in-law of Governor Trumbull, having married in 1772. After receiving many well-deserved tokens of public confidence, he died on the second of August, 1811, at the age of eighty-one years.

PHILADELPHIA, July 5, 1777

HON^d SIR

The current News all y^e road as we came, was that the Enemy were pushing to this City & had made considerable Progress, that Ships were up y^e river as high as Kings Ferry, that the Boats were taken up by Gen^l Washington &c which determined our rout by the way of Fish Kill, Easton and Bethlehem, which made our journey long and tedious, so that we did not arrive here till Tuesday y^e 24th ult^o, thro y^e good Hand of God, in Health & Safety. Our Intelligence from the Armys was vague & uncertain on y^e road, and even here, what has happened since, the partial Battle & the evacuation of y^e Jerseys, & it is now reported of Staten Island, &c you will have heard by Mr. Sherman & otherwise, I dare say, ier this can reach you & more perfectly than I can give it. there is great reason to believe the Enemy are bound to the northern quarter or to New England, & if reports are true they have sailed & their Designs are known before this. Our Letters from Gen^l Sinclair who commands at Tig^a indicate his full Expectation of being attacked by Gen^l Carlton, & I wish I co^d say of his readiness to receive them but not so. & if they go to New England it will thro my dear Country into great Distress but I sho^d hope our army will be able to meet them before they can make any great Progress. Our sins are so great that we have reason to expect severe correction. O that this People were wise, but there is no appearance of it. God will accomplish his own Designs & what he does is, & will be right, & as you piously observe, "future Events are in the safe hand of the alwise & most merciful Director." The Enemy have left Jersey in Desolation & ruins where they had been & marked their way with merciless rage & Brutality, may the God of Heaven look on & pity the sufferings of his People & save us from the further Effects of their Brutal Rage. The account you had rec^d of the raising & joining of the Southern Troops were certainly not just. I will not say how untrue, for obvious reasons.

The Jersey militia turn^d out most spiritedly on the late occasion, to their active zeal & exertions, it may in good measure (under God) be ascribed that y^e Enemy proceeded no further. I find Congress much as I left it, in every respect, some new members; their Time mostly taken up by Daily Incidents & occurrences, very little progress made in y^e Confederation, it had pass^d the Com^{ts} of the Whole House before I left. has been a good while before Congress & few important questions yet determined, the capital ones of the weight of each colony in deciding questions, & Taxation, & many others undetermined, the first respecting

y^e vote of Each has been entered, & it is most strenuously contended in behalf of the larger (one that) their vote shall be proportionate to their (number of voters which is) forcibly opposed, I trust & hope it will be (carried for) the equal Footing it has been, & without it (the smaller Colonies will be in effect swallowed up and annihilated.

Your Letter to y^e Presid^t & its inclosures are rec^d the papers not read in the House, but Committed, I cant say what will be done; nothing but what is originated in this Batch of — Politicians seems to make any great impression. Mr. Erkelins seems to be vanished, we can find He has been here but no Body knows who or where he is, tho I believe by enquiry he is in Town, but have not been able yet to find him. I suspect he is chagrined at the cool reception he has met with, & keeps retired.

We have applied for the arms you wrote by us for, but find exceeding Difficulty in obtaining them, I believe not a man Southward or in y^e middle Department is supplied with an arm but by y^e Continent. We have done it thro zeal & strong attachment to y^e Cause, and yet they will not seem to know, believe or care anything about it, there is indeed such a thing as being righteous overmuch, & yet I can hardly repent that we have in such influences fallen into this Error, but shod N. E. be attacked & unarmed we shod have reason. the matter is however refer^d to Gen^l Washington, & Mr Sherman, is to negotiate the Affairs with him on his return (he set out y^e 2^d Ins^t) more than all the arms we have are wanted, which must be allowed as some excuse for their lothness to comply.

We have a very extra^r Contract now lying before Congress entered into in Sept^r last by Mr. D—— with Mons^r DuCoudray (after a long list of pre nomens) who is present, making him Gen^l & Command^r in Chief of the whole Choir of Artillery, with power to fill every vacant office now & in future, & to be subject to no Controul but by the Congress & y^e Commander in Chief of y^e whole Army, & with the rank of Maj^r General, & his pay as in a Separate Department, to be on pay from y^e 1st of Aug^t last, & a large Train of under officers of various ranks who are with him, for whom also he has made appointments, & to Mons^r & all he had has advanced a half years pay for expences of preparation & Passage not to be accounted for, & with Pensions for Life equal to half their Pay annually &c &c. The Contract has had several assignments but is not yet taken up. I do not expect it will be ratified in full. I forbear to say many things, the City swarms with French men.

I don't know but I transgress the Rules We allsign in divulging any matters sub Judice & unfinished in Congress, but I cant (refrain from communicating important matters to one who has so good a right to know; and to whom I & even y^e Continent are subject to great obligations. but S^r you will not make them to be publick nor known, as from me especially.

The prices of every thing here are most alarmingly extravagant, much owing to the malicious Cunning of our worst Enemies, the Tors, & coinciding with the boundless avarice of the Merchants, whose Gain is the Summum Bonum; and all the God they seem to know in these Parts. nothing to be done by Congress, because, forsooth, it will be interfering with the internal Poliece of this Grand state, in this respect the mother of Harlots &c. the principle properly applied is however very important. Congress seems to be chained to this place, & the longer they stay, the stronger a multitude of offices and officers are established & employed in this City, & some of the worst men in some of them. Yesterday was in my opinion poorly spent in celebrating the anniversary of y^e Declaration of Independence, but to avoid Singularity & Reflection upon my dear Colony, I thot it my Duty to attend the public Entertainment; a great Expenditure of Liquor, Powder &c took up y^e Day, & of Candles thro y^e City good part of the night, I suppose & I conclude much Tory unilluminated Glass, will want replacing &c.

Dr Young died lately of a Fever caught in attending y^e Congress Hospitals in y^e City, & was buried the day we came into Town. poor man He now knows the the reality of things, he lately disputed & disbelieved, can find out very little of his last Ideas but believe he died just as he lived, expecting if there was a future State that a man of his Benevolence must be happy.

Am extremely sorry I cannot write my hon^d & worthy Friend Gen^l Huntington, & Mr. Hosmer whose Letters I have rec^d & shall acknowledge soon as possible, my apology will be I dare say in their opinion sufficient. the Rheumatic Pain that had so long afflicted my right arm, has a few days since suddenly fallen into my wrist, which is much swoln. has been in great pain day & night, feels as hot & looks like y^e skin of a roasted Pig. it is with much pain I write this, & were it not better than yesterday, it wo^d have been impossible. They will accept my best compliments. I had also a Letter from my most dear Mrs. Williams, it is peculiarly grievous I cant write her. please to remember me to her with most tender affection, & my other dear Friends, may God in infinite mercy save this People from their Sins,

& remove his Judgments. I am with all possible esteem, affection and Respect, your most dutiful, obedient, son & servant

W. WILLIAMS

our Lodgings are at present inconvenient, but excessive dear &c.

Addressed "To

"His Excellency JONATHAN TRUMBULL Esqr
at Lebanon
'pr Mr. BROWN Connecticut

Endorsed "July 5th 1777

"Hon W^m WILLIAMS Esqr
"at Philadelphia"

LEBANON 4 July 1781.

HON'D SIR

You will remember that yourself with us were appointed by the Assembly some time since a Com^{tee} to repair to Mohegan, inquire into the grievances complained of by Zachary Johnson & others of y^e old Tribe, of Incroachments & outrages comitted upon them by White & black People &c &c. Zachary is pressing for the Com^{tee} to attend upon the Business, has been three Day with the Gov^r when the Council were sitting; it is to us an irksome undertaking, but it seems hard to put them off much longer, from obtaining at least a hearing of their grievous Complaints & have therefore promised him to attend when it shall be agreeable to you, & proposed to him some time in Sep^r soon after Treuman's meeting & to write you to fix on the Time & inform Gen^l Spencer of y^e Day you shall set.

& we will endeavor to meet you at Time & Place, & you will please to obtain & bring with you a Copy of the memorial to & Appointment of the Assembly.

We are, S^r with

great Respect your
most obed^t & very

H. Serv^{ts}

* JOSEPH SPENCER

W^m WILLIAMS

4.—*Oliver Wolcott,*

Born at Windsor, Connecticut, on the twenty-sixth of November, 1726. Graduated creditably at Yale in 1747; and receiving a Captain's commission, made a campaign against the French. At the peace, he studied medicine with an uncle, but soon abandoned his patients to minister to the people, first as Sheriff of Litchfield-county, then, in 1774, as a member of the Council, and for successive terms, until 1786, being in the meanwhile a Delegate in the Continental Congress, Chief-justice of Litchfield-county, Judge of Probate, and a Federal officer, making repeated campaigns; commanding fourteen Regiments of Connecticut militia, at New York, just prior to the Battle of Long Island, and, again, participating in the surrender of Burgoyne. He was an energetic and useful man, and apparently in

great request. He died on the first of December, 1797, in his seventy-first year, being Governor of Connecticut.

LITCHFIELD. Febr'y 5th 1796.

SIR

I have been honoured with your letter of the 9th ultimo, relative to a Resolution of the Legislature of Virginia, proposing to the respective States of the Union, an interchange of their existing code of laws, and of such as shall be annually enacted.

The communication which has been offered will in my opinion, afford useful information, and have a tendency to improve and assimilate our general Jurisprudence, and may prevent Jealousies, which might otherwise exist by our not being acquainted with the legal principles, by which Rights are established and recovered, within the respective States —

The General Assembly of Connecticut, at their last session, completed a Revision of our Statutes, and which are now in the press. As soon as they shall be published, a Book of them shall be sent to you by the post, which is a mode of conveyance the most certain and the least expensive.

The proposal of Virginia, to continue an exchange of such laws as shall be annually enacted, will be submitted to the order of our General Assembly, at their next Session.

Your kind offer to transmit a Code of the laws of your State, is highly agreeable.

With sentiments of much esteem and respect

I am, Sir,

Your most obed^t humble serv^t

OLIVER WOLCOTT

The Hon^{ble} H. BROOKE

V.—NEW YORK.

1.—*William Floyd,*

Born at Setanket, Long Island, on the seventeenth of December, 1734; the son of a prosperous farmer. He engaged in agriculture until selected as a Delegate to the Congress of 1774, and served until 1783, being part of the time also State Senator; again served from 1789 to '91: was three times Presidential Elector; in the State Constitutional Convention of 1801; and, a member of the Cincinnati. He was not only an industrious and conscientious Representative, but an active patriot, and a zealous officer of the militia. He removed to Oneida-county in 1803; was again elected to the State Senate; and died on the fourth of August, 1821, at the advanced age of eighty-seven. He has left many descendants, (amongst whom are the Crosby family,) who take just pride in his patriotism, integrity, and worth.

A return of the names of officers
in the Suffolk County Brigade
Feb 13th 1795

To the Artillery } JOSEPH CONKLIN, Cap^t
Company } HENRY P DERING 1st Lieut

In Colo HUNTINGS Regiment

SILVANUS HALSEY Capt Vice CALEB ROGERS

* The Continental General.

removed
BENJAMIN ROGERS Lieut Vice SILVANUS HAL-
SEY promoted
CALEB HALSEY, Ensign Vice BENJAMIN ROGERS
promoted.

Colo STRONGS Regiment
SAMUEL T BRINGS Ensign Vice ISAAC SEAMAN,
Resigned out of health

W^M FLOYD.

WESTERN May 25 1817

DEAR SIR

I Rec^d your letter by ———. I was glad to hear from the family, but was sorry to hear that you was under the necessity of furnishing him with money to pay his Expenses I think it does not have a good appearance that a young man in the prime of life dont earn a sufficiency to support himself without being burdensome to his friends. He must depend on his own Exertions for a living. If I find, he gets capable of doing Business to Advantage I may be induced to give him some assistance. I have given him fifty dollars to pay the expenses of his visit here. Inclosed I send you fifty dollars more to be applied for the benefit of the family in such way as you may think proper. My love to M^{rs} ——— and to my grand & great grand children and

am with great respects

Yours &c

W^M FLOYD

————— Esqr
at New York

Endorsed

"Gen WILLIAM FLOYD
25 May 1817"

2.—Philip Livingston,

Born in Albany, New York, on the fifteenth of January, 1716. He was the fourth son of Philip, the second proprietor of the Manor, and brother of Peter Van Brugh and William Livingston, patriots of the Revolution, and of Lady Stirling. He graduated at Yale in 1737; was Alderman of the East Ward, in 1754, and engaged in that year with his brother, William, his brother-in-law, Lord Stirling, General John Morin Scott, and one or two others, in establishing the City, now New York Society, Library. In the Assemblies of 1759 and 1762, he took a prominent part with three others of his name. The Livingston party, during this period, sustained Governor Shirley from the rivalry of Sir William Johnson, supported by the De Lancey party, who triumphed in the election of 1769, defeating Philip and Peter Van Brugh Livingston, John Morin Scott, and Theodoros Van Wyck, as candidates for the city. This Assembly being strongly Tory, refused to consider the action of the Continental Congress, which occasioned the calling of the Convention to elect Delegates to Congress by which he was returned to the Congress of 1775. He conducted an able correspondence with Edward Burke, agent for the Colony, and in the Congress of 1774, was on the Committee that prepared the Address to the People of Great Britain, and was also a member of the first Senate of New York, which met in September, 1777. He was an active patron of Columbia College; one of the founders of the Chamber of Commerce; and, in every relation in life, a devoted, patri-

otic, and courageous man. He died at York Town, Pennsylvania, on the twelfth of June, 1778, in his sixty-second year; and a monument erected over his grave, recalls his services and the fact that Congress once sat in that place.

NEW YORK 4th May 1765

MR. RICH^d DERBY,

Just now arrived here your Schooner Patty, Capⁿ Michael Driver, he desired me to acquaint you of his arrival and that he will wait your orders. he has on board 52 pipes Wine for Cargo—I will keep him from Entering if I can, till you or your orders arrive here which I presume will not be long, as the Cap^t tells me that he has wrote to you from S^c Carolina, that he was bound to this place. Wines would I suppose sell for about £50, The New York Wines. the other perhaps about £30

I remain

Your Most Hum : Serv^t
PHIL. LIVINGSTON

New York the 10 Feby 1761. Rec^d of M^r W^m Coventry Forty three pounds five shillings & one penny Phil^a Currency being so much he rec^d from Messrs Scott & McMichel Merch^{ts} there for my Acct.
£43. 5. 1

PHIL LIVINGSTON

3.—Francis Lewis,

Born in Llandaff, Wales, in the year 1713. He was educated at Westminster, apprenticed to a London merchant, and when of age, emigrated to this country and entered into mercantile business. He was aid to Colonel Mersey at Fort Oswego, when captured by the Marquis of Montcalm, in 1757; and was taken as a prisoner to Canada, and then to France, where he was finally exchanged. In 1765, he served in the Colonial Congress, and in the Continental Congresses of 1775 and 1776. He appears to have been largely engaged, through his firm of Francis Lewis & Son, in furnishing supplies to the Army; and most of his letters extant refer to those subjects. During the possession of Long Island by the British, his property was devastated and his wife closely confined and subjected to great hardships. He retired from Congress in 1778, and died on the thirtieth of December, 1803, in his ninetieth year. His son, Morgan Lewis, was Governor and Quartermaster-General of New York, and has many descendants.

YORK TOWN. 6 March 1778.

DEAR FRANK,

The Commercial Committee having directed W^m Smith Esquire of Baltimore, to purchase Flour &c for the public service, he will call upon you for six Thousand Dollars, which you will pay him taking duplicate receipts for the same, specifying his being accountable to the Commercial Committee of Congress for the same. I am,

Dear Frank

Yours Affectionately

FRA : LEWIS

TO FRANCIS LEWIS Jun^r

4.—Lewis Morris,

Born in the year 1726, at the Manor of Morrisania, which he inherited on the decease of his father. He graduated at

Yale, in 1746. He early took a decided position in the contest with the Ministry, and with much to loose and little to gain, abandoned the comforts of home and the allurements of a competency, to serve his less fortunate brethren. When the Colonial Assembly of New York refused to appoint Delegates to the Provincial Congress, he was active in organizing in Westchester-county, where the royal interest was paramount, meetings to elect Delegates to the Provincial Convention, by which, being a member, he was elected to the Continental Congress, and took a prominent part, until he was succeeded, at his own request, by his distinguished brother, Gouverneur. On the restoration of peace, he renewed his favorite avocation as a farmer. He was a Major-general of the militia. His family was divided in sentiment, another brother, Staats Long, becoming a Lieutenant-general in the British Army and marrying the Dutchess of Gordon, and a brother-in-law, the Rev. Isaac Wilkins, being one of the most talented and eloquent of the royal advocates, in the Colonial Assembly of 1775. He died on the twenty-second of January, 1798, aged seventy-two years. For some unknown reason, his letters are of excessive rarity, which is to be regretted, as his prominent sacrifices, patriotism, and ability, give them marked interest. Many of his descendants reside in and about New York.

I William Earl of Stirling, Viscount Canada, &c do declare that I am well acquainted with the within described Tracts of Land belonging to WILLIAM KELLY Esquire in Morris County in East New Jersey and having examined the within do think it a just and fair description of it

STIRLING

I, LEWIS MORRIS, ESQUIRE, of the Manor of Morrisania in the County of West Chester in the Province of New York do hereby certify that I have often been on the within mentioned estate and viewed it with particular attention and I am of opinion that it answers the description given of it and that I dont know a richer or a finer Body of lowland in the Province of New Jersey, nor have I ever seen in any part of America such fine horn'd cattle nor a finer parcel of working Slaves than those on said Estate

LEWIS MORRIS

I John Alsop of the City of New York, Merchant do hereby certifie that I have been on the within Estate and that tho my stay in it was but short yet from the Universal Opinion & Concurring Acct^s of those well acquainted with it I do verily believe that the same answers the above description.

* JOHN ALSOP

I, Abraham Lott Esqr. Treasurer of the Colony of New York do hereby certify that I have been twice this year on the within mentioned Estate and having examined narrowly into the quality of the Land do not think that the within Description is at all exaggerated. The luxuriant growth of the Corn Flax Hemp Oats, several kinds of Grass, Cabbages and a great variety of garden produce (particularly on the

Lands) fully verifying the contents of the Within in Advertisement, and further I do agree with Lewis Morris Esq^r with respect to the Slaves & Cattle on the said Estate

ABR^m LOTT

NEW YORK August 9th 1769.

LITHGOW Decem^r 25 1776

SIR

I wrote to you some time ago when I was at Phila and you on Long Island relative to your being wrote to from Phi^a that it was there said that you and your Brothers had refused continental money and after finding out by M^r Morris that you laid the report on me, immediately on my getting to Phila applied to Mr. Duane, who told me that he had wrote to that purpose but not that I had said it, I then asked him who had told him so, he said the gent^l was not in town, the next day I asked again, Says he do you mean to trace this matter, I told him by heavens, I did, he then told me that whenever the gentleman came to town he would let me know, I often after that applied and y^e answer was that he was still out of town, this was the substance of the letter I wrote you and at the same time pressed an answer. I suppose the Letter must have miscarried for I believe you could not have acted so much unbecoming a gentleman as not to have acknowledged the receipt of it. M^r Johnston and myself have been talking about getting you liberated, he writes you by this opportunity on the subject and you may depend that I shall do everything in my Power to serve you, in that or anything else, notwithstanding the opinion you conceived of me, let me ask one question before I conclude would it not have been more candid to have spake to me when you heard of the affair and by that means put it in my power to have vindicated myself, now I have unbent my mind, and give me leave to say upon the word of a man of honor that I never did say anything to the prejudice of you or any one of the family either with regard to the Continental money or anything in this Dispute

From Your injured Friend & Brother

LEWIS MORRIS

To G — W — Esq^r

NEW YORK 6th March 1784

DEAR SIR

The Bearer M^r Geo Fisher has applied to me for a Letter of introduction to you supposing it will facilitate the settlement of some Public accounts he has to adjust with your Office

I do not know nor do I believe that any pretence is given on these occasions, but if great merit and a very distinguished attention to the Interests of this Country will entitle him to any

favors with you. You may depend this man is deserving of every civility or favor you may be pleased to extend to him

I am with esteem

Your Most Obed^t

and Most Humble Servant

LEWIS MORRIS

The Hon^{ble} ROBERT MORRIS Esquire

Philadelphia

fav^d by

Mr Geo FISHER

VI.—NEW JERSEY.

1.—Richard Stockton,

Born at Princeton, New Jersey, on the first of October, 1730. From the position of his family and the fortune he inherited, he was freed from the early struggle to which many of his colleagues were subjected; and, having graduated with honor at Princeton, was admitted to the Bar, in 1754, and, in 1774, became a Judge of the Supreme Court for the Province. In visiting England, he was received with high consideration, as a gentleman of talent and importance in the Colony, and formed the acquaintance of persons of distinction in the English Ministry, among others, the Marquis of Rockingham, the more liberal predecessor as Premier of Lord North, with whom he freely corresponded; but these associations did not control his conduct or influence his patriotism. He was an influential member of the Continental Congress, and a Commissioner to the Northern Army. He was a special object of hostility to the Royalists; and was confined in the jail, at Amboy, and in the Provost Prison (old Hall of Records) New York, and died at Morven, his seat near Princeton, on the twenty-eighth of February, 1781, at the age of fifty-one, from the effects of their cruel treatment.

Receiv^d Nov 2^d 1762 of Stephen Truesdell 42£
provin in full of one years interest on the within
Bond

RICH^d STOCKTON.

An Expedient
for the Settlement of the
American Disputes

humbly submitted to the consideration
of his Majesty's Ministers

by

an American

The State of American Affairs is so truly alarming at this time, that every real friend to the British Empire ought to suggest every probable expedient that occurs to him for the accommodation of the unhappy disputes between Great Britain and the Colonies.—to give the following suggestions their due weight; it must be premised —

1st That the several North American Colonies, from New Hampshire to South Carolina inclusive, are able to furnish 500,000 fighting men; who are in general as fit for service as the English Militia, and many of them much more so, having been in actual service the last war.

2^{dly} That the great body of the people in these several Colonies are now (even to the

astonishment of many Colonists the mselves perfectly united in a determinate opposition) to the authority of the British Parliament, *as to all internal Taxation.*

3^{dly} That there is not the least remaining doubt, if the British Government should proceed to put the late Acts of Parliament respecting the Massachusetts Bay (or any other Acts which involve the Idea of an absolute uncontrollable power in the British Parliament over the Colonies) into execution, by force; but that the ass^d Colonies would unite in attempting to repel force by force. —

To which may be added, what is as well or perhaps better known in Great Britain than in America, to wit,

4^{thly} That the *certain* consequences of this unnatural War will be dreadful to both Great Britain and America; and the *probable* effects thereof may be fatal to the whole British Empire.

Matters standing thus; and the three first propositions above premised being founded upon the most indubitable facts (of which the writer of this, from his general acquaintance with America, is perhaps as competent a judge as any man whatever. It is humbly proposed to the Consideration of his Majesty's Ministers, whether it would not be proper

1st That a royal Instruction be immediately obtained, and sent over to the several Governors of the North American Colonies, requiring them forthwith to recommend it to their several Assemblies to pass, and to give their own assent to an Act which may be passed by the Legislatures of the several Provinces, empowering certain Commissioners therein to be named, to repair to England; with power to confer with his Majesty's Ministers or with Commissioners to be appointed by Act of Parliament, respecting the grand points in dispute between Great Britain and America; and finally to determine thereupon.

2^{dly} That to prevent all disputes in future the s^d American Commissioners be also empowered to confer and agree with the British Commissioners respecting the future government and regulation of the Colonies; either by framing One general System of Government for all the Colonies on the Continent, similar to the British, Or by making some material alterations in the present mode of provincial Government. *In either of which systems, some effectual provision may be made for the adequate support of the American Government by the Americans themselves: And also for the payment of all such sums of money as may become due from America to Great Britain for the assistance*

of her Fleet and Army. These determinations of the s^d Commissioners to be subjected nevertheless to such alteration as the wisdom of his Majesty and his Parliament of Great Britain may make therein; and as shall be agreed to by the several provincial Legislatures.

3^{dly} That upon such Instructions being given to the several Governors, his Majesty be advised in his royal clemency to recommend it to his Parliament to suspend the operation of the Boston Port Act until the determination of the s^d Commissioners shall be had.

The Author of the above hints offers them with all humility, and with great diffidence of his own abilities, on so great and national a question. But some expedient must be immediately fallen upon, or we shall be involved in a civil war the most obstinate awful and tremendous that perhaps ever occurred since the Creation of the world.

He will esteem it a signal blessing of divine providence, conferred upon him, if any one Idea he hath suggested may be of any use at this dreadful Crisis: And if otherwise, he will at least be able to comfort himself with the uprightness of his intentions in this feeble attempt; and with the assurance that it can do no harm either to himself, or any other person.

Decem^r 12th 1774.

Endorsed "Hints transmitted to Lord Dartmouth Secretary of State for America thro' the hands of Sam^l Smith Esq^r of London Merch^l."

I hereby certify that the foregoing manuscript entitled "An expedient for the settlement of the American Disputes humbly submitted to the consideration of his Majestys Ministers by an American" is in the handwriting of my grandfather the Hon Richard Stockton, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and was found amongst his papers, and that the accompanying receipt dated November 2^d 1762 is also in his handwriting and signed by him.

Signed, * * *
Dated PRINCETON N J.
_____ 1869.

2.—Francis Hopkinson,

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1737, of an influential and wealthy family, his mother a niece of the then Bishop of Worcester. He read law and entered the practice under the favoring smiles of the Colonial Court and aristocracy. He entered Congress in 1776; and served for a number of years. He was also an Admiralty Judge and a man of letters and esprit. He made his mark on the period in which he lived; and died too young for his greater reputation, in May, 1791, aged fifty-three years.

To the Honourable the Council of Safety
for the State of Pennsylvania.

The Memorial of Francis Hopkinson,
Humbly sheweth,

That it is with great Reluctance your Memorialist is induced to trouble your Hon^{ble} Board, with a Complaint of a private nature; but as, in the present State of Affairs, it is impossible for him to obtain justice in the usual Line of the Law, he is under the necessity of applying to the present Guardians of the People for that Redress, which they have always shewn to the aggrieved.

Your Honours will be pleased to recollect that your Memorialist has been very active and industrious in detecting the frauds of a certain George Crows, & in recovering large sums of money which he had by subtlety and Deceit, obtained from your memorialist & from several other Persons: Your Memorialist represents that, in the beginning of these discoveries, he had it repeatedly in his power to have repaid himself the sum of which he had been defrauded, but out of a Principle of honour, deposited all the Monies which passed through his hands, with some of the members of your Hon^{ble} Board, until advertisements should go forth, calling upon all who had suffer^d by the Fraud, to come in and make their respective claims. That, amongst the several sums so recovered, there is a Bundle of Continental Currency in sheets amounting to about £240, with such marks as your memorialist thinks will most clearly ascertain it to be his property: that none other of the Creditors of the said George Crows, paid him their money in sheets, but in cut Paper Currency, whereby your Memorialist is of opinion that he can so fully prove the Identity of such Part of his Property as is contained in said sheets, that in Justice he ought not to throw it into the general mass for the Benefit of others. Your memorialist fully possessed of the justice of his claim has offered to submit this matter, to the Determination of any three impartial men & to be bound by their Decision: but is sorry to say, the other Creditors so far from acceding to this equitable & unexceptionable Proposal have ordered the Treasurer to throw all the money into Hotch Pot & make proportional Dividend, without paying any regard to the just Claim of your memorialist: & have offered to give him a writing of Indemnification for so doing.

The manifest Injustice of such a Procedure hath thrown your memorialist on the Protection of your Hon^{ble} Board, humbly requesting the Interposition of your authority to prevent & forbid the Treasurer of the said Creditors (Mr. Jacob Shoemaker) from making

the Distribution of the monies in his Hands, until the Claim of your memorialist shall be Heard & a Determination thereupon obtained from three impartial Persons, or from your hon'ble Board, whichever shall appear most convenient and proper.

Your memorialist humbly submits the Premises to your consideration, not doubting, but that you will do therein as Justice and Honour shall direct.

Philadelphia, } FRA'S HOPKINSON.
5th of Oct^r, 1776. }

The Complainant will attend the Council on Monday Morning, or at such other Time as they shall please to direct, in order to receive their Determination.

To the Hon'ble
The Council of Safety,
a Memorial.

Endorsed "of FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
"to be determined upon,
"on Monday, 7th Oct^r, 1776."

To CLEMENT BIDDLE Esq^r, Marshall of
the Admiralty.

Nathaniel Brittenham, having a Cargoe of slaves on Board the schooner Friar's Bay Packet in your Custody, you are hereby directed to deliver the said Cargo to the said Nathaniel Brittenham, upon his paying you Customary Freight for the said Cargo, which Freight you are to bring and deposit in my hands for the use of the owner of the said Schooner.

FRA'S HOPKINSON.

Nov^r. 5th, 1787.

Also official document signed as Judge of Admiralty, dated June 17th, 1786.

3.—John Witherspoon,

Was born at Yester, Scotland, on the fifth of February, 1722; a descendant of John Knox. He graduated at the University of Edinburgh, in 1742. Was a learned preacher, and soon a popular one. After repeated solicitations, in which Stockton, when in Europe, joined, he consented to accept the Presidency of Nassau Hall, at Princeton, and was installed on the seventeenth of August, 1768. Deeply interested in the exciting political struggle, he soon laid aside his professional duties and studies, to participate, until Independence was secured in 1783, when he returned to the classic shades of his Tusculum and to his ministry, which he continued until the time of his decease, although for two years totally blind. He died on the fifteenth of November, 1794, in his seventy-third year. His daughter Frances, married Doctor David Ramsay, the historian of South Carolina, who was her biographer.

TUSCULUM, August 16th 1785.

D^r SIR

I ought to have written to you when Dr Ramsay's servant went over for the chair, & I would have done it but the D^r and my son David being abroad when I called sent him after-

wards of themselves. Dr Gordon delivered your message, Viz that if I liked it I might have it & it should not be a small matter that would part us. I therefore leave it wholly to yourself what abatement you will make of the 70 Dollars and I will send you the money very soon. You know it is for a young man who has his future all to make, but I was desirous to have it for him before the hot weather is over. Please to write me in Return so that I may have the money remitted. I shall be glad to know when you expect to go home. I have given you the trouble of the enclosed to save postage.

I am D^r Sir

Your most dev^{tl} & humble servant

JNO WITHERSPOON.

SAMUEL HOLTEN Esq^r

Addressed "Hon^{ble} D^r HOLTEN

"In Congress

Free New York."

[Endorsed]

"A letter from the Rev^d D^r WITHERSPOON
"16th Au^t 1785"

4.—John Hart,

Born, when or where, no man now appears to know, and whose handwriting many have sought and few have found, in other form than on a Colonial note; a thrifty farmer, seated at Hopewell, where apparently other Harts resided, and one other John Hart whose signature has been taken by some for his; writing without reference to grammatical rule, as seen by his letter in Doctor Sprague's collection, and which Sedgwick copies in his *Life of Governor Livingston*, with slight (if not slightened) allusion to him and to his colleagues, was nevertheless the man for the emergency; and when the delegation from New Jersey required an infusion of new vigor, with Clark, Witherspoon, Stockton, and Hopkinson, stepped forward and filled the place, signed the Declaration, and sustained it as firmly and consistently as did more scholarly men. He died in 1780, at the darkest period of the War, failing to see the glorious termination; and his memory is now commemorated by a monument, at Hopewell, erected by his neighbors.

The Province of New York

To JOHN HART	D ^r	£
To my expenses		3. 5. 0

To 13 days service Including friday the 7 th of July to wednesday the 19 th at 10s		6. 10. 0
--	--	----------

9. 15. 0

Received in part from his Excellency the Governor		6. 00. 0
--	--	----------

3. 15. 0

New York the 19th July 1758

[Endorsed]

JOHN HARTS

acct agst

the Province of

New York.

Read the 6th Dec^r 1758 & the Council

thought the £6 paid to him suff.

Also small autograph receipt signed, dated 1st May 1746, and Provincial note of New Jersey for Six Shillings, signed.

5.—*Abraham Clark,*

Born at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, on the fifteenth of February, 1726. Too feeble for labor, he turned his attention to surveying and to the study of the law. Popular with the people, he early enjoyed their confidence, and was selected as an object for the patronage of the Crown and the popular government, holding among other positions that of High Sheriff. From the time of his election to Congress, in 1776, to that of his death, from coup de soleil, in June, 1794, he continued in the public service and incurred the hostility of the legal profession by fostering legislation which reduced their perquisites. He suffered largely in the cause of his country, two of his sons being confined in the Jersey prison-ship, and his family driven from their home. Another son, Doctor Abraham Clark, died at Kinderhook, New York, leaving an only daughter, the widow of the Hon. John P. Beekman, of that place, now living in this city. A monument was erected to his memory, by the descendants of his neighbors. Such letters as he has left behind him are generally of interest.

ELIZA. TOWN June 8, 1775.

SIR,

You have now sent you 6 Qr. Casks & 2 half Barr's of Powder—The Quarter Casks I got at New Brunswick & the 2 half Barr. containing 105 lb I got at Woodbridge—for each of which I gave rec^d that I rec^d them to be forwarded to the Provincial Camp near Boston agreeable to a requisition from them. There was no more to be obtained; they had sold the most of their stores to the Inhabitants. You'll be so kind as to send a rec^d of the same Tenor of those I gave that I may show them the stores are forwarded agreeable to my promises.

I am Sir

Your Hum^{ble} Serv^t.

ABRA. CLARK.

ELIZA. TOWN, July 25, 1779.

MY DEAR FRIEND

Our Success in taking Stoney point Fort you have heard. We were not equally successful at the Fort on the other side the River, which was relieved by Gen^l Clinton with the British Army last Sunday Evening; The one we took was dismantled & left by our Troops; and Rivington in his paper tells us they retook 4 Eighteen brass pounders which our people was attempting to remove up the River, but this I have not heard from our accounts tho' it may be true.

We had a pretty certain account of a battle at Charles Town on the 21st of June which ended in our favour, but from the best Accounts I can obtain it was a kind of Naval engagement, or an Attack upon their Gallies, by Land or Water when it is said two of them fell into our hands by which means their supplies of Stores are cut off. After all I fear no great af-

fair hath happened in our favour, and I cannot but fear for that Country, but yet entertain a hope.

The burning of Fairfield & Norwalk & plundering New Haven you no doubt have had a full account of. From Staten Island they tell us the British intended to have Visited this Town in like manner but was prevented by being called up the River upon our taking their Fort. Thus by the Good providence of God we have hitherto escaped. We hope and we fear.

The taking the Fort, greatly dispirited the Enemy at New York but their spirits had a revival a few days ago by the arrival of Lord Cornwallis who brings them an account of a Large reinforce^{ment} wending over, either 4 or 5 Thousand here & 2 thousand to Georgia which was to sail in ten days after he left England. If these should come I believe you must quit your Indian Chase & return to meet them, at least I hope you may. No acc^t of Arbuthnot.

I have not heard from Mr. Dayton or your family but shall likely this day, until which I shall keep open this Letter to add to it if necessary.

Our Guards are very weak. Several Counties have not sent in their Quota of Men, and some none at all; we live in Jeopardy continually.

I am, My Dear friend

Yours most Sincerely

ABRA. CLARK.

Col^o DAYTON.

JULY 28, 1779.

P. S. I find it easier to write than get Letters forwarded in which I have been prevented till now.

The affair of the engagem^{ent} at Charles Town turns out to have been an Attack upon the Enemies Lines of no great Consequence in its effects. Only 30 killed & 116! wounded on our side, and a retreat from the attack.

Gen^l Clinton hath returned from the North River intirely leaving all his posts above his Forts & works near Kings bridge, as reports from New York inform us, and hath gone to Visit New London & Towns adjacent. We expect with good reason a Visit from the Enemy to this Town, for which we are very ill prepared.

A. C.

VII.—PENNSYLVANIA.

To the honorable the Council of Safety for the State of Pennsylvænia.

The petition of Hugh Craig humbly sheweth that your petitioner is desirous of acting in the capacity of Paymaster to some one of the regiments which may be vacant. He can procure necessary security & should he be thought

worthy of the appointment will endeavour to give satisfaction by a steady adherence to his duty in the discharge of that office. Your petitioner as in duty bound will pray, &c

HUGH CRAIG.

I have had the pleasure of knowing Mr Craig for some years and believe him to be a gentleman of capacity & integrity, and properly qualified for the office he solicits.

BENJ RUSH
JOHN CHEVALIER
ISAAC SNOWDEN
GERARD CLARKSON
GEO CLYMER

[Endorsed]

The petition of
Hugh Craig for
Paymaster.

1.—Robert Morris,

Born in Lancashire, England, in January, 1733, his father, also a merchant of Philadelphia, gave him the advantage of a liberal education. Entering into mercantile business, he was for years the greatest and boldest operator in the country, in goods, stocks, and land. It was to his financial skill and expedients, as financial agent and withal Secretary of the Treasury, linking his own wealth, credit, and destiny to that of the country, that the success of the Revolution was largely due; and when the Cabinet of Washington was formed, he was the first choice for Secretary of the Treasury, but declined, when General Hamilton was selected. As a Member of the Continental Congress, he was especially useful in Committee work. He was also an influential member of the Convention that adopted the Federal Constitution; and, on its adoption, served one year as Senator in Congress, declining re-election. Late in life, he was overwhelmed with pecuniary embarrassments, growing out of immense purchases of wild lands, in anticipation of that great emigration which he foresaw: harassed with suits, and for a time the inmate of a jail. His letters are numerous, generally on the subject of his embarrassments, and many of them in an unfortunate controversy with Carter Braxton, a brother signer. He commenced a magnificent residence in Philadelphia, which stood unfinished for many years, and was finally demolished. His wife was the sister of the celebrated Bishop White. He died on the eighth of May, 1806, in the seventy-third year of his age.

RICHMOND June the 10th 1786

SIR,

I beg leave to call your attention to my letter of the 21st of May, and to observe that Twenty Days have elapsed since that letter was written. Permit me to mention at the same time that Mr Braxton's Paper, was not received by me untill the 9th of May, so that my Reply was completed in Twelve Days. Do me the favor, I intreat you, Sir, to state to your Brethren my situation. Forced from home, my Family divided, my young Children entrusted to Domestic, my Business suffering much, my Conduct liable to imputations most injurious, every sentiment of Justice in my bosom wounded by the reflection that the claims upon me remain unsatisfied, which my presence at Philadelphia can alone put it in my power to dis-

charge. I will not contrast this with the position of my Opponent, I will not remark to you that he ought to have brought his accounts to Philadelphia for settlement. I will bury many reflections on this occasion which arise from the nature of our Connection, the confidence I reposed in him & the services I have rendered. But, Sir, I must ask, is it right for me to be detained as I am from Day to Day, from Week to Week, from Month to Month? Ought there not to be some Period to that state of suspense in which I am held? Ought not Mr. Braxton long since to have laid before you all his Vouchers & Arguments? I will not trespass longer on your time & patience. I will merely repeat the prayer of my letter above referred to, that some short day may be fixed by which Mr. Braxton shall close what he has to say on this Business.

I am

Sir

Your most Obedient
& humble Servant
ROBT MORRIS.

ALEXANDER MONTGOMERY Esq^r.

PHILADA June 9th 1794

DEAR SIR

The multiplicity of my engagements did not hinder me from considering in conjunction with Mr. Greanleaf the contents of your letter of the 26th of last month, altho' those engagements occupied me too much to admit of an earlier reply.

We viewed and considered the proposition you were pleased to make, several times, and finally came to the conclusion, that a due regard to our own interests would not admit of our acquiescence. The price or value being fixed so high in our estimation as not to admit of that reward for the use of our resources, which many other objects now offer. I return therefore all the Papers herewith & also a copy of the Great Kanahwa & other surveys. I am sorry that we cannot be the purchasers, the price so far exceeding our expectations puts it out of our power to make an offer. I must however in justice observe that your prices are such as may probably be obtained by selling the property in detail, but even in that way there would be no chance of our obtaining the compensation which a variety of other pursuits offer to us.

With the most perfect Esteem & respect

I am D^r Sir

Your obed^t h^{ble} serv^t
ROBT MORRIS

His Ex^{cy}

GEO. WASHINGTON Esq^r

FEBY 6th, 1799JNO. NICHOLSON Esq^r.

DEAR SIR

Your four letters of yesterday No 1 to 4 are with me; I suppose we shall be obliged finally to leave Mess^{rs} Beckley & Moore to pursue their own course. I wrote to Mr. Marshall or Mr. Call or Mr Harrison I forgot which abt the 7 years delay but never have received an answer on that point. By your No. 2. I see you have no faith in my clause on an intended assignment, I shall think more on that subject, and if that will not do we must hit upon one that will. Mr. Fox has written me a note that he does not set out untill to-morrow morning but I do not know of any thing you or I can do respecting his journey. I have made my push for Prison bounds but if not obtained, I will quit all and begin again being now determined not to spend my Life here for the sake of any property whatever.

I am yours &c
ROBT MORRIS.

[Address]

"JOHN NICHOLSON Esq^r"

[Endorsed]

"Letter from

"ROBERT MORRIS Esq

"Feb^y 6th 1799"

2.—Benjamin Rush,

Born at Berberry, Pennsylvania, on the twenty-fourth of December, 1745. He graduated, at Princeton, at an early age; and, after studying medicine with Doctor Redman, in Philadelphia, visited Europe, walking the Hospitals, attending lectures, and taking his degree of Doctor of Medicine, at Edinburgh. He soon attained an extensive practice and a wide reputation. He declined to serve in the Congress of 1775; but in 1776, readily took the place created by a member who declined to sign the Declaration; and, although not a member when it passed, signed it on the second of August. He was appointed, in 1777, Physician-general to the Hospital of the Middle Department, and served with great usefulness. He was a member of the Convention which adopted the Constitution of Pennsylvania in place of the Charter of William Penn, and was Cashier of the Mint, in 1788. During the raging of the yellow-fever, in Philadelphia, in 1793, Doctor Rush remained at his post and baffled with the fearful scourge, saying to those who counselled him to regard his personal safety, "I will remain if I remain alive." After a useful life, he died on the nineteenth of April, 1813, leaving a reputation in his profession only equalled by that as a patriot and philanthropist.

DEAR SIR

The sailors in the barracks Complain of the want of Suitable accommodations for an hospital. A few of them in the Province Island Hospital (who are on the recovery) beg for liberty to be removed to the barracks. I hope the Committee of safety will attend immediately to these matters.

I am sorry to find that our recruits suffer so much from the want of blankets. Suppose the Committee of Safety should request by an ad-

vertisement every family in the City to furnish one, or more from their beds according as they could spare them. I have mentioned the subject to above a dozen families in the City who have all expressed a *desire* to concur in it if they are properly called upon therein

I remain D^r Sir
yours sincerely
B RUSH

Tuesday Morning

DEAR SIR

Agreeable to your request I have made out our acc^t but have left the sum to be allowed for our services to the generosity of the Committee of Safety. I beg leave only to inform you that the Surgeons in our Provincial Battalion are allowed 28 dollars and their mates 18 dollars *each* per month. The Continental Surgeons are allowed nearly and their mates exactly the same each.

yours &c
B. RUSH.

Tuesday,

Mr OWEN BIDDLE,

[Memo Endorsed]

"Men for ships

"Magazine Boats"

PHILADELPHIA March 6, 1806.

DEAR SIR.

Dr. Physick being much indisposed, and unable to commit his thoughts to paper, has requested me to transmit to you our opinion of Mr. Carter case, being the result of a consultation held upon it this forenoon in the Doctor's sick room.

We do not despair of Mr. Carters case, but we unite in advising him by all means to come immediately to Philadelphia. He will suffer least by coming by water. no sum of money would induce Dr. Physick to visit him in Baltimore. He has lately refused a very flattering premium for a visit to a person in that city.

We both think he should be indurdicted all venereal pleasures. Some of the worst cases I have known of urinary diseases have arisen from an excessive indulgence in them.

From the great success which Dr. Physick has had in the treatment of diseases of the urethra, neck of the bladder,—and the bladder itself, by remedies and operations, several of which are of his own discovery, I feel great confidence in advising Mr Carter (in my separate capacity) to comply with our united advice.

Until an explanation has been made we are afraid to risk an opinion of the exact

Sent or cause
of Mr C's disease—but let it be what it may,—please to inform him (with my respectful compliments) that every thing that skill and attention

can do on the part of Dr Physick, and attention on my part, shall be done for his relief.

From Dear Sir your
sincere and affectionate friend
BENJN RUSH

Dr POTTER
[Addressed]

Dr NATHL POTTER
Physician
BALTIMORE

[Endorsed]

Doct Benj Rush
to
Dr Nathl Potter
Phil^a mar. 6. 1806.

3.—Benjamin Franklin,

Born in Boston, Massachusetts, on the seventeenth of January, 1706. His father, Josiah Franklin, arriving in this country from England in 1682, engaged in business as a tallow chandler. Placed at an early age in the printing-office of his brother, where he continued until the age of seventeen, acquiring a knowledge of his profession which was his pride in after life. He spent some time in England, where the press he worked upon was found and brought to this country, a few years since. Settling in Philadelphia, to which place he had "tramped" from the City of New York, where he failed to obtain employment, he early took a part in Colonial politics. He was Deputy Postmaster-general to the Crown; also taking an active interest in the military affairs of the Colony; editor of a newspaper; printer of Colonial money, of almanacs and many books which are highly esteemed. Some of his experiments in electricity are said to have been made from the tower of the Middle Dutch Church, in Nassau-street. His career in Congress and as Ambassador, and his achievements in science, need no recapitulation. Turgot, the French Minister of Finance, wrote his epitaph in one line, "*Eripuit celo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis.*" Through the marriage of his daughter, a gifted and beautiful woman, with Richard Bache, he became the ancestor of many distinguished descendants, who from their success in public life, have been known as the Saxe Coburg family: his son, William Franklin, Governor of New Jersey, returned to England as a refugee; but his grandson, William Temple Franklin, retained his affection. He died at Philadelphia, on the seventeenth of April, 1790, aged eighty-four years, and lies in Christ Church-yard, under an epitaph of his own composition.

PASSY June 2 1778

DEAR SIR

I should have sent the Treaty sooner, but that I imagined it would have been printed by the Court. As that has not been done I have had a Copy made out in Manuscript which you will receive with this. It is for the Grand Pensionary. But you will take the advice of M le D de la V, as to the propriety of delivering it at present &c

Your Care and Attention in procuring and Communicating Intelligence to us is very agreeable

I am ever with great Esteem
your most obedient
humble serv^t

B FRANKLIN

M DUMAS

PASSY May 17 1781.

DEAR SIR

Inclosed is the Order you desire for another Hundred Louis. Take my Blessing with it and my Prayer that God may send you safe & well home with your Cargoes. I would not attempt persuading you to quit the military Line because I think you have the qualities of Mind and Body that promise your doing great Service & acquiring Honor in that Line otherwise I should be happy to see you again here as my Successor having Sometime since written to Congress requesting to be relieved, and believing as I firmly do, that they could not put their Affairs in better Hands, I shall ever be

Most Affectionately yours

B FRANKLIN

Hon^{ble} Col John Laurens
Hotel d' Angleterre
a Paris

The Post comes in to morrow Morning from Holland. If you have any information of (further) expense likely to (occur please) to communicate it.

[Endorsed]

Dr Franklin to J L
Passy May 17, 1781
with an order for an hundred Louis

4.—George Clymer,

Born in Philadelphia, in 1739; a merchant in early life and up to 1782. In 1774, he commanded a volunteer Corps in General Cadwalader's * Brigade. He was one of the Continental Treasurers; and, in 1774, elected to the Continental Congress of which he was an active and efficient member, acting on the Committee to visit Ticonderoga, Valley Forge, and the Southern States. He was one of the founders of a Bank, in Philadelphia, with Robert Morris, as one of its Directors. As a member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, he was very active in introducing and fostering her present Penitentiary system. He was also a member of the Convention that adopted the Federal Constitution; Supervisor of the Revenue of Pennsylvania—which office he held under great excitement, growing out of obnoxious taxes, and at one time breaking out in the Whisky Rebellion—and, in 1796, was a Commissioner to negotiate a Treaty with the Indians of Georgia. He married Miss Meredith, the daughter of his partner, and was the grandfather of Doctor Meredith Clymer, of New York City. He died on the twenty-third of January, 1813. The letters of Clymer, although not very difficult to procure, are rarely found on other than business subjects.

SIR,

You will be pleased to receive the enclosed draught of the Bank of Pennsylvania, on its branch at Lancaster for 1015 \$ in payment of the instalment of 1000 \$ with its interest, of the bond, given by Samuel Meredith and myself, for the use of the State, the instalment being due the 13th instant.

I am Sir, very respectfully
your obed^t Serv^t
† GEO CLYMER

* Celebrated for his controversy with General Joseph Reed.

† This specimen to be improved.

PHILADELPHIA Aug^t 26, 1807.

Mr. FINDLAY—State Treasurer.

[Addressed]

"WILLIAM FINDLAY Esquire

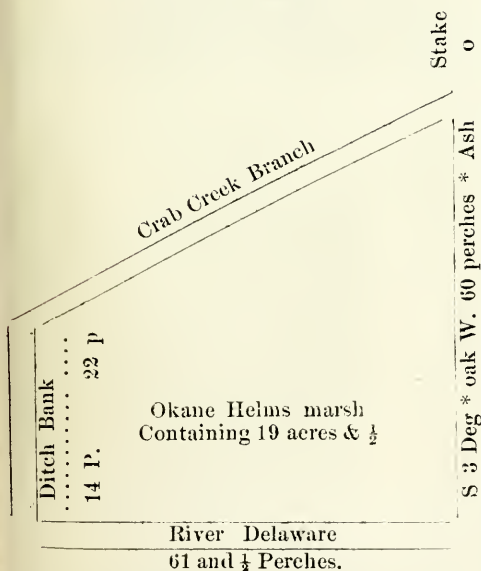
"Treasurer of Pennsylvania

"LANCASTER"

5.—John Morton,

Born in Ridley, Penn, in 1724, was of Swedish descent^t intelligent, and well educated. In 1764, he appeared in public life as a Justice of the Peace and as a Surveyor laying out the property lines and settling the disputes of his neighbors; he was also, at this period, a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania and Speaker of the House. He was a Delegate, in 1765, to the Stamp Act Congress; High-sheriff, in 1766; and, subsequently, Presiding Judge of the Common Pleas; and a Judge of the Supreme Court of the Province. In 1774-1776, he was a member of the Continental Congress. When the question of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence was to be passed, on the Delegation from Pennsylvania being divided, Mr. Morton's vote turned the balance. After an active and useful life, he died in April, 1777, in his fifty-fourth year. His letters are almost unknown; and the examples in most of the collections are similar surveys to that following; but more commonly his signature to Continental notes.

(Plot of Survey)



Surveyed for Okane Helms.

A Certain piece of Marsh lying and being in the township of Greenwich in Gloucester County Beginning at Delaware River in the line of Andrew Helms meadow thence South 3 deg West 60 perches to A post standing in the drain thence North 85½ East 6 perches to a branch of Crab Creek, thence down the s^d branch Traversing the Courses thereof to Crab Creek, thence

down that to the River Delaware the (n) down Delaware to the place of beginning 61½ Perches Containing 19 Acres and ½ be the same more or less in the bounds Afores^d Survey^d May y^e 15th 1750

p. me.

JOHN MORTON.

(Also Continental Note of 3^d April 1772 signed)

6.—James Smith,

Born in Ireland, in 1720, (even then the mother of law-makers) in 1730 emigrated with his parents to this country, and received the advantage of a sound education, which, with his natural abilities, qualified him for positions of control. Having acquired the legal profession, he pushed out into the Western wilderness of Pennsylvania, and finally settled at Yorktown, in Pennsylvania, where Congress afterward sat. He raised and drilled the first company of military associates in the State, who afterwards numbered twenty thousand, and was elected Colonel. He was an active patriot and President of the County Committee of Safety, a Member of the State Convention of 1775, and a Member of the Continental Congress. He subsequently resumed his practice, occasionally holding public office. Although he died on the eleventh day of July, 1806, at the age of ninety, and belonged to a profession given to making quill tracks, let him who seeks them be warned that they are now hard to find.

YORKTOWN Decem^{br} 23 1775

GENTLEMEN

By the last nights post we received the public papers Acquainting us of the Resolve of the Congress touching the Raising of four Battalions in this Province and desiring the Committee of Safety to appoint the Company Officers and Recommend the field Officers of those Battalions to the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress.

The time limited for the Appointment & Recommendation being fixed to the Second of January it will be impracticable for the Members of your Committee in this County to attend; in this Situation of affairs the Committee of Correspondence for York County hope your Board will not think it improper to trouble you on that subject, well knowing that the great Cause of American Liberty is our Primary Object, & that anything that may tend to forward that Glorious Cause through whatever Channel will not be unacceptable. I am directed by the Committee of Correspondence for this County to write to the Committee of Safety & in the Strongest Terms to request that the Board may please to recommend Tho^s Hartley Esq^r to be Lieutenant Colonel of one of the Battalions to be raised in this Province & in case that recommendation should take place that the Board would please to appoint David Grier Esq^r to be Cap^t John McDowel Lien^t & W^m Nicols Ensign, of one Comp^y Moses McClean Cap^t Lewis Bush Lien^t & Robert Hopes Ensign of another Company in the same Battallion with M^r Hart-

ley, & if a third Company should be raised in York County to Please to appoint Bernard Eichelberger Cap^t or Lieu^t as you may think best, If the Board should think this application not improper, in our situation and it should be agreeable to them, the Committee of Correspondence here will exert every nerve in Assisting the Officers to get their Companies filled, in the Most Expeditious Manner with the best men and at the least Possible expence to the Public

I am

Gentlemen

with great Respect

y^r most hum^{ble} Serv^t

JAS SMITH, Chair^m

of y^e Com^y York County

To Benjamin Franklin & Robert Morris Esqr
and the Committed of Safety of the province of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia

By the Lancaster post, to
be dld as soon as possible

7.—*George Taylor,*

Born also in Ireland, in 1716. An emigrant at twenty, he was an apprentice in an iron works at Durham, Pennsylvania, and subsequently erected large iron works at Lehigh, Northumberland-county, Pennsylvania. He is said at one time to have resided in Orange-county, in this State, probably looking for or experimenting in ores. He became both popular and influential, and was elected to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, in 1764, and continued a member for five years. In 1775, as a Member of the Provincial Congress, he was a member of the Committee to prepare Instructions for the Delegates to the Continental Congress of that year. He served but one year in the Continental Congress, to which he was elected. Any writing of his is very uncommon, and difficult to obtain. He died at Easton, the twenty-third of February, 1781.

December 6 1773

Jacob Smetter was qualified this day
as Assessor for Penn Township
according to Law before me

*GEO TAYLOR.

8.—*James Wilson,*

Born in Scotland, in 1742, and emigrated to this country in 1766. He was a teacher, and afterwards a lawyer, in Philadelphia. He was a member of the General Congress from 1775 to 1778, an energetic and competent Colonel of Militia in 1774, a Commissioner to treat with the Indians of Pennsylvania, in 1778, Advocate-general for the French Government, in 1780, under the appointment of Mr. Gerard, the French Minister, who came out in the fleet of Count d'Estaing, a Member of Congress in 1782, and also engaged in the settlement of the conflicting claims of Pennsylvania and Connecticut to the Wyoming section, a member both of Congress and of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, and of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1788 and Judge of the Supreme Court in 1789, in all of which positions he acquitted himself with distinction, and died on the twenty-eighth of August, 1798, aged fifty-six years. He seems to have been a copious writer, and a neat and skilful penman.

GENTLEMEN

I beg Leave to recommend to you the follow-

* To be improved.

ing Gentlemen as Officers of a Company in the German Regiment

CONRAD SCHNEIDER, Captain
JACOB STADLER, 1st Lieut^t
JACOB FOREMAN, 2^d Lieut^t
GEORGE HARMONY, Ensign

They are recommended to me from Cumberland; and I am informed will be able to raise a Company immediately in that County.

I am, with much Esteem,
Gentlemen

your very h^{ble} serv^t

JAMES WILSON

Philad^a 4th July 1776

The Hon^{ble}

The Committee of Safety of
Pennsylvania.

9.—*George Ross,*

Born at Newcastle, Delaware, in 1730. Liberally educated, he established himself in the practice of the law at Lancaster, at the age of twenty-one. Elected a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, in 1768, he continued a member for several years. He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1777. He was a warm advocate of the continuance of the humane policy of William Penn towards the Indians. In April, 1779, he was appointed a Judge of the Court of Admiralty for Pennsylvania, and held that position to the time of his decease which occurred in July, amidst the great grief of those who appreciated his philanthropy and worth.

GENTS

Tis with difficulty I can hold a pen & therefore shall not be tedious

By the enclosed Packett for the Committee you will observe the steps taken in this city towards obtaining an amendment to our present system of Govern^t & we flatter ourselves here that you will most heartily assist. The citizens here mean not to direct & therefore should your county think of any other mode they will be perfectly satisfied. I wrote to you particularly that you might consult on the measures you thought best to be pursued. The Circular letter is left to be directed to such districts as you think proper. For Gods sake & your Countrys use all diligence & get the Memorial signed & sent to us by Express no time to be lost

Yr sincere friend &c
GEO ROSS.

PHILAD^a 23 May 1777.

Also autograph document, Order as Judge in Admiralty for the sale of the ship Thetis &c the prize of Private Brig of War General Montgomery & to pay the avails after deducting seamens wages of Capt James Montgomery to be divided amongst the officers & crew of the latter vessel. Dated PHILADELPHIA 1st November 1776

GEO ROSS.

VIII.—DELAWARE.

1.—*Cesar Rodney*,

Born at Dover, Delaware, in 1730, of respectable English descent. He is stated by biographers to have inherited an estate from his father, also Cesar Rodney; but in a testamentary letter to his wife, in the collection of John R. Thompson, Esquire, formerly of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, he states that he has little to leave to her and to his son. Mr. Rodney was a member of the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, and a member and Speaker of the Provincial Assembly, from 1766 to 1774. He was a member of the Continental Congress of 1774, and on the Committee that drafted the Bill of Rights. He was re-elected to Congress in 1776, and created a State Brigadier-general and a Judge of the Supreme Court, in 1777, which last he declined. He became a Major-general, and not in title alone, being ever efficient and often in active service, in a Colony ever alert to defend her rights and aid her sisters. After suffering for many years from a cancer, that destroyed one of his eyes, he died from its effects, in 1783.

MIDDLETOWN Sept^r 6th 1777

DE GENERAL

I immediately on the receipt of your letter of yesterday dispatched one of my Light Horse with yours to Coll Richardson, who he fortunately found at the Head of Sassafra, by the same hand I wrote to Coll Gist to obtain and give me the best Information of the Movements of the Enemy's Fleet and have Inclosed you his letter to me on that head. He mentions the rising and embodying of some Tories and Refers to another Letter sent here with. As to those mentioned to be in Kent on Delaware I am apprehensive it must be without foundation because I have very good Intelligence from that Quarter every day and have heard nothing of it. When I arrived here yesterday was informed by a number of people that four hundred of enemy had Landed that morning at Town Point, the furtherest Point of Land between the Rivers Elk & Bohoma, I immediately sent a party out that way. The officer has Returned and Reports that he was down on the point and all through that neck and that there were none of the Enemy to be seen. I have a party of foot just setting out to take view of the Enemy about Atkins Tavern, where I was informed they Lye. I had forgot to tell you that the officer of the Horse informed me he took a View of the Elk River and that he saw but three or four Vessels, small Vessels of War. Before I left Wilmington I drew five boxes of cartridges, Could not then obtain a Waggon to bring them. The President promised to have them sent Immediately. However by some means or other they are not come. For want of them I am much distressed, not having more than four Rounds, I think the Newcastle Militia now may and hope they will join me

I am Sir

Yr most obd^tHumble Serv^t

CESAR RODNEY

[No address]

Also folio official Document signed March 30^r 1779 as President of Delaware. Also folio A D S as Recorder at Dover January 13^r 1774

2.—*George Read*,

Born in Maryland, in 1734, of a family of Irish origin, possessed of wealth and position. He was admitted to the bar in 1753; and the next year, settled in the practice, at New Castle, Delaware; and when twenty-nine years of age had become the Kings Attorney-general for Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex. He was elected to the Colonial Congress of 1774-5-1776, and was a member of the General Assembly of Delaware for 1775. He was also President of the Convention of Delaware for framing a State Constitution; and a member of the Federal Constitutional Convention. He was also Chief-justice of the State, from 1793 to the time of his decease, in the Autumn of 1798; and was a zealous patriot and a useful citizen.

His letters are very rare, but those of a son whose signature resembles his, much more common. His grandson, General Meredith Read, now Consul at Paris, resides at Albany, N. Y.

The Resolutions as reported from a Committee of the whole in Convention on y^e 13th June 1787

1st Resolved that it is the Opinion of this Committee that [the] a *national government* [of the U S] ought to [consist] *be established* consisting of a supreme Legislative Judiciary and Executive

2^d Resolved that the *National Legislature* [ive] ought to consist of Two Branches

3^d Resolved that the Members of the first Branch of the *National Legislature* ought to be elected by the People of the several States for the Term of [Two] *Three* years, to *receive fixed stipends by which they may be compensated for the devotion of their time to the public service* [to be of the age of 25 years to receive an adequate compensation for their services] to be paid out of the *National* [public] Treasury, to be ineligible to any office established *by a particular State* or under the authority of the United States except those peculiarly belonging to the functions of the first Branch during the Term of Service [of the first Branch] *and under the national government for the space of one year after its expiration.*

4th Resolved that the Members of the Second Branch of the *National Legislature* [of the U S] ought to be chosen by the individual Legislatures, to be of the age of thirty years at least, to hold their offices for a Term sufficient to ensure their Independency namely seven years, to receive fixed stipends by which they may be compensated for the devotion of their time to the public service to be paid out of the National Treasury, to be ineligible to any other office established by a particular State or under the Authority of the United States (except those peculiarly belonging to the func-

* Interliniations in brackets.

- tions of the second Branch) during the Term of Service and under the national Government for the space of one year after its expiration
- 5th Resolved that each Branch ought to possess the right of originating Acts.
- 6th Resolved that the National Legislature ought to be improved to enjoy the Legislative Rights vested in Congress by the Confederation and that moreover to Legislate in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent, or in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by the Exercise of individual Legislation, to negative all laws passed by the [several] *individual* States, contravening in the opinion of the National Legislature the articles of Union or any Treaties subsisting under the authority of the Union
- 7th Resolved, That the right of suffrage in the first Branch of the national Legislature ought not to be according to the rule established in the Articles of Confederation but according to some equitable Rates of Representation, namely in proportion to the whole number of white and other free Citizens and Inhabitants of every Age Sex & Condition including those bound to servitude for a Term of Years and three fifths of all other persons not comprehended in the foregoing description (except Indians not paying Taxes in each State)
- 8th Resolved, that the right of suffrage in the Second Branch of the national Legislature ought to be according to the Rule established for the first
- 9th Resolved that a national Executive be instituted to consist of a single person, to be chosen by the national Legislature for the Term of Seven years; with power to carry into Execution the National Laws, to appoint to offices in cases not otherwise provided for, to be ineligible a second time and to be removable on Impeachment and Conviction of Mal practice or neglect of duty
- 10th Resolved that the National Executive shall have a right to negative any Legislative Act which shall not be afterwards passed unless by Two Third parts of each Branch of the National Legislature.
- 11th Resolved that a National Judiciary be established to consist of one Supreme Tribunal the Judges of which to be appointed by the second Branch of the National Legislature to hold their offices during good behaviour and to receive punctually at stated times a fixed compensation for their Services in which no increase or diminution shall be made to as to affect the persons actually in office at the time of such increase or diminution
- 12th Resolved that the National Legislature be empowered to appoint inferior Tribunals
- 13th Resolved that the Jurisdiction of the national Judiciary shall extend to cases which respect the collection of the National Revenue, Impeachment of any National Officers, and Questions which involve the national Peace & Harmony.
- 14th Resolved that Provision ought to be made for the admission of States lawfully arising within the limits of the United States whether from a voluntary Junction of Government and Territory or otherwise with the consent of a number of voices in the national Legislature less than the whole
- 15th Resolved that Provision ought to be made for the continuance of Congress and their Authorities and Privileges until a given day after the reform of the Articles of Union shall be adopted and for the completion of all their engagements
- 16th Resolved that a Republican Constitution and its existing laws ought to be Guaranteed to each State by the United States,
- 17th Resolved that Provision ought to be made for the amendment of the Articles of Union whensoever it shall seem necessary.
- 18th Resolved that the Legislative Executive and Judiciary Powers within the several States ought to be bound by oath to support the Articles of Union
- 19th Resolved that the Amendments which shall be offered to the Confederation by the Convention ought at a proper time or times after the approbation of Congress be submitted to an Assembly or Assemblies of Representatives recommended by the several Legislatures to be expressly chosen by the People to consider and decide thereon.
- [Endorsed.]
G. Read's
copy Reported Resol^{ns}
- A wretched policy that which is dictated by fears and apprehensions of *what may be*, more than by the reason of the thing, *what ought to be*. The ruling Maxim of all Govern^{ts} ought to be *Do right and fear not*.
Below, in handwriting of Capt Carr of M^d, (all the rest being in Mr. Read's) "Presented me by "his grandson at Newcastle, 1833."
- Also autograph legal document one page folio signed February 1761

3—Thomas McKean,

Born in New London, Pennsylvania, in 1734. He was a schoolmate of George Read, and both adopted the legal profession; and, in 1756, he had become Deputy Attorney-general to the Province. He was connected with both Pennsylvania and Delaware; and, in 1757, Clerk of the Assembly of the latter. He served in the Stamp Act Con-

gress of 1765, and the Continental, from 1774 to 1783, serving as President after the resignation of Samuel Huntington. He held the position of Chief-justice of Pennsylvania for twenty years, and Governor of that State for nine years; and was an honorary member of the Society of Cincinnati. His daughter, Miss Sally McKean, was a celebrated beauty, and married the Marquis d'Artois, the Portuguese Minister. He died the twenty-fourth of June, 1817, aged eighty-four years, having filled a most distinguished part in history.

PHILADELPHIA NOV^r 5th 1806.

SIR

Your favor of the 3^d by Judge Waggoner I have received and am pleased with your caution regarding the mortgage from the President Managers & Comp^y of the Easton Bridge over Delaware. However informal, the instrument will do as a security for the Commonwealth, and I have felt a repugnance to delay the company out of the money or the State out of interest for it, until the mortgage should be more formally drawn and presented.

You may deliver the warrant on the Treasury for the D. 10.000 to M^r Daniel Waggoner, on his delivering the mortgage to you; a minute of this transaction should be entered in the Book of Executive business. We got home safe and found all well

In haste adieu

THO MCKEAN

JAMES TRIMBLE Esquire
D Secretary of State, At
Lancaster

avored by Daniel
Waggoner Esquire.

IX.—MARYLAND.

1.—*Samuel Chase,*

Born in Somerset-county, Maryland, April 17, 1741; read law at Annapolis, and was admitted to practice, at twenty years of age. He was a Member of the Provincial Assembly; and in 1774, being a member of the Colonial Committee of Correspondence, was elected to the Congress; and in 1776, visited Canada as one of a Committee to negotiate with the people for concerted action. This mission, however, proved unsuccessful with a people who were wearied with a long continued warfare, which had culminated in the struggle in which both Montcalm and Wolfe had fallen a few years before, and who looked with suspicion on an overture promising a renewed warfare. He continued in Congress until 1778; and was in 1786, appointed by Washington, a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, which office he held fifteen years. He was an eminent Lawyer and a distinguished Judge. His residence, a noble building, still stands near the entrance-gate of the Naval Academy in Annapolis. He died on the nineteenth of June, 1811.

BAL^t 2 December 1803

DEAR SIR

My youngest son, M^r Thomas Chase is obliged from ill Health brought on by a sedentary life to relinquish, almost as soon as commenced the practice of the Law. He has been the two last Summers to the Bath and Sweet Springs in Virginia but obtained no relief from his Complaints, which is seated in the stomach, he is advised by his Physicians to a change of climate

and he intends a Voyage by water to New Orleans and will sail from this City on Sunday week (the 11th) in the Ship Comet. He proposes to go up the river Mississippi to Natchez; and has some thought of Making a permanant Residence between these places, if on View he shall think it expedient My son has not mixed and is therefore unacquainted with the World, the knowledge assistance and advice therefore of some gentleman of Information & Experience would be highly acceptable I hope you will excuse my soliciting you for an Introduction of him to some gentlemen in New Orleans. Fort Adams or the Natchez. Your Compliance with this Request will greatly oblige

Dear Sir

Your most obed^t serv^t

SAMUEL CHASE

Honorable

General DAYTON,

Senator of the

By Mail United States, Washington

Document signed, dated 12 October, 1768, one page quarto; and an autograph law document signed two pages folio, dated December 18th 1770.

2.—*Thomas Stone,*

Born in Pointon's Manor, Maryland, in 1743. He was well educated, read law, and entered into practice at Annapolis in 1764. He served in the Congress of 1774 and 1775, and aided in framing the Articles of Confederation. He was an influential Member of Congress, and, for a time, its acting President, retiring in 1785, to his home at Port Tobacco, where he died at the early age of forty-three, in October, 1787. His letters are rare, and like those of Carroll, generally on business subjects. His grand-son, Frederick Stone of Port Tobacco, is in Congress, and probably still uses the "stone steps" alluded to, as well as his ancestor's place in the National Councils.

IN COUNCIL 8 September 1781

ORDERED,

That the western shore Treasurer pay to Thomas Stone Esq^r One hundred and Seven Pounds, Six Shillings and one Penny specie Agreeably to the "Act to Adjust the Debts due from the State per Certificates settled by the Aud. Gen^l

ZEPH. TURNER

p. order

* T. JOHNSON JR. G.

[Endorsed:]

Rec^d Contents 8 Sept 1781 in Certificates

T. STONE

Tho^s Stone

£ 107. 6. 1

8 Sept. 1781.

p. Ctfe adjusted

D^r SIR

Be pleased send me from Baltimore by the

first opportunity to Port Tobacco 150 lbs white lead ground in Oil for which with the freight I will pay to your store at Port Tobacco on its Arrival. There is none to be had with us and I am in great want which I hope will apologize for this Trouble given you by

D^r Sir

Yr Friend & Serv^t

T. STONE

ANNAPOLIS Sept 17th 1773

P S. If any proper Stones for Steps to be had should be obliged by yr sending also sufficient for two doors

MR ROBERT CHRISTIE JUN

BALT : TOWN

Also a L. S. one page quarto, dated PORT TOBACCO, Nov. 18, 1776, with signature inserted ; and a small A. D. S., dated Sept. 8, 1781.

3.—William Paca,

Born at Wye Hall, Maryland, in 1740. He was liberally educated, and graduated creditably at Philadelphia College. He was admitted to the bar in 1761, and elected to the Provincial Assembly. Served in Congress, from 1774 to 1779; and as Chief Judge of the Superior Court, in 1778; Governor of Maryland, in 1782, which position he held for a year, and then retired to private life, and died in 1799, aged sixty. A parcel of his letters, until then scarce, "turned up" in Baltimore, a few years since, and supplied many wants.

IN COUNCIL AUGUST 4, 1786.

£ 50.—

ORDERED that the western shore Treasurer pay to William Paca Esq^r Fifty pounds Current Money for one Quarter's Salary as a member of the Council due the 2d instant.

By order

T. JOHNSON JR. G

C. RICHMOND Aud. Gen^l.

Rd the above

W^o PACA

SIR

We have been honored with your Excellency's letter in reference to Capt. Mitchell. As we have no Council at this Time & Capt Mitchell cannot wait until our meeting on Friday next we could give him no positive Assurances of an appointment to one of our Barges especially as previous applications have been made by others.

We shall always be happy to pay attention to your Excellency's recommendations, and are

With Sentiments of

Respect & Regard

Your Excell^y's

Most Obedt Hble Serv^{ts}.

* MAT TILGHMAN

W^m PACA

TALBOT COURT HOUSE

17 July 1781

[Addressed.]

His Excellency

THOMAS SIM LEE Esqr

Governor of Maryland.

IN COUNCIL ANNAPOLIS 11 Octo 1783

SIR

We are informed by Capt Magruder of the Guard over the Magazine at Frederickstown that the greater part of the men under his Command are discharged having served the time for which they were enlisted. Thinking it necessary still to keep Guard there we request you will furnish men for that purpose from those under your Command We presume that men from the Corps of Invalids may be ordered on this Duty

With much Respect

We are Sir

Yr most obedt Serv^t

W^m PACA

Major WARDMAN

Commanding the Continental Troops

FREDERICKS TOWN.

Also a small A. D. S. dated Aug 4 1786.

4.—Charles Carroll of Carrollton,

Born September 20, 1737, of a family of Irish origin. At the age of eight years, he was sent to the Jesuit College of St. Omer, where he remained until 1751; and, subsequently, to the College of Louis le Grand, where he graduated in 1754. He commenced the study of law at Bourges, and continued it at Paris and London. After eight years residence at the latter place, he returned to Annapolis, Maryland, an accomplished gentleman; and was soon after, immersed in the cause of Independence. Under the signature of FIRST CITIZEN, he entered into a controversy with Mr. Dulany, a prominent and able colonist, the representative of the Lords Proprietors. Like Lewis Morris, and others, who were men of wealth, before the Revolution, Mr. Carroll was incited to this course, by the truest patriotism. Among the many public duties he performed, was a mission to Canada, to propitiate the French habitants to common action, in which he was accompanied by his kinsman Bishop Carroll. After living for many years, to enjoy the government he had helped to create, he died the last of the Signers, on the fourteenth of November, 1832. His grandson Hon. John Carroll, now a Senator in Maryland, spends a portion of the year in this city with his father-in-law, Royal Phelps Esq. Mr. Carroll's letters, of late date on business subjects, are common.

11 August 1772

SIR

The letter from your brother which accompanied this was delivered to me yesterday by Mr. Cromwell. I waited on Mr. Johnson this morning and he tells me that he thinks Cromwell is undoubtedly entitled to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the land & therefore will be entitled to the profits of those thirds. Cromwell from what he threw out yesterday in conversation with me on this Subject would I believe take £ 4 currency per acre I really think the Company would do well to pay him that price &

the costs of suits provided he will give up all claim to the profits on his two thirds on receiving the price aforesaid. I wish you would talk with Cromwell on this business and persuade him to wait Mr. Bar^t Carroll's arrival, who is daily expected. You may perhaps remember the appeal from the sentence of the Provincial Court was brought with a view to gain time to compromise matters with Cromwell & it was then proposed & talked of among us to entrust some one to treat with Cromwell for his land on behalf of the Company. I hope you have your health better

Str Yr most humble serv^t

CH CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

To WALTER DULANY Esq

[Endorsed] 1772 August 11

Ch Carroll of Carrollton letter to the Company relative to Oliver Cromwell.

Also A L S two pages, quarto, dated Annapolis, 17, March, 1791; a small A L S, dated May 18, 1774; and an A L S one page, quarto, of his father, dated Oct 31, 1770.

X.—VIRGINIA.

IN COMMITTEE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

YORK TOWN

May 14th 1778

Sir:

Your several Favours of Oct 6th Nov^r 27th & Dec^r 8th were delivered to us on the 2^d Instant, the Dispatches by Mr Deane and those by Cap^t Young arriving on the same Day. We had before received your short Letter of the 11th of June, but are yet without that of the 29th of July, in which you had informed us "at large of your proceedings in Prussia." Its contents would have proved highly agreeable to us in those Months when we were quite uninformed of the proceedings & prospects of your Colleagues at Paris. Impressed with a sense of the value of the King of Prussia's "warmest wishes for our Success" we give assurance of equal wishes in Congress for that Monarch's prosperity: We have little Doubt of open Testimonies of his majesty's Friendship in Consequence of the late Decision of the King of France.

Your Information in Regard to our Connection with the fictitious House of Hortales & Co is more explicit than any we had before received, but we further expect that all Mystery should be removed: Sure that there cannot now be occasion for any, if there ever was, for Half of the past.

Our Commercial Transactions will very speedily be put under the Direction of a Board consisting of Persons not members of Congress, it being impracticable for the same Men to conduct the deliberative and executive Business of the Continent now in its great Increase.

It has been next to impossible to make Remittances for many months from the Staple Colonies the coasts of which have been constantly infested by numerous and strong Cruisers of the Enemy. We hope the Alliance of Maritime powers with us will remove our Embarrassments and give us opportunity to carry into Effect our hearty Wishes to maintain the fairest commercial Reputation.

There will be great Impropriety in our making a different Settlement for the Supplies received from Spain from that which we make in Regard to those received from France. We are greatly obliged to the Friends who have exerted themselves for our Relief, and wish you to signify our Gratitude upon every proper Opportunity. But having promised to make Remittances to Hortales for the prime Cost, Charges Interest & usual mercantile Commission upon whatever is justly due to that House, we must keep the same Line with Gardoqui. On the one Hand, we would not willingly give Disgust by slighting princely Generosity nor on the other submit to unnecessary Obligations.

The Unanimity with which Congress has ratified the Treaties with France and the general glad acceptance of the Alliance by the people of these States must shock Great Britain who seems to have thought no Cruelty from her would destroy our great Partiality in her Favor. What plan she will adopt in consequence of her Disappointment Time only can discover. But we shall aim to be in a position either to negotiate honorable peace or continue this just War.

We stand in need of the advice and assistance of all our Friends in the matter of Finance; as the Quantity of our Paper Currency necessarily emitted has produced a Depreciation which will be ruinous if not very quickly checked. We have encouraging accounts of the Temper of the Hollanders of late and expect we may find Relief from that Quarter among others.

A few weeks if not a few Days must produce fruitful subject for another Letter when we shall in our Line of Duty renew our assurances of being

With great Regard

Sir

Your affectionate
humble Servants

RICHARD HENRY LEE

* JAMES LOVELL

ROBT MORRIS

Honb^e ARTHUR LEE Esqr.

[Endorsed]

This letter is in the handwriting of James Lovell—The signatures are autographic R. H. Lee.

1.—*Richard Henry Lee,*

Born in Westmoreland-county, Virginia, the twelfth of January, 1732. He was educated at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, and was a man of literary accomplishments and positive character. He organized the first association opposed to the oppressive measures of the Crown, and was an active member of the first "Committee of Correspondence," a Colonel of the Militia raised for public defence, and in the Continental Congress in 1774, and was the first to introduce a resolution for a separation. He was for a time President of Congress, and one of its most active members, serving on various important committees. He retired from Congress in 1784, and was appointed first Senator for Virginia, under the new Constitution. His letters are generally full of interest and consistent with his reputation as a zealous and hard-working patriot. He died the nineteenth of June, 1794.

PHILADELPHIA 26th May 1777

MY DEAR SIR

Finding by your letter of this post to your brother that you suppose I have been negligent in my correspondence with you my chief purpose here is to remove that charge. I do not remember which of us is debtor on the letter score but as far as I do recollect I think I was the writer not the Receiver of the last letter. However this may be it appeared the less necessary to me to write as I knew Mr Page furnished you with regular intelligence of what passed in the war department besides which I had nothing worth troubling you with or calling my attention from the busy scene around me.

I observe in the Gazette your call upon our countrymen to apply some of their attention to the business of philosophy. Your reasoning is just and I hope will have its due weight. I am sure that some amongst us have abundant necessity both for the study and the practice of the moral part of that noble science. If this had been better learned such an industrious attempt to injure my reputation in the opinion of my Countrymen would not have taken place. It has been a wicked industry, the most false and the most malicious that the deceitful heart of man ever produced. I am not on my own account affected with the malice of my enemies because I have long panted for retirement from the most distressing pressure of business that I ever had conception of. But my principal concern arises from the dreadful example my case presents to cool the ardour of patriotism and prevent the sacrifice of private ease to public service. I ought at least to have been heard in my defence, But Sir, I will not trouble you with my feelings

The enemies expected reinforcements from Europe had not yet arrived in consequence of which our Army in Jersey outnumbers theirs considerably but since they do expect 8 or 10,000 men from beyond the Atlantic and may bring the greatest part of their force round from Canada in order to make one last dying effort it behooves us to be prepared to meet the desperate designs of desperate men. If no disappointment takes place when their whole force is col-

lected I do not think they will be so strong as when the field was taken last year and the American Army promises to be much more formidable. Skirmishing still continues and still we keep the superiority inasmuch as by the late manœuvres of the enemy it seems not improbable that they intend to quit Jersey soon, They paid severely for their provision destroying excursion to Danbury where besides their disgraceful flight they did not lose less than 450 or 500 men killed & wounded. Governor Tryon, late a Major General, and Colonel Wolcott are both dead of the wounds they received in that chase. The last accounts from York tell us that the British officers look grave and say all hope of conquering America but by disuniting it is now lost. Great efforts will be made this year for that purpose, and no act or expense omitted to obtain by fraud what force has failed to procure, the Court favorite "Subduction of America." We hear that in the West Indies French Privateers abound under Continental Commissions which I think cannot fail to procure war if Great Britain is not dead to every feeling except resentment for the virtue of their once affectionate brethren and fellow subjects. The enclosed pamphlet is well written and will I hope amuse you. Be pleased to give my brother Thom the reading of it when you have finished it.

Adieu my dear Sir, I am your affectionate kinsman

RICHARD HENRY LEE

I hope to see you ere long in Williamsburg,

[Addressed to]

Hon'ble JOHN PAGE Esquire

at Williamsburg in
Virginia

PHILADELPHIA March 25 1792

MY DEAR SIR

I think you are a letter in my debt however that is a trifle amongst friends, and perhaps it might have been many more if my time had not been most laboriously engaged with Congressional affairs and most of all with the Representatives bill. It was an endless work almost to pursue thro the various detours and meandering in this business. The bill has finally passed the 2 houses by which Virginia has 21 members & Kentucky 2—but 6 Eastern States have one apiece more than they ought Jersey & Delaware the same, and N & S Carolina each 1 more also than these States would any of them have had if the plain Constitutional mode had been pursued of dividing the number of people in each State *respectively* by the agreed ratio of 30,000. But by a certain Arithmetico political Sophistry on arrangement of 6 to 2 in favor of the North against the South has been made of the 8 members gained by this Sophism. They first divide

the whole or aggregate number of the people in the U S by 30,000 which produces 120 members instead of 112 which would have come from dividing the people in each State by 30,000 leaving large fractions with some States. After having obtained 120 members they apply different ratios to different States so as to give one Member for that ratio which in each should approach nearest to 1 for 30,000 and leaving smaller fractions. This ingenious theory may hereafter change when the fractional application shall be found to benefit the South as now it does the North. For then it may appear improper, tho now it does not to change a real into a virtual representation so far as fractions are employed. This Bill went by a majority of 1 in the Senate and 2 in the H of R three of the members of the latter against it being sick or out of the way. I do apprehend however that when a full representation comes into the two Houses after the next election, that all this arithmetical sophistry will vanish before truth and the Constitution as Mists are dispersed by the rising Sun. This Bill, that for the frontier and the Post Office bill being past and the Militia and Coinage Bills in great forwardness we may rise by the middle of April which will give time enough for the Ways & Means bill. But I fear the Speculators will agitate a fresh assumption which they are very intent upon but which hitherto they have not ventured to bring forth from out of the Treasury Report. Gen Knox told us the other day that the extra pay of our Militia the last year would be all allowed except about 230 dollars which would require legislative provision, and that he thought it would be worth while to apply for it. The list of claims remain yet with Col Davis who has waited for a bill now passed for removing the limitation law two years to come, which will let in the greater part of them. Such a one founded on ideas not warranted by the former Acts of Congress, the Legislature will not now open a door for the admission of, apprehending a great increase of the public debt thereby. The Military Claim of Land south of Ohio yet lays before the house of Representatives and I fear that the violation of an Indian Treaty in the present critical State of Indian affairs will prevent anything effectual from being now done in that business. A prodigious shock has lately assailed the speculators and Stocks of all kinds wonderfully fallen, but I fancy the spirit will soon again revive for I see that 26/ is now offered for 6 per cents payable and deliverable in January next. An amazing profit thus to those who have money, for at this moment the same 6 per cents may be purchased for 21/9 and sold directly again with 9 months credit for 26. Who shall be Commander in Chief of the Western Expedition is now a matter of Town Talk. They say it will lay be-

tween yourself, Gen Putnam, Gen Pinckney & Gen Wayne; nothing transpires from the Cabinet, your friends are clear for you but each has his Partisans. I do not know where to direct the enclosed so that it may soon reach my brother, and I wish him to get it quickly as possible. I have therefore taken the liberty of enclosing it to you and request that you will have the goodness to contrive it to him with all the expedition in your power

I am with great affection

Yours sincerely

RICHARD HENRY LEE

Remember me cordially to my friends in Richmond among whom I count particularly Mr Marshall, the Treasurer & Mr Harvey with Col Carrington.

(To Major Gen Henry Lee
Richmond Va)

Also folio official document dated Aug 17 1785 and signed as President of Congress

2.—George Wythe,

Born in Elizabeth-county, Virginia, in 1726. Fully prepared by previous education, he entered the practice of the law, in 1757, showing from the outset his distinguished ability. As a member of the House of Burgesses he participated in Patrick Henry's bold stand for freedom. A member of the Continental Congress, in 1775, he joined in the action of the following year. A delegate to the Convention to form a Constitution for the United States, it will be seen that he was compelled to retire, from domestic affliction. He was also Chancellor of the State of Virginia. Late in life, being deprived of the use of his right hand, he learned to print with wonderful clearness with his left. There was a suspicion of foul play in the death of Mr. Wythe, which occurred on the eighth of June, 1806, in his eighty-first year, a near relative being charged with the crime, and acquitted.

G. Wythe to mr. Randolph.

Mr W's state of health is so low and she is so emaciated, that my apprehensions are not a little afflicting and if the worst should not befall, she must linger i fear a long time, in no other circumstances would i withdraw from the employment, to which i had the honour to be appointed, but as probably i shall not return to Philadelphia if, sir, to appoint one in my room be judged advisable i hereby authorize you to consider this letter as a resignation, no less valid than a solemn act for that express purpose, my best wishes attend you and the other most respectable personages with whom i was thought worthy to be associated

WILLIAMSBURG 16 of june 1787

[Addressed]

Hon EDMUND RANDOLPH
a deputy from Virginia to
the Convention
PHILADELPHIA

3.—*Thomas Jefferson,*

Born at Shadwell, Virginia, the second of April, (o.s.) 1743. He inherited the estate of Monticello from his father, and made it famous as his home. It is only necessary to say of so well known a character, that he drafted the Declaration of Independence, and after holding many important offices, including that of President of the United States, accepted from a sense of duty that of Justice of the Peace. He went to his rest, at the age of eighty-four, on the anniversary of the crowning act of his greatness, the fourth of July, 1826, leaving his biography as patriot, statesman, philosopher, author and diplomatist, written in the memory of the people.

PHILADELPHIA Oct 31 1775

DEAR PAGE

We have nothing new from England or the camp before Boston, by a private letter this day to a gentlemen of Congress from General Montgomery we learn that our forces before St John's are 4000 in number besides 500 Canadians the latter of whom have repelled with great intrepidity three different attacks from the fort. We apprehend it will not hold out much longer as Mons^r St Luc de la Corne and several other principal inhabitants of Montreal who have been our great enemies have offered to make terms. This St. Luc is a great Seigneur amongst the Canadians and almost absolute with the Indians, he has been our most bitter enemy, he is acknowledged to be the greatest of all scoundrels, to be assured of this I need only to mention to you that he is the ruffian who when during the late war Fort William Henry was surrendered to the French & Indians on condition of saving the lives of the garrison had every soul murdered in cold blood. The check which the Canadians received at first is now wearing off, they were made to believe we had an army of 15,000 men going there, this put them in high spirits but when they saw Montgomery with but 2700 they were thunderstruck at the situation they had brought themselves into, however when they found even this small armament march boldly to invest St John's & put a good face on the matter they revived, & the recruits since have contributed to inspirit them more.

I have set apart nearly one day in every week since I came here to write letters, notwithstanding this I never had received the scrip of a pen from any mortal breathing, I should have excepted too lines from M^r Pendleton to desire me to buy him 24 lb of wire from which I concluded he was alive. I speak not this for you from whom I would not wish to receive a letter till I know you can write one without injury to your health, but in future as I must be satisfied with information from my colleagues that my county still exists, so I am determined to be satisfied also with their epistolary communications of what passes within our knowledge

Adieu, Dear Page

DELEND A EST NORFOLK

[Addressed]

To

The honorable

JOHN PAGE esqr

Williamsburgh

[Memo for answer endorsed]

L^d D^e Forces *

present station

Our Plan

Powder and arms

Skirmishes

IN COUNCIL December 21st 1780

SIR

I have received authority from the Legislature to provide cloathing and blankets for the troops by seizing the same which will be accompanied by endeavors to purchase. Agents are out procuring salted beef and others setting out to procure pork in as large quantities as they are to be had to be stored on the Roanoke and its navigable waters. Ten thousand barrels of flour will certainly be provided, the number of waggons which have been delivered to the Continental Q. M. since the date of Gen Gates' requisition I have not yet been able to procure a return of, nor the quantities of spirits delivered to the continental commissary, considerable deliveries of both articles have been made. Any other measures which may have been taken by the Assembly for further compliance with the requisitions of Gen^l Green are yet uncommunicated to me, as arms were never among the requisitions made by Congress on the several states, this state never supposed it would be expected they should provide that article for their quota of Continental troops, they have only had in view to procure from time to time so many as might arm their militia when necessity required the calling them into service, from this stock they have furnished arms for Continental use till it is so reduced that they have not the smallest prospect of being able from the State magazines to spare as many as will arm their new Continental Levies

I am with great respect sir,

Your mo ob serv^tTH^{OS} JEFFERSON

PARIS Aug 9 1786.

SIR

I have duly received the honour of your Excellency's letter of May 17 1786, on the subject of Capt^e Greene supposed to be in Captivity with the Algerines, I wish I could have communicated the agreeable news that this supposition was well founded. I should not have hesitated to gratify as well your Excellency as the worthy father of Capt Greene by doing whatever would have been necessary for his redemption, but we

* Lord Dunmore's.

have certainly *no such* prisoner at Algiers. We have there 21 prisoners in all, of these only 4 are Americans by birth, three of these are Captains, of the names of O'Brien, Stephens & Coffey, there were only two vessels taken by the Algerines one commanded by O'Brien the other by Stevens, Coffyn I believe was a supercargo; the Moors took one vessel from Philadelphia which they gave up again with the crew, no other captures have been made on us by any of the pyratel States. I wish I could say we were likely to be secure against future captures, with Morocco I have hopes we shall but the States of Algiers, Tunis & Tripoli hold their peace at a price which would be felt by every man in his settlement with the taxgatherer. I have the honor to be with sentiments of the highest respect

Your Excellency's most obedient & most humble servt

TH JEFFERSON

H. E. Gov. HENRY.

P.S. Aug 15 1786. I have this morning received information from Mr Barclay that our peace with the Emperor of Morocco would be pretty certainly signed in a few days, this leaves us the Atlantic free, Algiers Tunis & Tripoli however remaining hostile will shut up the Mediterranean to us, the two latter never came into the Atlantic the Algerines rarely and but a little way out of the straits. In Mr Barclay's letter is a paragraph "there is a young man now under my care who has been a slave some time with the Arabs in the desert his name is James Mercier born in the town of Suffolk, Nansmond County Virginia, the king sent him after the first audience and I shall take him to Spain" On Mr Barclay's return to Spain he shall find there a letter from me to forward this young man to his own country, for the expenses of which I will make myself responsible.

PARIS Aug 9 1787

SIR

The departure of a packet boat from Havre for New York occasioning me always a great deal of previous writing I have not been able sooner to acknowledge the receipt of your note of June 8 or Warwick's succession letter of June 30 Extract of letter of July 9th to Mr. Adams and letters of July 10 & 12 to myself. Your last despatches to Mr Jay go by the Packet boat which sails to morrow, as these vessels sail regularly the following days Feb 10 Mar 25 May 10 June 25 Aug 10 Sept 25 Nov 10 Dec 25 you will always be able to avail yourself of them for your despatches only taking care that they reach me four days beforehand, I commit my packet always to a trusty passenger, so that it never enters a post office. I communicated to Mr Adams the information that Mr Grand re-

fused all further advances for your Treasury board till he should receive remittances from them.—from America there is nothing new or very interesting. The Federal Convention is sitting at Philadelphia, General Washington being President of it. Their proceedings will not be made known till they rise, so many of the Members of Congress are of that body, that Congress could not continue its Sessions, they have therefore adjourned for some weeks. Your affairs and those of your neighbors now occupy all tongues & minds, whether they will produce a general war or not seems still undecided I had the honour to renew the assurances of esteem & respect with which, I am sir your most obedient & most humble servant

TH JEFFERSON

MR DUMAS

MONTICELLO Jan. 2. 18.

SIR

I am but recently returned from my journey to the neighborhood of the Peeks of Otter, and find here your favors of Nov 28 & Dec. 9. I have therefore to thank you for your meteorological table and the Correction of Col^l Williams's altitudes of the mountains of Virginia, which I had not before seen; but especially for the very able extract on Barometrical measures the precision of the calculations, and soundness of the principles on which they are founded furnish, I am satisfied, a great approximation towards truth, and raise that method of estimating heights to a considerable degree of rivalry with the trigonometrical, the last is not without some sources of inaccuracy. As you have truly stated the admeasurements of the base is liable to errors which can be rendered insensible only by such degrees of care as have been exhibited by the mathematicians who have been employed in measuring degrees on the surface of the earth. The measure of the angles, by the wonderful perfection to which the graduation of instruments has been brought by a Bird, a Ramsden, a Troughton, removes nearly all distrust from that operation; and we may add that the effect of refraction, rarely worth notice in short distances, admits of correction by well established laws. These sources of error once reduced to be insensible, their geometrical employment is certainly itself, no two men can differ on a principle of trigonometry—not so, as to the theories of Barometrical mensuration, on these have been great differences of opinion, and among characters of just celebrity. Dr. Halley reckoned 1-10 I. of mercury equal to 90f. of altitude of the atmosphere: Derham thought it equal to something less than 90 f.

Cassini's tables to 24° of the Barometer allowed 676 toises of altitude, Mariotte's to the same

544 toises Scheuchzer's to the same 559 toises Nettleton's tables applied to a difference of, 5975 of mercury, in a particular instance gave 512.17 f. of altitude, and Bouguer & De Luc's rules, to the same difference gave 579.5 f. Sir Isaac Newton had established that at heights in arithmetical progression the ratio of rarity in the air would be geometrical; and this being the character of the natural numbers and their Logarithms, Bouguer adopted the ratio in his mensuration of the mountains of S. America, and, stating in French Lignes the height of the mercury at different stations, took their logarithms to 5 places only, including the index, and considered the resulting difference as expressing that of the altitudes in French toises, he then applied corrections required by the effect of the temperature of the moment on the air and mercury, his process, on the whole, agrees very exactly with that established in your excellent extract. In 1773 I observed the height of the mercury at the base and summit of the mountain I live on, and, by Nettleton's tables, estimated the height at 512.17 f. and called it about 500 f. in the Notes on Virginia, but calculating it since, on the same observations, according to Bouguer's method with De Luc's improvements, the result was 579.5 f. and lately I measured the same height trigonometrically, with the aid of a base of 1175 f. in a vertical plane with the summit, and at the distance of about 1500 yards from the axis of the mountain and made it 599.35 f. I consider this as testing the advance of the barometrical process towards truth by the adoption of the Logarithmic ratio of heights and densities; and continued observations and experiments will continue to advance it still more, but the first character of a common measure of things being that of invariability, I can never suppose that a substance so heterogeneous & variable as the atmospheric fluid, changing daily and hourly its weights & dimensions to the amount sometimes of one tenth of the whole, can be applied as a standard of measure to anything with as much mathematical exactness as a trigonometrical process. It is still however a resource of great value for these purposes, because its use is so easy, in comparison with the other, and especially where the grounds are unfavorable for a base; and its results are so near the truth as to answer all the common purposes of information. indeed I should in all cases prefer the use of both, to warn us against gross error, and to put us, when that is suspected, on a repetition of our process. when lately measuring the height of the peaks of Otter (as my letter of Oct. 12. informed you I was about to do) I very much wished for a barometer, to try the height by that also, but it was too far and too hazardous to carry my own, and there was not one in that neighborhood.

On the subject of that admeasurement, I must premise that my object was only to gratify a common curiosity as to the height of those mountains, which we deem our highest, and to furnish à peu près, sufficient to satisfy us in a comparison of them with the other mountains of our own, or of other countries. I therefore neither provided such instruments, nor aimed at such extraordinary accuracy in the measures of my base, as able operators would have employed in the more important object of measuring a degree, or of ascertaining the relative position of different places for astronomical or geographical purposes. my instrument was a theodolite by Ramsden, whose horizontal and vertical circles were of $3\frac{1}{2}$ l. radius its graduation subdivided by noniuses to 3"; admitting however by its intervals, a further subdivision by the eye to a single minute, with two telescopes, the one fixed, the other moveable, and a Gunter's chain of 4 poles, accurately adjusted in its length, and carefully attended on its application to the base line. the Sharp, or Southern peak was first measured by a base of 2806.32 f. in the vertical plane of the axis of the mountain. a base then nearly parallel with the two mountains of 6589 f. was measured, and observations taken at each end, of the altitudes and horizontal angles of each apex, and such other auxiliary observations made as to the stations, inclination of the base &c as a good degree of correctness in the result would require. the ground of our bases was favorable, being an open plain of close grazed meadow, on both sides of the Otter river, declining so uniformly with the descent of the river as to give no other trouble than an observation of its angle of inclination, in order to reduce the base to the plane of the horizon, from the summit of the sharp peak I took also the angle of altitude of the flat or Northern one above it, my other observations sufficing to give their distance from one another. the result was, the mean height of the Sharp peak above the surface of Otter R. . . . f 2946.5
of the flat peak 3103.5
the distance between the two summits . 9567.73
their rhumb N. 33°.50 E. the distance of the stations of observation from the points in the bases of the mountains vertically under their summits was the shortest 19.002.2 f. the longest 24.523.3 f. these mountains are computed to be visible to 15 counties of the State, without the advantage of counter-elevations, and to several more with that advantage. I must add that I have gone over my calculations but once, and nothing is more possible than the mistake of a figure, now and then, in calculating so many triangles, which may occasion some variation in the result. I mean therefore when I have leisure, to go again over the whole. The ridge of mountains of which Monticello is one, is general-

ly low. There is one in it however, called Peter's mountain, considerably higher than the general ridge. this being within a dozen miles of me North Eastwardly, I think, in the spring of the year, to measure it by both processes, which may serve as another trial of the Logarithmic theory. should I do this you shall know the result. in the mean time accept assurances of my great respect & esteem.

TH. JEFFERSON

[Addressed] Milton Va
Free 3 Jany

TH. JEFFERSON
Capt A PARTRIDGE
Norwich
Windsor County,
Vermont.

MONTICELLO Aug. 2^d 16.

DEAR SIR

Mrs Randolph, Ellen & myself intended before this to have had the pleasure of seeing Mrs Madison and yourself at Montpelier as we mentioned to Mr. Coles; but three days ago Mrs. Randolph was taken with a fever, which has confined her to her bed ever since. it is so moderate that we are in the hourly hope of its leaving her and, after a little time to recruit her strength, of carrying our purpose into execution, which we shall lose no time in doing. in the meantime I salute Mrs Madison & your self with increasing affection & respect

TH. JEFFERSON

THE PRESIDENT OF THE U. S.

[Addressed]

TH. JEFFERSON
JAMES MADISON JUN
to be delivered him
at Fredericksburg.

4.—Thomas Nelson, Junior,

Born in Yorktown, Virginia, the twenty-sixth of December, 1733. Visited England at fifteen, and graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, with Porteus, Bishop of London, as his tutor; returning to America, in 1761, he made his entry in public life, in 1774, in the House of Burgesses, in the Convention of the State, and in the Continental Congress of '75, three almost simultaneous evidences of popular esteem. At the same time he raised a regiment of Militia. Succeeding Jefferson as Governor of Virginia, he commanded the Virginia Militia at the siege of Yorktown, and ordered his own mansion, then occupied by the enemy, to be bombarded. He had the pleasure of witnessing the surrender of Cornwallis, the crowning event of the War. When the once rich lands amidst which Yorktown was situated, were worn out by exhaustive cultivation, the town, so important in history, sank into decay, with only the Nelson House and the Moore House, where the terms of surrender were arranged remaining. In the recent War, the dilapidation was further increased. Governor Nelson died, on the fourth of January, 1789, aged fifty years. The vicinity of his home was twice memorable in American history.

Wmsburg Sept 16th 1781

DEAR SIR

I must request the Favour of you to have Lit-

tlepage's Bridge rebuilt with all possible Expedition as the Baggage Artillery &c of Genl Washingtons Army will soon be on that way. Mr Paul Tilman has every material that is requisite & will on that account be a good Person to employ in this Business. If you cannot by other means get workmen & necessaries you are hereby empowered to impress them & you must pay with Certificates. I hope no one will refuse any assistance on this Occasion it is in his Power to give.

Our Army is still in the Neighbourhood of this Place. The French Fleet under Count De Grasse is returned & is joined by the Rhode Island Fleet. Three thousand of the Northern Troops are just arrived in James River.

I am dear sir

Your obedient serv^t
THOS NELSON Jr

[Addressed]

"Public"

Col W^m NELSON
Express KING WILLIAM

[Note on outside of envelope from Capt Tilman.]

DR SIR

I shall be glad to see you at the bridge this evening or sooner

PAUL TILMAN

Colo NELSON.

[From Mrs. Colonel Nelson on inside of letter.]

SIR

Colo Nelson is too ill to meet you at the bridge or even to write to you, he therefore desires of me to refer you to the letter on which this note is wrote, therein you will find that the Governour has empowered him to employ you for the purpose of rebuilding Little-Pages bridge, as it is not probable he will come out of his house shortly he authorizes you to act with the same full powers that the Governour in his letter has vested in him. Col^o Nelson will send two or three carpenters early tomorrow morning, & he desires me to beg of you to procure as many hands and teams as will be necessary to finish it with the utmost expedition, Colo Nelson sends a letter to the Governour & begs you will forward it by the return of the express.

I am sir, your Humb Servant

September th 20 ANN NELSON
Horn Quarter
Capt TILMAN

OFFLEY Feby 2^d 1783.

DEAR SIR

When the French Troops under the command of the Marquis St. Simon arrived here, the Marquis L. Fayette made a requisition for a number of Horses to mount the French officers. As their

stay was to be but short it was thought more eligible to borrow Horses of the Gentlemen thro the County than to impress. Among others I lent four, two of which were never returned, but were taken either by the officers or Corps of Cavalry after the Siege of York. The then Executive engaged if the Horses were not returned that they should be paid for which circumstance M^r Hardy probably remembers. I observe that M^r Young the Q M G for the State advertises a number of Horses to be sold next Friday, two of which I should be glad to take in lieu of mine if yourself and the Council think proper

The valuation of my Horses with my affidavit annexed of never having received the two Horses is enclosed. I shall be obliged to you for an answer by the return of the servant because of sending a person down on Friday

I am D^r Sir

Your obed^t serv^t

THOS NELSON J^r

To the Governor of Virginia

5.—Benjamin Harrison,

Born in Berkley, Virginia, but at what period is not now known. His ancestors were in Virginia as early as 1640, the year of the breaking out of the English Revolution which cost Charles I. his crown. He was a student at, but not a graduate of, William and Mary's College, and in the House of Burgesses in 1764. He was Speaker of the Assembly, and declined a seat in the Council of the Royal Governor. A delegate to the Continental Congress of 1774, and signed the Declaration, in 1776; was elected Governor of Virginia, in 1782; and after serving two terms, he retired to private life, which would seem not to have been free from pecuniary embarrassments. He was subsequently Speaker of the House of Burgesses, and died in April, 1791. His son, as was the case with Ross, Read, and many others of the Signers, bearing the same name, adopted the signature of his father, which requires care in forming collections. When the Union army occupied Berkley, in the late War, the garret was filled with his papers, and being cleared for use as a hospital, they were piled outside and burned by a vandal ignorant of their interest.

By His Excellency Benjamin Harrison Esqr
Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS great numbers of British prisoners of War are dispersed throughout the State roving at large without License to the great prejudice and annoyance of the Citizens and Injury to the Commonwealth I do therefore by and with the advice of the Council of State hereby strictly charge and command all Officers Civil and Military to make diligent Search in their respective Counties for all prisoners of war going at large without proper Licenses and if any such be found that they immediately secure and convey them to the Commanding Officer of the Militia of the County in which they shall be so found. And I do hereby further charge the said Commanding Officer that he take effectual measure, for the safe keeping all such prisoners of War, and that he also convey them as soon as it can

conveniently be done, under a proper Guard to Fredericksburg or Winchester, taking receipt for said prisoners from the Commanding officer of the Guard, and transmitting a copy thereof to the Commissioner of the War Office

Given under my hand & the seal of the Commonwealth in the Council Chamber at Richmond this 20th Day of December in the year of our Lord 1781, & sixth of the Commonwealth

BENJ HARRISON.

L S

[Endorsed]. Proclamation
for apprehending
French & British
Deserters
Dec 20 1781.

1780. M^r John Graves Dr

To 231½ bush^l Wheat By acct Rendered^d
delivered to order 4- £ 46.7.— £63.12.6

To loss of measure by
keeping 20 bush Do 4.0.0.

50.7.0
Bal due M^r Graves 13.5.6

£ 63.12.6

Received the balance Errors excepted
J GRAVES BENJ HARRISON

BERKLEY Mar 2^d 1789.

Sir

The above is your acct and M^r Dalzells, his is balanced, and there is due to you £13.5.6. which makes me extremely unhappy, the full quantity of wheat was reserved, and clean'd out early in Sept^r in expectation of its being sent for, but that not being done, it was again clean'd & measured in Dec^r when it was reduced to 546 bushels; every care in my power was taken to prevent it being stolen or destroy'd by rats, but some of my negroe's are such adepts at picking locks and we abound so with rats, that the quantity was reduced as above except 55 bushels which were ordered by Mrs Harrison to be delivered to another person when I was from home, she supposing that so much was reserved for him. I hope my good Sir, you will excuse me on these several accounts for falling short of the quantity, I really could do no more than I did to comply with my contract. The bal^l shall be paid you as soon as possible with interest. I return you M^r Galt's order, if he would have favored me with an answer to my letter written to him in Sept^r informing me that he would take the wheat he might have had it, but I knew nothing of his intentions till I saw the order when you see it was not in my power to comply with it, wheat was reserved for him last year to

pay the debts and the whole quantity except 24 bushels lost to me

I am

Your most ob^d serv^t

BENJ HARRISON

6.—Francis Lightfoot Lee,

Born in Westmoreland-county, Virginia, the fourteenth of October, 1734. He was carefully educated, under the Reverend Doctor Craig, a Scottish Clergyman; and, like his brother, Richard Henry, was an early and consistent patriot. In 1758, he was elected to the House of Burgesses, and continued to sit until 1772, when he married and removed from his constituency to Richmond, which he seems to have represented in the same House until elected to Congress in 1775; and after serving with fidelity until 1779, he resigned, and returned to his home. His letters are very rare, and it is to be inferred that his brother was the correspondent of the family, and Francis in moments of leisure more devoted to his ease than to letter writing. He died in April, 1797, aged sixty-three years.

PHILADELPHIA Sept 4th 1777

MY DEAR COL

Mr Jackson will deliver you a Letter which I wrote some time ago by Mr Crump, who was stoped at Elk by Mr Howe. I hope it will arrive time enough for your sugar making business. I could have procured the Sickles at 10s & 12s a piece but the impossibility of conveying anything from hence to Virginia at present will oblige me to hold my hand till I hear further from you. Genl Howe is now within forty miles of us with his whole force: yet we are in good spirits having our Genl & a spirited army to oppose him. By the papers sent to Col Tayloe (which I know you will have the benefit of) you will see that we have little to apprehend from the valorous and most puissant Burgoyne, we fear he will make his retreat good. If Howe should be obliged to betake himself to his ships we hope the Virginia Militia will prevent his pillaging the Country on his return. Our best respects to Sabine Hall

I am Dear Col

Your affectionate friend & hble Serv^t

FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.

[Addressed]

To

Col LANDON CARTER

Sabine Hall

favor'd by Virginia

Mr Jackson.

[Endorsed]

"F LIGHTFOOT LEE Esq

Sept 4th 1777, No News"

7.—Carter Braxton,

Born at Newington, Kings and Queens-county, Virginia, the tenth of September, 1736, was educated at William and Mary's College, and soon after visited England. On his return, although married to the daughter of the King's Receiver General of Customs, and well with the vice regal

Court of the Province, he early took ground against its exactions. As a member of the House of Burgesses, in 1765, he sustained the action of Patrick Henry against the Stamp Act. As a member of the Convention of 1769, he was one of the eighty-nine members who voted for a convention of the people at Williamsburgh, which meeting selected him as a delegate in Congress. As the successor of Peyton Randolph, he sat in the Congress of 1775. The letters which we extract are principally connected with his litigation with Robert Morris; and have no further interest than as commemorating an unfortunate collision between brother signers. He died the tenth of October, 1797.

RICHMOND June 11 1788

GENTLEMEN

Mr Morris in his letter of May 21st has complained that my answer to his cross Bill in Court was not filed within the last term so as to make your decision obligatory & therefore prays your award to be withheld until Aug Term. But in this Mr Morris will find himself deceived. Mr Ronald my counsel has long since regularly and legally as he says filed my answer in Court agreeable to my engagement. This then will remove the cause of your holding up that award from which alone justice is to be done to my long & unmerited suffering & which will evince to Mr Morris the part he ought to have acted some years ago & thereby relieved me from the distress he has so much contributed to. To the above you will permit me to subjoin the continuation of my account current with Willing Morris & Comp^y with Robert Morris Esq^r formed on the articles mentioned in my postscript of the 8th of May with the vouchers also, & copy for Mr Morris. This is sent to enable him to finish his reply to my continuation of Acc^t Current that I may take it up immediately & put an end to all further argument on the subject, if in this reply Mr Morris is not tedious. I hope every paper will be delivered you in a few days. But as we have both offered extracts from our correspondence to support our assertions & as your opinions will be in some measure founded on them I suppose it will in the meantime be proper for each of us to see the others extracts, copies having been furnished by neither

I am your hum^{ble} serv^t

CARTER BRAXTON

ALEXANDER MONTGOMERY Esq^r

Mr Braxtons respectful comp^y waits on the Gentlemen Auditors. He has now sent the two Ledgers A & C required. They are the books of CB alone. But as it is probable the books of WMB & MB are those wanted Mr Braxton has sent them also with their sundry Journals

The acct of Jack Power Mr B thought had been copied & filed among the Papers. It is now drawn off from a rough copy sent CB by Mr Power in 1783 with a copy of Col^l Claytons receipt for money Mr Power expended of Mr Claytons & which CB agreed to pay to Mr Clayton, Mr Power has still further demands

against C B for what he calls reasonable expenses which will be seen are mentioned in C B's instructions. To satisfy these & M^r Powers other claims for his services under that promise he has actually attached an estate C B has in Scotland & will not relinquish until the whole is paid, M^r B will inform M^r Richards of his attendance being required tomorrow at 10 o'clock

Monday noon

ALEX^s MONTGOMERY Esq^r Sept 1st 1788.

XL.—NORTH CAROLINA.

Ratification of the Convention.

The Association entered into by the General Congress at Philadelphia on the Twentieth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy four and signed by the Members thereof was presented to this Convention by Colo Richard Caswell and on Motion was Ordered to be read, and it was accordingly read.

Resolved that this Convention do highly approve of the said Association and do for themselves firmly agree to adhere to the Said Association and to recommend it to their Constituents that they likewise adhere firmly to the same. In full approbation and Testimony Whereof the Members of this Convention subscribe their names.*

W^m THOMSON
SOLOMON SHEPARD
SAM JARVIS
SOLO PERKINS
NATHAN POYNTER
SAM JOHNSTON
THOS OLDHAM
THO JONES
THOS BENBURY
THOS HUNTER
THO RUTHERFORD

JOHN HARVEY
ROGER ORMOND
THOS RESPES JUN
WILLIAM SALTER
JAMES WHITE
W^m PERSON
THOMAS EATON
JNO CAMPBELL
JOHN JOHNSTON
JAMES COOK
LEMUEL HATCH

* In reference to this paper, Hon. John H. Wheeler, (the Historian of North Carolina,) writes to its present possessor: "The value of the paper consists that there is no other 'original.' " * * * I think there are names more illustrious on it, than those sought by you," (i. e. the three North Carolina signers which are all appended.) "John Harvey, 'the first name, was the Moderator of the Convention; he was called by Josiah Quincy, the Samuel Adams of the South. Richard Caswell was the first Governor of North Carolina, under the State Constitution, adopted December, 1776. John Ashe was a General in the Continental Army—Brar Creek—ancestor of a large and distinguished family. Thomas Burke, a native of Ireland, and a man of letters; Governor of North Carolina, taken prisoner by Fanning and carried to Charleston, South Carolina. Griffith Rutherford, General in the Continental Army—Counties in North Carolina and Tennessee named after him. Cornelius Harnett (M. O. C.) was first and foremost in the cause of independence. The last named, 'Robert Howe, was a General in the Continental Army, and distinguished.' North Carolina must have selected her educated men for Representatives, for the sixty-seven signatures to this paper, although varying greatly, are with scarcely an exception, fine ones; and generally exhibiting a skillful and practiced writer.

FRGE^d CAMPBELL
R CASWELL
THOMAS PERSON
THOS HICKS
John Penn
M HUNT
WILLIE JONES
B M^c CULLOCK
NICHOLAS LONG
Will Hooper
JOHN ASH
ALLEN JONES
JEPH ATHERTON
THOS BURKE
F NASH
E STARKEY
HENRY RHODES
W^m CRAY
ANDREW KNOX
ISAAC GREGORY
JOSEPH JONES
JOHN HEARRING
GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD
W^m SHARPE
JEREMIAH FRASER
JOHN HINTON
A NASH
JAMES DAVIS
Joseph Heites

JACOB BLOUNT
R COGDELL
JOSEPH LEECH
W^m BRYAN
CORN^s HARNETT
W^m BROWN
JOHN SIMPSON
EDWARD SALTER
JAMES GORHAM
JAMES LANIER
JOHN WEBB
GEO WYNNE
ALEX MARTIN
DAVID STANDLEY
GREEN HILL
ROBT HOWE

1.—William Hooper,

Born in Boston, Massachusetts, the seventeenth of June, 1742, graduated at Harvard, in 1760, and read law with James Otis. Seven years later, he settled in North Carolina, and soon stood at the head of her bar. In 1773, he was elected to the Provincial Assembly; and, in 1775, was sent as the proto-carpet-bagger to the Continental Congress, in which he also served in the Sessions of 1775-6, and signed the Declaration. During the War, he was very obnoxious to the British, who sought to annoy his family and destroy his property. After the Revolution he continued in practice. In 1786, he served as a Judge of the Court established to adjudicate between New York and Massachusetts, and died in October, 1790, aged forty-eight years.

SAMPSON HALL July 17 1781

DEAR GOVERNOUR

I came here the day after I left you and found the house crowded with refugees & prisoners whom major Craig in pursuance of the Cartel had suffered to leave Wilmington. Amongst the rest were M^r Thomas MacLaine brother to our friend & M^r John Huske who will hand you this, the only two of all the inhabitants of Wilmington who have refused to sign a petition to be admitted to a dependance upon Great Britain. This petition was set on foot soon after the British landed in Wilmington and all the powers of persuasion, insult and menace exercised to induce these two gentlemen to a compliance. But their virtue was superiour to all, and they have the consciousness satisfaction of retaining their freedom & independence. These are characters that deserve

the notice of their country & such, my dear Sir, as you will honor with your approbation as a man & as a Governour.

Mr Huske who is the bearer of this is the young gentleman whom I mentioned to you as very well qualified to fill the department of a Secretary. What I apprehended would happen has taken place, he has been compelled to abandon his property in Wilmington & all his expectations from trade; & is now turned out an exile to begin the world again. I have known this gentleman with the most unreserved intimacy, for several years, he has been in my house a great part of the time & I pledge myself to your Excellency that he is a Gentleman of the most refined honor & unspotted integrity. You will find that he has a good capacity & that he has improved it by the study of men and books & in proportion to his years has made great proficiency. Indeed, my dear Sir, I think him the most promising youth in the Country, & as such I beg leave to recommend him to your patronage and friendship. His having been in Europe & the West Indies has given him a liberal mode of thinking correspondent to your now & which I know you highly approve. He solicits some genteel employment that may support him & keep his mind employed. Should the Council appoint a Secretary in the room of Glasgow a Secretary to the Council or a private Secretary or unite both these offices I know no one who would discharge the trust with more reputation—I must add as qualifications that will be very useful that he writes a fine hand knows accounts & reads French. In a word Dr Governour, he is my friend & I have the vanity that even on this score he will claim a merit with you. A Doctor Ingraham is here from Cross Creek who informs us that a Militia Capt just from Georgia & a Colonel Murphy from the Southward of this State bring accounts that Marion has wrote that the Reinforcement arrived at Ch'stown is very inconsiderable not more than 300, that the fleet was chiefly loaded with families intending to settle in South Carolina with their furniture & Implements of husbandry—merchants goods &c. The Militia Capt affirms that both Savannah & 96 are evacuated. Mr. Huske will give you the most perfect intelligence of the situation of affairs in this quarter, & will hand you a few newspapers containing very little information but which shew the illiberality of a Garrison press & the disingenuous artifices of the British to give popularity to their measures & draw contempt upon ours.

I have sent my son who is amongst the refugees to Mr. Hogg's he will be much honored if you will condescend to notice him.

Armstrong left this yesterday on his way to Wilmington with a flag. I set off for New-

bern tomorrow when I hear that Colonel Clark has arrived; there Armstrong is to meet me with the result of his Mission. I will esteem it a particular favor if you will now & then devote a leisure moment to give me a line. With the most sincere wishes that the success of your administration may be equal to your virtues & abilities

I beg leave to subscribe myself

Dear Sir

Your Excellency's sincere friend
& Obedt Humbt Sct

WILL HOOPER

Pardon the blots this scrawl carries with it, the Ink has been blown upon it & I have not paper to copy this or write another upon

[Endorsed]

Private

Mr. Hooper

July 17th 1781

rec^d Aug^t

2.—Joseph Howe,

Born in Kingston, New Jersey, in 1739, of a Quaker family. After studying at Princeton, and pursuing commercial business in Philadelphia, at the age of thirty, he settled at Edenton, North Carolina, and was very successful in business. In 1763, he served in the Legislature, and continued a member for several years. He took an active part in calling a Convention of the Colony to send representatives to the Congress; and, although like Hooper, a carpet-bagger, served as a delegate in those of 1774-5-6; and again, in that of 1779, surviving the last election but a few months, and dying on the tenth of November, in that year, and in the fiftieth of his age, and was buried in Christ Church Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA 10th July 1777

DEAR NATH

I came here this day week the Journey hitherto has not been of any service to me my Rheumatism hangs upon me & for 36 Hours past I have been persecuted with a constant lax which weakened me greatly. I have sold one half of the Patty as also the whole of the Fanny as you will see by an additional acc^t. with Mr Morris enclosed to Mr Smith, that acc^t. must be entered on our Books & the Bala. struck & carried to a new account before any other entries are made against Mr. Morris, you must endeavor to sell the Lottery Tickets if possible and be carefull that no mistake is made in the money. I purpose leaving this City to morrow if I am well enough to ride & proceed on slowly towards Boston, if I do not mend on this Journey I shall have a very disagreeable time of it and perhaps with myself out of this world. Your Father Mother and Sisters are all well. General Howe and his whole army left new Jersey they are now embarking on board Transports but where bound is a matter of conjecture some think they are com-

ming up the Delaware, others that they are going up North River in order to meet Burgoyne at Albany, others think they will go up the East River and make a descent on some part of Connecticut or Rhode Island State on the main, a few days will unriddle this great mystery. they left Somerset Court House (where they had marched from Brunswick) with great precipitation so much so that they left behind them many of their Potts boiling, and some officers left their swords watches &c, every thing is most extravagantly dear at this place you have the prices of some things below by which Judge of all others. my Compliments to the Ladies

I am Dear Natt
yours sincerely
JOSEPH HEWES

Loaf Sugar 10 s p^b
brown do £ 25—P C
Rum 45 s p Gall to 60.
molasses 20 s
Coffee 8 s
Nankens such as we sold for 50 s. 90 s
Hyson Tea 120 s
Shoes 30 s to 35 s
Germantown col'd hose formerly 8 to 9 s now 30 to 40 s

3.—John Penn,

Born in Caroline-county, Virginia, the seventeenth of May, 1741. Although his opportunities for education were small until he attained the age of eighteen, when Edward Pendleton aided him, and gave him the use of his library, he made such good use of his time, as to be admitted to the bar when twenty-one years of age; and with the talent and eloquence which accompanied his facility in study, he soon took a distinguished position. He moved to North Carolina in 1774, and was elected to Congress in 1775, and served for three years as an influential member. In 1780, he was entrusted with the control of the Militia in defending his State from British invasion, and acquitted himself with credit. He was out of public life in 1787, and died in September of the succeeding year. It is a singular fact that neither of the Signers from North Carolina were natives of the State, although she gave to the nation such able representatives as Caswell, Harnett, Nash, Rutherford, Jones, etc., in more than ordinary proportion.

HILLSBORO Sept^r 14th 1807

SIR

Inclosed are two letters one I opened not knowing what might be contained in it. The other I was informed contained a Complaint against an officer near Cross creek. I am in a way to get the Regular Troops shod tho' not as expeditiously as I could wish.

General Butler has marched with his Brigade from this place. From the last accounts we recd the enemy have only 400 men or thereabouts at the Waxaws collecting of wheat, General Gates is of the opinion that Lord Cornwallis intends to return to Charles Town, tho' I suspect that movement will depend on our exertions.

Do Sir contrive some way to procure the Board

of War money, it is difficult indeed to move without oyling the wheels, a thousand little things turn up, trifles in themselves, yet necessary, which require money. My compliments to Mrs Nash

I am Dear Sir
Your ob^d Serv^t
J. PENN

His Excell^y
GOV^r NASH

[Addressed]
His Excellency
ARNER NASH Esqr.
Governor of the State of
J. Penn North Carolina

XII.—SOUTH CAROLINA.

1.—Edward Rutledge,

Born in Charleston, South Carolina, in November 1749. After receiving a good home education he went abroad, and became a student at the Inner Temple. He returned to home, in 1772 and in 1773, commenced the practice of the law. At the age of twenty-five, he was elected to the Congress of 1774, and served also in those 1775-6. He served with John Adams, and R. H. Lee, in a committee which preferred a prefatory recommendation of Congress, to the Colonies to form permanent governments, and was in 1776 associated with Franklin, and Adams as a commissioner to meet Lord Howe, at Staten Island. Mr. Rutledge also served in the army in 1779 and 1780, commanding a corps of artillery. He was a Senator in Congress; and in 1798 Governor of South Carolina, dying on the twenty-third of January, 1800.

SIR

You will be pleased to fill up a Commission for John White Esquire as Second Lieutenant in the Charleston Battalion of Artillery to bear date the 4th December 1796—Provided his Excellency the Governor shall have left any blank Commissions for that purpose

I am respectfully your
most obed^t serv^t
ED. RUTLEDGE
Major Com^d
C. T. R. A.

Jan'y 8th 1797

[Addressed:]

J. RAVENEL ESQUIRE
Secretary of the State of
S^c Carolina

2.—Thomas Heyward, Junior,

Born at St. Luke's Parish, South Carolina, in 1746. He was liberally educated, and, like John Laurens, Thomas Lynch, Junior, and others of the sons of wealthy planters, completed his studies in England, which he visited in 1764. In 1775, he was elected to the Continental Congress, and left it in 1778, to assume the position of Judge of the Criminal and Civil Courts, but spared time from his duties on the bench to perform those of a soldier; and in a skirmish at Beaufort, in 1780, received a wound, the marks of which he carried to his grave. After the capture of Charleston he was taken prisoner by Sir Henry Clinton, and exiled to

a year at St. Augustine, Florida. He died in March, 1809, at the age of sixty-three. His signature is found on the Bills of South Carolina, and occasionally on legal documents; but letters are excessively rare.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA. To all and singular the Sheriffs of the said State, GREETING: You, and each of you, are hereby commanded, without Delay, to attach the Body of Joseph Johnston where-soever he may be found, within your and each of your respective Districts, so that you compel him to be and appear before the Jus-tices of the said State, at the Court of Common Pleas, to be holden at Charleston, on the second Tuesday in December next, to answer to William Layton of a Plea wherefore with force and arms and so forth at the City of Charleston in Charlestown district the said Joseph on him the said William did make an assault and him the said William did there beat wound imprison and ill treat and him then in pris-on without any reasonable Cause and against the Laws and Customs of the State of South Carolina for a long time detained where-by the said William ex-pended and laid out and was obliged and compelled to expend and lay out several large sums of money for his deliverance from the imprisonment aforesaid and other outrages commit-ted on him to the damage of the said William Five hundred pounds lawful sterling money of the State of South Carolina and against the peace of the said State. And have you then and there this Writ.

Witness the Honorable Thomas Heyward Jun Esqr one of the Associate Justices of the said State at Charleston, the twenty sev-enth Day of October in the Year of our Lord One

.....
L. S.
.....

THOS⁶ HEYWARD JUN

Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-six and in the Eleventh Year of the Sov-ereignty and Independence of the United States of America.

* JACOB READ
Attorney for the Plaintiff

Also a Colonial note for one hundred pounds Currency, dated 10th April 1774, signed.

3.—Thomas Lynch, Junior,

Born in South Carolina, the fifth of August, 1749. At thirteen years of age, he was sent to England, where at the celebrated Eton school, and at Cambridge, he was edu-cated. On leaving college, he read law, in the Inns of the Temple, London. In 1772, he returned to South Carolina, to practice law, being described by his grand-nephew, General Hamilton, as "a finished gentleman, a thing very rare in this country at that period and since."† In 1773, he addressed the people of Charleston on their grievances, and raised a Company in Colonel Christopher Gadden's Regiment, refusing a higher commission, on the plea of un-fitness, Charles Coatsworth Pinckney being his captain, and so won the popular esteem as to be sent to Congress to succeed his father, whose health had failed, and who died in his arms at Annapolis. Leaving Congress to serve in the Army, his health failing he returned to Charleston; and with his wife, Elizabeth Shubrick, sailed for France by way of the West Indies in 1779, soon after the date of the ac-companying relic, but the vessel was lost at sea. His pa-pers were burned in the destruction of General Hamilton's house, many years ago; and his writings are excessively rare, being, with the exception of Reverend Doctor Sprague's letter, signatures cut from books in the hands of his fam-ily, and a few others in the Apprentices' Library (since burned); and even these have been largely counterfeited. It would be desirable for collectors of the signers to first secure their Lynch and Gwinnett.

THIS INDENTURE made the thirtieth of day March in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Nine Between, Thomas Lynch of Charlestown in the State of South Carolina, Esquire and Elizabeth his wife of the One Part, and Martha Savage of the said Town and State Widow of the Other Part, Wit-nesseth that for and in Consideration of the Sum of Ten Thousand Pounds Lawful Current Money of the State aforesaid to the said Thomas Lynch by the said Martha Savage in hand well and truly Paid at and before the Sealing and Delivery of these Presents the receipt whereof the said Thomas Lynch doth hereby acknowledge and thereof and of and from every part and parcel thereof Acquits Exonerate and Discharge the said Martha Savage Her Heirs and Assigns, they the said Thomas Lynch and Elizabeth his wife Have Granted &c &c &c

THOMAS : Seal : LYNCH
ELIZABETH : Seal : LYNCH

* Congress, 1783-85.
† Letter in collection of Mr. F. J. Dreer.

[Endorsed]

Thomas Lynch } Release of an Undi-
to } vided third part of
Martha Savage } the Sugar House Lot

4.—*Arthur Middleton,*

Born at Middleton Place, South Carolina, in 1743; educated in England, at Hackney and Westminster Schools, and graduated at Cambridge, 1765. Afterwards he made two successive tours in Europe, and occupied himself in the pleasure of travel, until recalled to duty at home. His earliest appearance in public was as a signer of the Colonial paper-money. In 1775, he was appointed to the Committee of Safety in his State; in 1776, on a committee to propose a Government for the State; and the same year a delegate to the Continental Congress, in which he continued until 1777. He was elected Governor in 1778, but declined the position, preferring the humbler one of member of the State Legislature. His picturesque portrait, with the falling linen collar, after the school of Van Dyke, is better calculated to represent the youthful tourist than the more mature statesman. His writings are very scarce. He died on the first of January, 1787, aged forty-five years. It is a singular fact, perhaps influenced by the effects of the climate, that the writings of all the Signers of the extreme Southern States, are among the most rare.

July 25th 1782

SIR:

At Sight pay to Mr Josiah Smith on acco^t
of the State of S^c Carolina Five Hundred Dollars

Yrs &c

* J RUTLEDGE

† DAVID RAMSLAY
A MIDDLETON

To

JOHN ROSS Esq^r
Philad^a

NHL.—GEORGIA.

1.—*Lyman Hall,*

Born in Connecticut, in 1751, entered Yale College at eighteen, and after taking his degree, studied medicine. On their completion, in 1753, he removed to South Carolina, but the same year located in Georgia, and entered upon a successful practice. He for some time stood almost alone in his advocacy of resistance, and is said to have been the means of bringing over Button Gwinnett, his future colleague, to the popular cause. He was finally elected a delegate to the Continental Congress from his own parish of St. John, the great body of the people refusing to elect delegates, and although thus informally elected, was received by a unanimous vote, and became a prominent member. He continued in Congress with small interruption until 1783, when he was elected Governor. He died in 1791. His letters are rarely met with, although some fine specimens exist, such as those in the collections of Reverend Doctor Sprague and Doctor Emmet.

GEORGIA. *THIS INDENTURE* made the Eleventh Day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety Between Lyman Hall of the County of Chatham in the State of Georgia, Esquire of the one part and Raymond Demere † of the same place

Esquire, of the other part. Witness-
eth &c &c &c &c

In witness Whereof the said parties to
there Presents have interchangeably,
set their bonds and seals on the day
and year forth above written

* LYMAN : seal : HALL

2.—*Button Gwinnett,*

Born in England, in 1732. He emigrated from Bristol, in 1770, to South Carolina, and two years after settled in Georgia. Through the influence of Doctor Hall, it is said, he became an advocate of the Colonies. He served in the Colonial Congresses of 1775 and 1776. In 1777, he was an active member of the Convention to form a State Constitution, largely suggested its provisions and succeeded Mr. Bullock as its President. Not satisfied with these rapidly successive honors, he aspired to be a Continental Brigadier, and being defeated by General Lachlan McIntosh, he challenged his competitor; a duel ensued, in which both were wounded, Gwinnett mortally, dying at the age of forty-five. Any writing of his is excessively rare; and with that of Lynch, is the wanting link of many collections. The accompanying specimen was sent to a collector by Mr. J. K. Tefft over thirty years ago, with the assurance that it ought to secure for him all the (many) specimens he then lacked. Gwinnett resided on an estate, called the Barony, on St. Catherine's Island, where, in an old trunk in the garret, a cancelled mortgage was recently found, by a gentleman, for many years the owner of the estate, which he reluctantly presented to Doctor Emmet, and which is the only specimen that has been discovered, after years of diligent search.

BUTTON GWINNETT	Princ ^l of Board	500
v	Int ^l from 15 th May	
STEPHEN DRAYTON	1772 to 1 st March	
	1774	71.13.4
		£ 571.13.4
	Exch ^a 8 p ^t Ct	45.15
		£ 617.8.4

Rec^d the above sum in full16th March 1774

BUTTON GWINNETT

Cash. 265.1.2
pd Delegal 309.6.3
My acct ag^t
B Gwinnett 43.0.11

617.8.4

3.—*George Walton,*

Born in Frederick-county, Virginia, in 1740. From a carpenter's apprentice, seeking knowledge in hours stolen from sleep, by the light of a pine knot, he acquired an eminent position in the Georgia bar and on the bench. In 1775, he was a signer of paper-money, issued by the Provincial Congress, payable "three years after reconciliation between Great Britain and America," and probably expected with others their redemption at maturity. An active member of the Congress of 1776, after serving on important Committees, he returned to Georgia, to take command of his regiment of State Troops, and was taken prisoner at the defeat of General Robert Howe and capture of Savannah by Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, supported by the

* Congress 1775-77; and Justice U. S.

† Congress 1782-84; and Historian.

‡ Aid to Lord Stirling.

* To be improved.

squadron of Admiral Hyde Parker, in December, 1778, after being wounded in the thigh, and was confined at Sunbury, a neighboring fortification, also captured, at the time of the writing of one of these letters. In 1779, he was elected Governor of Georgia, again, to Congress, in 1780; again Governor; and, in 1795, Senator in Congress. He died Chief Justice of Georgia, on the second of February, 1804. His son was Lieutenant-governor of Florida, and with his daughter, Madame Le Vert, resided often in this city.

Mrs GIBBONS' 5th Aug^s 1773

D^r Sir

An indisposition will prevent my riding to Town till Evening, therefore cannot attend the adjournment of to day. I must beg the favour of your making an excuse to the Court for me and that you will let the arguing the matter between Mangan, & Warren respecting the costs remain over until the next adjournment. The Demurrer in the cause of Bugg & Bugg I suppose cannot be argued to day as the same does not appear to be set down for it; without this I could wish it was postponed.

I am D^r Sir

Your very hble Serv^t

GEO WALTON

[Addressed]

To

JOHN HOUSTOUN, * Esqr.
SAVANNAH.

DEAR SIR

Having been Sometime in Confinement and beginning to feel its consequences in the narrowness of my circumstances I am constrained to make application which, in any other predicament would have been deferred. Being used to live in character and the dear girl with me, the prospects of suffering a shade upon my happiness (impels me).

The fee which Mr. Hawley and myself were wont to receive, at the time I was engaged by Mrs. Young, was five hundred pounds, to be paid at the Commencement of the business, and the like Sum at its fortunate Conclusion. I received of Mrs. Young in earnest forty Dollars, with her repeated declaration of being without money to advance in the stile we were accustomed to demand; and being engaged for her as much from a principle of friendship as from a motive of duty, I as often requested her not to give herself any unnecessary trouble in procuring the fee for me, but advised that it might be paid to Mr. Hawley. Weather it was done or not you have it very much in your power to know. It may possibly appear to you unjust to be called upon to pay the wages for a service yet unaccomplished, and you know the change in Government puts it without my power but I do not think probable that with you it can wear such an appearance, if you

will consider That fees given for similar purposes were not only actually advanced but increased in the progress of the business. That I did everything in my power to render effectual and essential Service. That the cause of my present incapacity arises not from myself, and that that incapacity may soon be done away in the course of very ordinary events At any rate I am justly entitled to a reasonable Compensation, and an equivalent to the then usual retainer. I think in truth just. I have been informed, that since the re establishment of the King of Great Britians Authority in Georgia seventy five pounds in specie have been paid in satisfaction of a note of Five Hundred pounds in the Georgia paper currency, however let this rest with yourself and I must confess that situated as I am a less sum than the equivalent I have mentioned would be more serviceable to me than the currency, tho I do not consider myself to have any right to refuse what is offered to me

I would have you consider that at the same time I make the application in the nature of a demand I do not mean to keep its payment contrary to your judgement or inclination

Dear Sir I am with great regard your

Most Obedt Serv^t

GEO WALTON

THOMAS YOUNG Esquire

BELARE ISLAND

fav'd by

Mr Howell

Also a Provincial note for £ 5 signed in 1775, & a small document, signed as Chief-Justice.

IV.—ADDENDA.

I.—NEW HAMPSHIRE.

A.—Matthew Thornton.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE Septem^r 26th 1776. To Nicholas Gilman Esq^r R. G. pursuant to a vote of Council & Assembly pay Nath^l Balch, Simeon Dearborn & David Copp Two pounds four shillings

M THORNTON.

Pres. P. T.

for going to Middlton by order of Court.

II.—MASSACHUSETTS.

1.—John Hancock.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE & GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Yesterday afternoon the Secretary laid before me a Bill which had pass'd the Two Branches of the General Court appointing a time & place for holding the Supreme Judicial Court in the County of Suffolk. The Bill Determines that

* Congress of 1775-77.

the said Court shall be held at Botson on the third Tuesday of Febr^y instead being this Day, and Confines the said Court to one Session only in the year, at least no futher provision is made by the Bill—I confess myself at a Loss for the Reasons that operated to induce the passing the Bill, & wish to be ascertain'd of the necessity of the Bill, which I flatter myself the General Court will indulge me with when I will immediately Sign the Bill.

J. H.

Council Chamber

Boston 18 Febr^y 1783.

V—FINIS.

By His Excellency

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq ;

*General and Commander in Chief of the Forces of the United States of America.**These are to Certify that the Bearer hereof*

PHILIP LARWAY, Soldier

in the Seventh Mass'tts Regiment, having faith fully served the United States Four Years and ———Months and being enlisted *for the War only*, is hereby Discharged from the American Army

Given at Head Quarters the 9th of June 1783

(signed) Go WASHINGTON

By His Excellency's
command(signed) J TRUMBULL Jun^r Sy*Registered in the Book-*
of the Regiment

(signed) JONA HASCALL Adjutant

HEAD QUARTERS June the 9th 1783

The within Certificate shall not avail the Bearer as a Discharge, until the Ratification of the definitive Treaty of Peace; previous to which time, and until Proclamation thereof shall be made, he is to be considered as being on Furlough

GEORGE WASHINGTON

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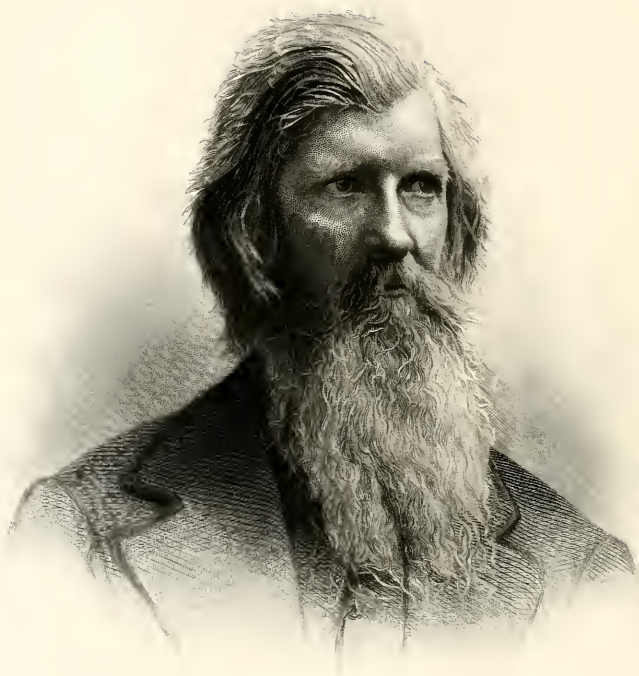
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Henry B. Dawson

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. IV. SECOND SERIES.]

DECEMBER, 1868.

[No. 6.]

General Department.

TO THE READER.

The articles in this number have all been furnished by contributors to the first fourteen numbers of the Magazine, from January, 1857, to February, 1858, inclusive, comprising the first volume and two numbers of the second, which portion of the work was edited by me. Had all the correspondents to the work while it was under my editorial charge, now living, more than one hundred in number, responded to my call for contributions from them, with the same liberality that these have done, a volume would have been needed to print their favors.

My list of contributors to the work while edited by me, numbers one hundred and thirty-six, besides whom there were five or six whose names I never knew. Of the known contributors, I have heard of the death of the following twenty-three who died previous to December, 1868, the date which this number bears, namely :

Rev. William Allen, D. D., of Northampton, Massachusetts.
 Sylvester Bliss, Esq., of Roxbury, Massachusetts.
 Henry Bond, M. D., of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
 Joshua Coffin, Esq., of Newbury, Massachusetts.
 Neville B. Craig, Esq., of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
 Hon. William Darlington, M. D. LL. D. of West Chester, Pa.
 Hon. Edward Everett, LL. D., of Boston, Massachusetts.
 Rev. Henry Jackson, D. D., of Newport, Rhode Island.
 Samuel Jennison, Esq., of Worcester, Massachusetts.
 Rev. Charles Lowell, D. D., of Cambridge, Massachusetts.
 Rev. John M. Peck, D. D., of Rock Spring, Illinois.
 Usher Parsons, M. D., of Providence, Rhode Island.
 Col. Chandler E. Potter, of Hillsborough, New Hampshire.
 Hon. John Reynolds, of Belleville, Illinois.
 Henry R. Schoolcraft, LL. D., of Washington, D. C.
 Jared Sparks, LL. D., of Cambridge, Massachusetts.
 S. F. Streeter, Esq., of Baltimore, Maryland.
 Gen. William H. Sumner, of Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts.
 Col. Samuel Swett of Boston, Massachusetts.
 Israel K. Tefft, Esq., of Savannah, Georgia.
 Capt. Robert Townsend, of Albany, New York.
 Prof. W. W. Turner, of Washington, D. C.
 Plowden C. J. Weston, Esq., of Hagley, South Carolina.

Among them are some of the most constant and valued correspondents to the Magazine and some of its most active friends.

To the contributors to this number my heartfelt thanks are tendered for their prompt response to my call for literary aid. I would also present my

HIST. MAG. VOL. IV. 17.

thanks to other old contributors who have written to me cordial and commendatory letters, though unable to furnish articles for the Magazine. The letters which I have received, both from those who have contributed on this occasion and those who have not, have revived old associations and awakened memories, which, though some are tinged with sadness, are yet on the whole pleasant and cheering.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

Boston, Massachusetts.

A MEMOIR OF HENRY B. DAWSON, ESQUIRE.

BY JOHN WARD DEAN.

The readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, who have partaken of the intellectual banquet which Mr. Dawson for many years has spread for them, have felt, no doubt, a curiosity to know something further concerning his personal and literary history, and a desire to trace the steps by which he has attained his present rank as an historical writer. A memoir of one who has done so much to give character to the Magazine, should have a place in its pages. It is not probable, however, that Mr. Dawson, himself, would admit a sketch of his life into a number over which he has the editorial control, and therefore I embrace, with pleasure, the opportunity now afforded me to lay before the patrons of the Magazine a few of the leading events in his life.

Henry Barton Dawson is the son of Abraham and Mary (Barton) Dawson, and was born at Gosherton in Lincolnshire, about ten miles South-west of Boston, England, on Friday, the eighth of June, 1821. His father, Abraham Dawson, was born in July, 1795, at Wisbeach, in the neighboring county of Cambridge, where his grandfather, a Lincolnshire man, was then residing. His paternal grandmother was a Miss Culy, who belonged to a French Huguenotic family of that name then living on a farm called Guyhirn, near Wisbeach, which property they still occupy.

His mother, who died a few years since, was Mary Barton, second daughter of John Barton, a respectable farmer of Bicker, a parish five miles

north of Gosberton. She was married to his father Abraham Dawson, May 28, 1820. They had six children, of whom two only are now living.

The subject of this notice, their eldest child and only son, received his first instructions from a schoolmistress, who taught him more than all his other teachers, and made him, at an early age, a very forward scholar. He was next placed under the care of the village schoolmaster, a smart, but tippling, teacher. At nine years of age, he attended for a year the famous school of Mr. Moses of Donnington, four and a half miles distant, walking to school and returning daily. The last school he attended in his native country was kept by a pupil of Mr. Moses, an excellent man, by whom he was carried through practical surveying, and from whom he received other useful instruction.

When he was in his thirteenth year, in the spring of 1834, his parents left England with their family, and came to the United States, landing in New York City June 9, 1834. The chief reason which induced his father to emigrate was his dissatisfaction with the government in his native land. Soon after his arrival in this country, Abraham Dawson removed to Manhattanville, eight miles from New York, and commenced the life of a gardener, which occupation he still pursues at his present residence in Ithaca, New York. Henry attended the public schools in West 17th street, New York, and at Manhattanville, until the spring of 1836, except during the summer of 1835, when he was at work. In March, 1836, he left school in order to assist his father, who was then the Gardener at the Bloomingdale Lunatic Asylum in the upper part of the city. Before he left, the Trustees of the Public School Society had tendered him a scholarship in college, but the limited means of his father would not permit him to accept so desirable an offer.

He continued to work in the garden of the Asylum with his father until the fall of 1837, when the family removed to Ithaca, in the same State, with the intention of settling on a farm. His father, however, decided to resume his vocation as a gardener, in which employment Henry assisted him a short time. He then became an apprentice to a wheelwright, Mr. Ira Bower, and, soon after, a clerk in the book selling and publishing house of Messrs. Mack, Andrus & Woodruff, at Ithaca. In the winter of 1838-9, he left this firm, to become the confidential clerk of Judge Gere, a wealthy old gentleman of that town, who contemplated establishing a large lumber yard in New York. To that city he returned in April 1839, at a salary of only one hundred and twenty five dollars a year.

In this business he remained under successive employers over five years, till May 1844, when he was engaged by Messrs. Comstock & Co., No. 21 Cortland street, extensive dealers in patent medicines, as book-keeper. He also performed the du-

ties of cashier and corresponding clerk. He left this firm in June 1846 and became book-keeper for Messrs. Cumming, Main & Co., druggists, with whom he remained one year.

While with Messrs. Comstock & Co., he was forced into literature. Having loaned some money, in 1845, to the proprietor of *The Crystal Fount*, a weekly temperance and literary newspaper, he was obliged to take the printing office and paper in payment of his claim. For more than a year, besides attending to his duties as book keeper for his employers, he edited and published this paper, being obliged to devote his evenings to the latter employment. Finding this double duty too burdensome owing partly to failing health, he left Messrs. Cumming, Main & Co. in 1847 and devoted his whole time to his newspaper. He continued the publication several months longer, but in November 1847 was obliged to discontinue it, with the loss not only of his original loan, but also of all that he had been able to save from his earnings and invest in the enterprise.

The paper was the organ of the Order of the Rechabites. In conducting it Mr. Dawson's uncompromising spirit led him into difficulties with the principal officers of the order, whom he made his enemies by opposing such of their schemes as he did not approve; and their hostility was increased by the fact that he sometimes secured sufficient power among the private members to prevent these schemes from succeeding.

After giving up his printing office and newspaper, he accepted the agency of the International Art Union, and the following year that of the American Art Union, remaining with the latter until it was closed by the Supreme Court. Subsequently he was connected as an officer with the Wall street Ferry to Brooklyn, and successively with three different Insurance Companies in New York.

The failure of the last of these in 1856, left him without employment, and he accepted an offer by Messrs. Johnson, Fry & Co., publishers, to write a work for them on the military and naval history of this country. This was his first book, although he had before become known by *The Park and its Vicinity*, written for and published in the Manual of the Common Council of New York city for 1855; the *Life and Times of Anne Hutchinson*, written for the Baptist Historical Society, and *The Retreats through Westchester county* in 1776, written for the New York Historical Society.

The Battles of the United States by Sea and Land, for this is the title which he selected for his work, was published, as a serial, in forty numbers, the initial number having been issued in the autumn of 1858. The plan of this work is peculiar. The events of each battle are given in detail, fortified by copious references to authorities, after which

the author introduces the principal documents relating to the battle, and occasionally biographical sketches of the actors. Encouraged by the decided success which attended this work, he prepared to write a complete military history of the United States, but the war stopped the work, as it also did the progress of the *Life and Times of Governor Daniel D. Tompkins*, a book which he had undertaken at the request of the family.

While writing the *Battles*, he was led into a controversy, concerning the merits of Major General Israel Putnam, with Messrs. Griswold and Deming of Hartford, Connecticut, in the *Daily Post* of that city. The letters on both sides were afterwards collected in a sumptuous volume which has commanded prices as high as fifty dollars each.

In 1863, the first volume of his edition of *The Federalist* appeared. In this edition the original text of the work was restored and the unauthorized mutilations were rejected. Prefixed was an historical and bibliographical introduction, containing a review of the political condition of the State of New York in the year 1787, an account of the causes which led its authors to write the series of articles of which the work is composed, the names of the writers of the several articles and a list of the different editions which Mr. Dawson had found. This was the first of a projected series of historical works upon the Constitution of the United States, to be completed in seven octavo volumes, namely, *The Federalist*, two volumes; *The Anti-Federalist*, two volumes, which were to consist of contemporary articles written against the adoption of the Constitution; and a *History of the Constitution*, an original work by himself, three volumes. It is to be regretted that his other engagements have prevented him from completing an undertaking for which he has so many qualifications.

The publication of *The Federalist* was immediately followed by an attack on both the volume and its editor, from the pen of Hon. John Jay, a grandson of one of the authors of the original work and now the United States Minister to Austria, and by another from the pen of the venerable James A. Hamilton, a son of Alexander Hamilton, another of its authors. These articles were printed in the *New York Evening Post*, and created much excitement among the literati of New York. Mr. Dawson replied to each successively in a manner which showed a ready command of facts and satisfied his friends if not his opponents. I am informed that the literary correspondence between Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Dawson has since been resumed, and that their present relations are perfectly friendly.

The same year that he published "*The Federalist*," his work on *The Assault of Stony Point by Gen. Anthony Wayne*, appeared in an elegant volume, illustrated by maps and fac-similes. The germ of this work was a paper read, April 1, 1862,

before the New York Historical Society. It was also subsequently read before the New Jersey and Pennsylvania Historical Societies. In preparing it, he had the use of the correspondence and other family papers of Gen. Wayne himself.

In 1864, he reprinted in a volume the correspondence before noticed between John Jay and himself and James A. Hamilton and himself. This work made the first number of a projected series entitled *Current Fictions tested by Uncurrent Facts*.

In 1865, he published *The Diary of David How*, a soldier of the Revolution. This work, like all Mr. Dawson's publications, is annotated in an exhaustive manner. It was followed, the same year, by an edition of Dring's *Recollections of the Jersey Prison Ship*, which was originally published at Providence, R. I., in 1829; and was compiled from Mr. Dring's manuscripts by the late Albert Gorton Greene, well known in the literary world as a belles-lettres scholar and poet. Mr. Dawson enhanced the value of the work greatly by adding an elaborate appendix.

A new edition of *The Park and its Vicinity* has been printed, as No. I of his *Gleanings in the Harvest Field of American History*, but it has not yet been published. Several of the preceding works had been issued as numbers in this series, namely, the *Diary of How*, as No. IV; *Putnam Correspondence*, as No. V; and *Stoney Point* as No. XI. This series is elegantly printed, in uniform style, royal octavo, and the editions are all limited.

Mr. Dawson was invited, in the spring of 1865, to take the editorial charge of *The Gazette*, a Democratic newspaper, published weekly at Yonkers, N. Y., which invitation he accepted, entering upon the duties of his office with an ardor that gave a new character to the publication. In conducting it, he proved himself an able critic and a keen controversialist. His first number appeared May 6, 1865, and his last March 31, 1866.

Four volumes of selections from the more important articles in this paper have been printed under the general title of *The Gazette Series*. The titles of the several volumes are: Vol. I. *Papers concerning the Capture and Detention of Major John Andre*. Collected by Henry B. Dawson, Yonkers, N. Y. 1866; Vol. II. *Papers concerning the Boundary between the States of New York and New Jersey*. Written by several hands. Yonkers, 1865; Vol. III. *Papers concerning the Town and Village of Yonkers, Westchester County*. A Fragment, By Henry B. Dawson, Yonkers, 1866; Vol. IV. *Rambles in Westchester County*. A Fragment, By Henry B. Dawson, Yonkers, 1866. The "several hands" who wrote the articles in Volume II are Gen. John Cochrane, Attorney General of New York; Hon. J. Romeyn Brodhead, two articles; William A. Whitehead, Esq. of Newark; in reply to the last; Mr. Dawson himself, who in,

tended here to act the part of an umpire between the parties; Mr. Whitehead in reply to Mr. Dawson: Mr. Dawson in response to Mr. Whitehead, and the Attorney General of New York in closing the argument. The controversy ends with a Postscript by Mr. Dawson. This volume was subsequently printed for the use of the United States Court, in one of the boundary suits; and the arguments and evidence which Mr. Dawson presented in his articles are said to have influenced Judge Nelson in his determining the case for New York. The Andre volume is probably the most perfect Andreana in print. This series of volumes has been sold at one hundred dollars for the set, the edition being very small, only twenty-five copies having been printed.

A month or two after he had dissolved his connection with *The Gazette*, he bought *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, of which he became the editor and publisher. The first number issued by him was that for July 1866. Ten volumes having been completed with the close of that year, he began, in January 1867, a new and enlarged series of the work, giving double the number of pages and making two volumes in a year. It is needless to inform the reader of this periodical how he has done his work in editing it, or to enumerate in these pages the valuable papers which he has contributed to it.

The *Manual of the New York Common Council*, which had gained a high reputation under the editorship of the late David T. Valentine, Esq., the popular clerk of the Common Council, passed, in the year 1868, into the editorial care of the new clerk, Joseph Shannon, Esq., and his able deputy, F. J. Twomey, Esq. The *Manual* this year began to be issued in an enlarged and improved form. Mr. Dawson was invited to furnish the historical material, which he did, adding some new features to the work. The Charter was collated by him critically, with the ancient parchments, and was first printed accurately here. Mr. Dawson also furnished an elaborate paper on the Battle of Harlem Heights and the death of Col. Knowlton.

I understand that the State authorities of New York have recently employed him to examine and report on the boundaries of that State on the lines of New Jersey, Massachusetts and Connecticut; and, also, that the Vestry of Trinity Church, New York, has manifested its sense of his ability by inviting him to become the historian of that venerable and celebrated parish.

Mr. Dawson's correspondents include most of the historians and many of the prominent public men—military and civil—in the country. He has been elected a resident member by the New York Historical Society, the American Institute, and the American Geographical and Statistical Society; an honorary member by the Minnesota Historical Society; and a corresponding member by the Mas-

sachusetts, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Wisconsin, and Long Island Historical Societies; and also by the American Statistical Association and the Albany Institute.

He has gathered one of the best working libraries on American history, in private hands, in his State. But he has not been contented with merely collecting and possessing these books, for he has made their contents his own to an extent in which few owners of libraries can equal him. The knowledge which he possesses of the history of our country is wonderful for its comprehensiveness, minuteness and variety. The extent of his information upon this subject and the enthusiasm and perseverance which he carries into new fields of historical research render him a formidable opponent in the many controversies in which he has been engaged. For this kind of literature his talents admirably fit him, as he wields a vigorous pen and is ingenious and skilful in the use of arguments. Many of his controversies have been carried on in the pages of the Magazine and are familiar to its readers. In them he shows himself a remorseless iconoclast, dealing his blows with reckless directness, not heeding the consequences to himself or others. Sometimes he does injustice to those whose convictions are as clear and honest as his own and who are equally "unawed by influence and unbribed by gain."

He was brought up a Baptist of the old school, and is a resolute and uncompromising Calvinist in his religious views. In politics he was originally a Democrat and voted for Polk for President, at the election in 1844. He attached himself to that wing of the party nicknamed the "Barnburners," which in 1848 assisted in forming the Free Soil party. During the Presidential canvass that year he was a member of the New York City Committee of that party, and in 1849 was on the "General Committee" of the city—what is known as "the old men's committee"—of which S. J. Tilden, B. F. Butler, Ex-Attorney General of the United States, Wilson G. Hunt, George H. Purser, Mark Spencer, Anthony J. Bleecker, John Van Buren and other well known politicians were members. He adhered to the Free Soil party and its successor, the Republican party, till the late rebellion, voting for Van Buren in 1848, Hale and Julian in 1852, Fremont in 1856, and Lincoln in 1860. Since the close of the war he has acted with the Democratic party so far as he has taken sides in politics—which is very little indeed—and in 1868 voted for Seymour as President, though he did not prefer him as the candidate, nor approve of all the principles of the party which supported him. He is an old-fashioned "States-Rights Democrat," and still adheres to the principles set forth by the "Barnburner" party. He is a rigid opponent of a centralized power, either at Albany or Washington.

In 1869, Mr. Dawson gained additional reputation by the bold stand which he took in resisting the unjust demands of the Bricklayers' Benevolent Protective Union of Morrisania, a trades' union, which had prevented one of his sons, William M. Dawson, from learning the bricklayer's trade in that town, except on certain unreasonable terms prescribed by the Union. That association having succeeded in forcing his employer to discharge his son, Mr. Dawson brought a suit at law against three members of the Union, and gained his case, obtaining a judgment against them for the loss of his son's services occasioned by their interference; but he could not induce the association to change its action. He then brought a criminal suit against several of the men, including some who had taken no direct part in the affair: and all of them, except one whose connection with the society was not proved, were found guilty and sentenced as conspirators to interrupt trade. In instituting these proceedings, Mr. Dawson was actuated merely by a desire to sustain what he considered to be his right as a citizen to enter into and fulfil a contract with one of his neighbors, without the interference of these associations: for his son, at the time, was apprenticed in New York city and was then at work there. The cases have been appealed: but Mr. Dawson is prosecuting them, having retained Ex-Attorney General Chaffield to conduct the cases.

He was married May 28, 1845, to Catharine, daughter of Abraham D. and Esther (Whelpley) Martling of Tarrytown, Westchester county, N. Y.,—one of the most ancient families of the county. They have had nine children, namely, 1, *Spencer H. C.*, born May 11, 1846; 2, *Henry B. Jr.*, born Dec. 19, 1847; 3, *William Martling*, born Aug. 27, 1849; 4, *Stephen Van Rensselaer*, born Sept. 21, 1851; 5, *George Cooley*, born Sept. 25, 1853; 6, *Mary Dawson*, born June 17, 1855; 7, *Catharine Martling*, born April 9, 1859; 8, *Esther Martling*, born July 17, 1861, died March 16, 1865; and 9, *Caroline Dutcher*, born Aug. 31, 1863. They have also an adopted daughter, *Anna Augusta*, born Oct. 30, 1851.

THE AUTHOR OF THE BALLAD ENTITLED "ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT."

By E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, LL. D.

An enquiry is made in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE volume II. page 312, as to the author of the Ballad with the above title, printed in *Stone's Life of Brant*, Volume ii. Appendix vii.

I have before me part of a Tract, the running title of which is, "Narrative of Matthew Bunn." Appended to this "Narrative" is the following

"AFFIDAVIT.

"STATE OF NEW YORK, }
"Erie County, }^{ss.}

"I, MATTHEW BUNN, the author of
"the above Narrative, am duly sworn, and testify,
"that the above Narrative is a true statement of
"the life and adventures of the above named Mat-
"thew Bunn, and that I am the identical person
"above named in this book, and who subscribes his
"hand and name hereto.

"MATTHEW BUNN.

"Sworn and subscribed before me, this thirtieth
"day of October, 1826.

"MILLARD FILLMORE

"Com'r &c. for Erie County."

The authenticity of the "Narrative" being thus established, it remains to ascertain who the author was? Unfortunately, the first part of "Narrative" is wanting in the copy at hand, and as we have no *Vite Virorum Obscurorum*, this point is left to others to elucidate. In his ballad annexed to his "Narrative," a correct copy of which is subjoined, he says,

"To Captain Bradford I belong, of the artillery."

Captain Bradford having been killed in the disastrous battle of the fourth November, Bunn was taken prisoner by the Indians: escaped from Maumee-town to George Girty, but hearing that the latter intended to send him back, he contrived again to escape, and after much suffering, arrived at Detroit, then in possession of the English, April thirtieth, 1792. Here "scalps of men, women and children," with various plunder, were brought in by Indians, in exchange for which they received rewards of money, arms, ammunition and ardent spirits. By some of these Indians, Bunn was recognized, claimed and surrendered, but was afterwards ransomed by one Thomas Smith, an Indian trader in the neighborhood, for 120 dollars, which he agreed to discharge by his labor. He worked for Smith two years, when about Christmas, being engaged at raising a barn for a farmer, about thirty miles from Detroit, the men employed at the work had a "frolic" in the evening. "One of my country-men," says Bunn, "drank a health to the King, and damnation to Washington," in order to demonstrate his loyalty. Thereupon Bunn felt insulted, and in retaliation, "drank a health to Washington and damnation to the King." Not content with this demonstration of patriotism, he "damned the King and all the Royal family, and all such fellows as took their part." He was afterwards arrested for High Treason, put in irons and thrown into prison. After a confinement of ten weeks, he was arraigned, but it being established that he had not taken the oath of allegiance, he was sentenced to be banished. He was then sent to Niagara;

aken before the Governor; subjected to a close examination, and by him ordered to Quebec, then to be put on board a ship of war! Whilst in confinement, he was visited by captain David Shanks of the Queen's rangers, who proposed to Bunn to enlist. After weighing the chances of desertion, he agreed, and enlisted in the above corps, June fourth, 1794. He was next sent one hundred and twenty miles "round the lake." There he made an attempt to desert, but after several days journey was arrested, and put into a boat with other prisoners, to be conveyed back to the regiment. During the voyage, the prisoners, with Bunn, attempted to overpower the crew, but their design having been frustrated, they were taken to headquarters, more dead than alive, and transferred to Niagara; court martialled and sentenced to receive one thousand lashes. In vain Bunn pleaded that he was an American citizen; that his enlistment was not voluntary. He was tied up; received five hundred lashes and then sent to the hospital, with a promise to receive the balance of the punishment at a future day. About three months after this, his regiment was ordered to Toronto, to which place Bunn also was sent, "although his back was so sore that he could bare only a shirt and blanket on his shoulders." In about four months after receiving the first punishment, he was again conducted to the triangle, but to his great relief, the officer on duty presented him a pardon from the Governor, and ordered him to join his regiment. A few weeks after this, Captain Shanks, of whom he speaks very highly, sent him off, with another soldier, a native of old Hartford, to clear land in the neighborhood. Having worked some time they both agreed to desert. They started on the twenty-seventh of April and succeeded, after encountering many hardships, in getting to the head of Lake Ontario, thence traveled to the Niagara river, where they seized a boat belonging to "one Captain Powell," and arrived at the Genessee river on the seventh of May 1795. After working here among the hospitable settlers during the summer, he went to Rehoboth where he arrived on the first of October, 1795. It would appear from this that he had connexions in, or originally came from Rhode Island.

We lose sight of him now, for the next thirty years, when being, it is presumed, an old man, he turns up in Buffalo and publishes his "Narrative."

On comparing the Ballad as originally printed, with that given by Colonel Stone, it is evident that the latter was taken down from memory. Many of the words are altered; several of the verses are broken up, part of one being tacked to another; interpolations and alterations occur in various places, and, finally, no less than seven verses are wholly omitted in the ballad as printed in the *Life of Brant*.

Leaving these discrepancies to the further scrutiny of the readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we append a correct copy of the ballad as it appeared in 1826, to which we have subjoined a few notes respecting some of the brave officers who fell on the disastrous fourth of November 1791, and whose names the poet, from most laudable motives, wished to immortalize.

PATRIOTIC SONG.

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT. BY M. BUNN.

November the fourth, in the year ninety-one,
We had a sore engagement near to Fort Jefferson;¹
St. Clair was our Commander, which may be remembered be,
Since we have lost nine hundred men in the western territory.

At Lexington and Quebec, where many a hero fell,
And likewise at Long Island, as I the truth can tell,
For such a horrid carnage my eyes they never see,
As happened on the plains near the river St. Mary.

Our militia were attacked just as the day did break,
But soon were overpowered and forced to retreat;
Then they killed Captain Oldham,² Lament and Briggs³ likewise,
Such horrid shouts of savages that sounded thro' the skies.

Young Major Butler⁴ was wounded the very second fire,
Whose many breast did swell with rage, and forced to retire,
Like one distracted he appeared, and thus exclaimed he,
"Those fiends of hell shall win the field, or revenged I will be."

We had not long engaged when General Butler fell,⁵
He cries, "my boys, I am wounded, pray take me off the field;"
"My God!" he cries, "what shall we do, we're murdered every
man;

"Go charge, my valiant heroes, and beat them—if you can."

He turned his back against a tree and then resigned his breath,
And like a valiant hero, sunk in the arms of death;
Then thousand seraphs did await, his spirit to convey,
And through the bright ethereal they swiftly bent their way.

We made a charge, and gained the ground which did our fears
abate,

But soon were overpowered and forced to retreat.
They took from us our cannon, which grieved our hearts full sore,
Such horrid shouts of triumph, like hell-hounds they did roar.

We made a charge and gained our guns, we fought like hearts of
steel,

Till many a brave American lay slaughtered o'er the field.
Then they killed Major Ferguson,⁶ which caused his men to cry,
Don't be dismayed, says Captain Ford,⁷ we'll fight untill we die.

1. Fort Jefferson stood about six miles south of Greenville, Darke County, Ohio.

2. William Oldham, served in the Revolutionary War; was Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Kentucky regiment of militia in this engagement.

3. Officers of militia.

4. Thomas Butler was born in Pennsylvania in 1754; was Captain in Revolutionary War; Major commanding the Carlisle battalion in Gibson's regiment of levies and twice wounded in this battle; appointed Major fourth sublegion, April eleventh, 1792; Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, July first, 1794; in the fourth Infantry, November 1796; Colonel second Infantry, 1802; died September seventh, 1805.

5. Brother of the last named. A biographical notice of him is in *Allen's Biog. Dict.*

6. William Ferguson of Pennsylvania was appointed Captain of United States Artillery, September twenty-ninth, 1789; Major Commandant, March fourth, 1791.

7. Mahlon Ford of New Jersey, was commissioned Lieutenant of Artillery, September twenty ninth 1789; Captain, March 1791; thrice severely wounded in this engagement; Major first Artillery, May seventh, 1793; discharged, June first, 1802. Died at Columbus, Ohio, June twelfth, 1824.

These words he had scarcely uttered, when he received a ball, And likewise our Lieutenant Spear⁸ down by his side did fall; Stand to your guns, says gallant Fort, for I am not yet slain, I will lay me down and bleed awhile, and rise and fight again.

Says Major Gibson⁹ to his men, my boys be not dismayed, I am sure the Pennsylvanians they never were afraid, Ten thousand deaths I'd rather die, than they should win the field, Soon he received a fatal ball, which caused him for to yield.

Our cannon balls were all soon spent, our artillery men were slain, Our musketry and riflemen a firing did sustain, Three hours or more we fought them there, and then forced to yield, Whilst three hundred bloody warriors stood hovering round the field.

Says Major Clark,¹⁰ my heroes bold we can no longer stand, Therefore we will form in order the best way we can, The word retreat sounded around, which raised a hue and cry, Then helter skelter through the woods, like lost sheep we did fly.

We left our wounded on the field, O heavens! what a stroke, Some of their thighs were shattered, and some their arms were broke; With tomakawks and scalping knives, they robbed them of their breath, In fiery flames of torment they tortured them to death.

To mention my brave officers is what I mean to do, No sons of mars ne'er fought more bold, or with more courage true; To Captain Bradford¹¹ I belong, of the artillery, He fell that day among the slain, and a gallant man was he.

There is Kelly and young Anderson,¹² whose names shall be revered, They fought like brave Americans, but death was their reward, Full twenty paces in the front they of their men did go, Their enemy did mark them out and proved their overthrow.

There is Purdy¹³ and young Bates, subalterns of great power, So boldly they led on their men, three quarters of an hour, Till they were slain upon the field, like saints resigned were they, There Bates smiling said, fight on, while bleeding thus he lay.

Young Major Dark¹⁴ received a ball close by his father's side, These feeble hands shall be revenged on my son's death, he cried, He quickly drew his sword in hand, and through the ranks he flew, And like a brave Virginian, the savage there he slew.

Of all the men that fell that day, young Major Hart was best; One pleasing consolation, his soul has gone to rest, No blooming chief was there to frown, alas his glass is run, He has gone to future happiness, and dwells beyond the sun.

8 Edward Spear of Pennsylvania was commissioned Lieutenant of Artillery, September twenty ninth, 1789; Adjutant, July 1791.

9 George Gibson of Pennsylvania commanded a Virginia regiment in the Revolutionary Army; Lieutenant Colonel Commandant second regiment Pennsylvania and New Jersey levies of 1791, and of Butler's, Patterson's and Clark's battalions under St. Clair; was mortally wounded in this battle and died at Fort Jefferson, December eleventh, 1791.

10 John Clark of Pennsylvania Major commanding battalion of levies from Pittsburg in Gibson's regiment, November 1791; Major third sublegion, April eleventh, 1792; Lieutenant Colonel Commandant fourth sublegion, February twenty-first, 1793; resigned, July first, 1794.

11 James Bradford of New York, was commissioned Captain of Artillery, September twenty-ninth, 1789.

12 Inseele Anderson of Pennsylvania Adjutant of Gibson's regiment.

13 Hugh Purdy, ensign in Butler's battalion Pennsylvania levies.

14 Joseph Darke, son of Lieutenant Colonel William Darke of Virginia; Captain in Bedinger's battalion of levies; mortally wounded.

The day before our battle fifteen hundred men we had, But our old gouty General had used us very bad, He whipt and hung, and starved his men, in barbarous cruelty, Thus negro like he did behave, on the western territory.

Come all ye brave Americans, lament the loss with me, It was by bad management, as you may plainly see, This is the ending of my song, excuse me if you please, St. Clair's defeat it may be called, so praise it at your ease.

COLONEL JOHN ALLAN AND HIS OPERATIONS IN MAINE AND NOVA SCOTIA, IN THE REVOLUTION.

COMMUNICATED BY FREDERIC KIDDER, ESQUIRE.

In 1867, I prepared a volume, under the title of *Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the Revolution*, which was published by Joel Munsell, at Albany, New York. It consisted mainly of documents relative to the military operations in that part of the country, in which the four tribes of Indians were largely interested. Prefixed was a memoir of Colonel John Allan, the agent of the American Government. Since the book was printed, several important documents relating to the same subject have come into my hands. One of these is a proclamation issued by Colonel Allan, at Machias, June twenty-third, 1779. In it he sets forth the condition of that part of the country, and the efforts then making by the British and their adherents to win over the inhabitants to acknowledge that power and to induce them to give their allegiance to it. Colonel Allan warns them against these emissaries of England, and encourages them to adhere firmly to their country, which, he assures them, will soon achieve its independence and become a power in the world.

Another of these documents is the following, which is in the handwriting of Colonel Allan. It is probably the only record of this conference with the Indian tribes mentioned, over which Colonel Allan as Superintendent had control.

Should any reader of this article wish to know more about the part taken by the Indians of Maine and Nova Scotia in the Revolution, and also concerning the valuable services rendered by Colonel Allan and his associates, under the most discouraging and trying circumstances, they are referred to the volume before mentioned. It contains much recently discovered and important matter upon the history of the Revolution.

MECHIAS INDIAN EASTERN DEPARTMENT.

Thursday Aug. 25 1779. Memorandum of a conference with the Indians, some of the Tribe of Mewisheete, Pasamaquoddy & Penobscot & the Sup^r Ind^s.

Speech by Col^d Allan.

Brothers, my Head & Heart are so Unsettled that I cannot at present hold that Conference with you I intended, there have happened several mat-

ters that have Grieved me to the Heart. But I salute all my Brothers who have accompanied me towards Penobscot. In token of the sincerity of the few words I am going to speak, I deliver the Wampum. I would have spoke with you Before, but your frolicking & drinking have prevented.

You, the Merisheets, some of the Mickmacks & Penobscots, have been with me some time. are sensible of what I have done for them, How I have at all times kept them out of danger. I am not here to Settle Business in behalf of the States only, But in Behalf of you as one of you—by adoption, to see every Justice done you & I can say was I called this day before the Great Searcher of Hearts, I am Conscious there Cannot be any thing Laid to my Charge of Injustice to you. I have Impartially & Equally distributed among you such necessarys as I had for you. I hope it has given satisfaction. Those that are not contented may be assured of every thing in reason. I am pleased that you should disperse for the Convenience of Hunting, but I pray those that have a mind to Go at a distance to tarry with me, as they have done to this day; dont Go out of Call. I am going to Build a Little Church for your Convenience. Dont give heed to the difficultys that have arisen Between the priest & another French Brother, the Latter I am determined to send away that an End may be put to their dispute by their Separation.

I have Much to say to you but the Time will not permit. But this you must observe, I am Commanding officer here, I cannot leave this post till I hear some news. I am determined to Go to St. Johns soon. I will Certainly see Pierre Tomma with my Eyes, but I cannot at present. I shall send the Expresses back directly with Strings of Wampum & Instructions. I conclude with Exhorting you to be true, Just & Sincere in Your dealings & Connections with the Americans; & in their Behalf, I promise every Reasonable Satisfaction. I will not Encroach on your time or Exhaust your Patience, but I desire you not to Separate at this dark & Gloomy day when a Cloud of difficulty Hangs over Us, but will, I hope, soon Blow over; & Salute You all & wish you every happiness. Adieu.

During the Conference they Gave Great Testimony of Satisfaction & approbation of what was said & the undermentioned was Returned in Answer in behalf of the whole:—

Ambrose. Brother, these men, a few of them, are Going to the Lakes to Carry on the Elle fishery. I shall with the Others Camp at the Eastern River one Week & if no News Arrives in that time, we'll go a little further. This is all we have to say. We are unanimous in Saluting & wishing you all Happiness. But remember our Widows & their Orphans.

Memo. The Young men required Leave to distress the Inhabitants of Passamaquoddy, particu-

larly Curry—were very Solicitous for the permission of their Super Intendant.

THE CAPTURE OF PAULUS HOOK, IN 1779.

By SAMUEL A. GREEN, M. D., BOSTON.

Accuracy in small things is of much importance, and particularly in the statement of historical facts. If one is exact in trivial matters, he is usually so in important ones. We are led to utter this truth, so simple that it would seem not to require utterance, by finding great discrepancy* among different writers in fixing the date of the assault on the British garrison at Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, in the summer of 1779.

Gordon, in his *History of the United States*, third American edition, New York, 1801, ii, 448, says that Major Lee "very early in the morning" [July nineteenth] before day-light, completely "surprised the post" of Paulus Hook,—giving the date in brackets.

In the *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, Philadelphia, 1847, ii, 125, edited by his grandson, an allusion is made to "Henry Lee's gallant surprise of that post [Paulus Hook] on the nineteenth of July, thus described in a contemporary letter, never before published, from a Maryland officer." Then follows this letter, from Captain Levin Handy to George Handy:

"PARAMUS, 22d July, 1779."

"DEAR GEORGE:

"Before this reaches you, I doubt not but you have heard of our success at Paulus Hook, where the enemy had a very strong fort, within one and a quarter miles from New York. We started from this place on Wednesday† last [at] half past ten o'clock, taking our route by a place called the New Bridge on Hackensack River, where my two companies were joined by three hundred Virginians, and a company of dismounted Dragoons, commanded by Captain McLane. We took up our line of march about five o'clock in the evening from the Bridge, the nearest route with safety, to Powles, distant then about twenty miles, with my detachment in front, the whole under command of the gallant Major Lee. The works were to be carried by storm—the whole to advance in three solid columns, one of which I had the honour to command. The attack was to commence at half past twelve o'clock, but having been greatly embarrassed on our march, and having a number of difficulties to surmount, [we] did not arrive at the point of attack till after four o'clock in the morning, when, after a small fire from them, we gained their works, and put

*Mr. Dawson, in his *Battles of the United States by Sea and Land*, volume I, page 543, calls attention to this discrepancy and fixes the true date.—EDITOR.

†The day of the week here given does not answer to July, but it does to August.—EDITOR.

"about fifty of them to the bayonet, took one hundred and fifty-seven prisoners, exclusive of seven commanding officers; this was completed in less than thirty minutes, and a retreat ordered, as we had every reason to suppose, unless timely, it would be cut off. Our situation was so difficult that we could not bring off any stores. We had a morass to pass of upwards two miles, the greatest part of which we were obliged to pass by files, and several canals to ford up to our breast in water. We advanced with bayonets, pans open, cocks fallen, to prevent any fire from our side; and believe me, when I assure you, we did not fire a musket.

"You will see a more particular account of it in the papers than it is in my power to give you at present. It is thought to be the greatest enterprise ever undertaken in America. Our loss is so inconsiderable that I do not mention it.

"LEVIN HANDY."

This is the statement of an officer, who accompanied the expedition, and commanded one of the columns of attack. It has the appearance of general accuracy, and in itself would seem to be sufficient authority for the critical.

It will be noticed that this letter is dated July twenty-second; that is, according to the statement made by the editor of *Reed's Life*, three days after the occurrence, and the date of the assault here given is corroborated by the *New American Cyclopaedia*. In the article on Henry Lee, the *Cyclopaedia* says that he, "on July nineteenth, 1779, at the head of a body of three hundred men, surprised the British garrison as Paulus Hook, took one hundred and sixty prisoners, and effected his retreat with the loss of only two men killed and three wounded."

Passing from such works to the school histories of the present day, it is curious to note how their authors have followed similar authority. In *Lossing's Primary History of the United States*, 1860, page 149, it is stated that "three nights after the capture of Stony Point [July sixteenth, 1779] Major Henry Lee and a few Americans took from the British a fort where Jersey City, opposite New York, now stands." Willson, in his *History of the United States*, 1868, page 257, says that "soon after the taking of Stony Point, Major Lee surprised a British garrison at Paulus Hook," and the date in the margin is July nineteenth. On page 90 of Anderson's *Grammar School History of the United States*, 1863, is found this statement: "only four days after, [the capture of Stony Point, on the night of the fifteenth of July] another brilliant exploit crowned the efforts of the patriots. The British post at Paulus Hook, in New Jersey, opposite the city of New York, was surprised at night by Major Lee, and one hundred and fifty of the garrison were made prisoners." According to Berard's *School*

History of the United States, 1863, page 154, the assault on Paulus Hook was "shortly after the attack on Stony Point," which implies a few days after.

Here are six different authorities, giving a positive date to one of the most brilliant exploits of the Revolution, and that date a wrong one. It may require strong testimony to offset these misstatements, but such can be brought forward.

For this daring deed, Congress honored Henry Lee with a vote of thanks, and ordered a gold medal to be struck and presented to him. On the reverse of this medal is a Latin inscription, which closes thus: "In memory of the conflict at Paulus's Hook, nineteenth of August, 1779." *Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, ii, 829. Here is the authority of a medal, struck by order of Congress almost contemporaneously with the event, to be given to the commander of the assault. This ought to be correct, and is part of the strong testimony that I propose to put in.

General Washington, in a letter to Major Henry Lee, dated West Point, August tenth, 1779, says "the plan you propose for the attack of Paulus Hook, and for making good the retreat of the party, is well concerted, and such as would be most likely to succeed, if the enterprise were to be carried into execution." Sparks's *Washington*, vi, 317. Here is the statement of the commander of the American Army, showing that the attack had not been made on the tenth of August, though it was then under consideration. The question now recurs: When was it made? In a letter to Major General Lord Stirling, dated August twenty-first 1779, General Washington says that he has "been duly favored with your letter of the 19th, written at nine o'clock in the morning, and that of the same date, of one o'clock in the afternoon, containing the agreeable information of Major Lee's having succeeded against Paulus Hook," Sparks's *Washington*, vi, 326. From this it appears that Lord Stirling had not learned of the capture, at nine o'clock in the morning of the nineteenth, but that he knew it before one o'clock in the afternoon, and he must have heard of it a few hours after its occurrence. On the twenty-third of August, Washington writes to the President of Congress that he has "the honor to enclose to your Excellency Major Lee's report of the surprise and capture of the garrison of Paulus Hook," and adds in a postscript that "the report not having been received till this day, prevented a speedier transmission." Sparks's *Washington*, vi, 332. This testimony appears to be conclusive in fixing upon August nineteenth, as the proper date.

It is an interesting question how such a series of mistakes in different writers could have happened. The fact of the mistake is more evident than the cause. Gordon, who wrote shortly after the event, seems to have been the first to fall into

this error. It is certainly a singular coincidence that Captain Handy should have made the same mistake. His letter, probably by an oversight, was dated July, instead of August, or possibly it was incorrectly copied for Mr. Reed.

It may be worth the while to state that Hildreth in his *History of the United States*, 1849, iii, 284, mentions the assault, and in a marginal note gives August eighteenth as the date. The expedition started on the eighteenth, but the assault was not made till the next morning. In Duer's *Life of Lord Stirling*, New Jersey Historical Collections, ii, 205, an account of the affair is given, though it is rather vague and gives no definite date. It is there stated that it took place "about three o'clock the next morning," though the writer nowhere mentions the month or the day of the month when it occurred. In Sears's *Pictorial History of the American Revolution*, New York, 1845, still another date is given. On page 308 of this work, the statement is made that Major Lee "chose the morning of the 20th of August for his enterprize, when part of the garrison was absent on a foraging excursion."

GENEALOGY OF WILLIAM SMITH, HISTORIAN OF NEW YORK.

By E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, LL. D.

The first of this family of which we have any record is:

1. WILLIAM (commonly called "Port Royal") SMITH, who married twelfth December, 1693, at Port Royal, Jamaica, W. I. Frances, daughter of Anna and William Peartree,¹ (afterwards mayor of New York, 1703-1706, who died in that city in 1714, *s. p. m.*) He (Smith) suffered by the earthquake at Port Royal in 1692, but having recuperated his fortune by commerce and the above marriage, came to New York in the beginning of the last century, as he is recorded among the taxable inhabitants and voters of that city in 1701.² He was one of the grand jury who made the representation to Governor Hunter, November twenty-ninth, 1717, in the case of Mulford, for which he was arrested by order of the Assembly, December fourth. He was uncle of—

2. WILLIAM SMITH, who was born at Newport Pagnell, Bucks, England, October eighth, 1697; had his first education from Mr. Stannard, minister of Simpson, Bucks, and Mr. Woodward and Mr. Lettin of Newport Pagnell. At the instance of his uncle above mentioned, he and his father's family, consisting, it is said, of the mother and his two brothers, one a clergyman and the other a physician, sailed from London, May twenty-fourth

1715, and arrived in New York on seventeenth of August following. His mother subsequently sailed on her return to England, and died on the voyage. William was sent to New Haven to complete his education, and graduated at Yale in 1719. He was afterwards employed as tutor at that college. Having returned to New York, he studied law, and was licensed as an attorney twentieth May, 1725. On the removal of Dr. Cutler, he was invited to be President of Yale College, but declined the office. In or about the month of May, 1727, he married Mary, eldest daughter of Rene Het and Blanche, his wife.³ This Rene Het was the son of Josne Het and Sarah his wife, and was born in Rochelle, France. It would seem that in early life he followed the sea, for being a youth twelve years old, he had once passed by the River of Canada.⁴ The tradition in the family is, that he had been engulfed by the earthquake at Port Royal in 1692, and afterwards, fortunately for himself, thrown up again to the surface. He eventually, however, settled in New York as a merchant, and with Andrew Fresnan, was agent in that city of the Royal W. I. Company of France. He was naturalized twenty-second March, 1722,⁵ and died between 1754 and 1768, having survived his wife some years. He had two daughters, Mary (above mentioned) and Sarah, who in May, 1744, became the second wife of Captain William Smith, master of a merchant vessel, and died September, 1747. The children of William Smith and Mary Het of New York were:

First, WILLIAM, (*infra*).

Second, James; was a physician; married Mrs. Atkinson of Kingston, Jamaica.

Third, Thomas; a lawyer, licensed, fourth May, 1756; resided at Haverstraw, New York; was somewhat mixed up with his brother Joshua H. in Arnold's treason.

Fourth, John; } both lawyers.

Fifth, Samuel; }

Sixth, Joshua Het; married, first, Elizabeth Gordon of Belvidere, South Carolina, October, 1770; licensed a lawyer, thirtieth April, 1772; was mixed up with the Arnold treason; fled to England where he married, secondly, Anne Middleton; returned to New York and died 1818. His widow kept school in New York many years and was interred in St. John's burial ground in that city.

Seventh, Susan; married, fourteenth September, 1747, Robert James Livingston, brother of Mrs. William Smith; had William Smith Livingston, born twenty-seventh August, 1755, whose great-granddaughter, Cornelia L. married, secondly, Charles O'Connor of New York.

3. Deeds, Lib 31: 358, 9, Reg'ster's office, New York. 4. New York Council. Min. 10: 612. 5. Deeds, New York city, 30: 136.

Eighth, Mary; married, thirteenth April, 1749, John Smith of New York, merchant, and died October twelfth, 1750, leaving Mary, who married Christopher Bancker.

Ninth, Sarah; born 1732; married, 1755, Rev. Abraham Kettletas of Jamaica, Long Island.⁶

Tenth, Martha; married Colonel Ann Hawkes Hay of Fishkill, New York, October, 1763.

Eleventh, Anne; married Colonel Bostick of Fishkill, New York. There were four other girls, names unknown, who married respectively in South Carolina, a Mr. Torrance, Mr. Rose, Mr. Gardner, and Mr. Gordon.

Said William having lost his wife in August, 1754, married secondly Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Thomas Scott of Norwich, England, and relict of Colonel Elisha Williams,⁷ and died November twenty-second, 1769, when his widow returned to Wethersfield, and died there in the sixty-eighth year of her age.

3. WILLIAM, (son of number 2,) popularly known as the "Historian," was born in the city of New York, June twenty-fifth, 1728; graduated at Yale in 1745; studied law and was licensed an attorney, twenty-second October, 1750; married Janet, daughter of James Livingston of New York, merchant, and Elizabeth Kierstede; adhered to the Royal cause at the Revolution; was appointed Chief Justice of Canada, 1786, and died at Quebec, December third, 1793, leaving:

First, William; in his lifetime, clerk of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada.

Second, Janet; married General John Plenderleath, October, 1771; he died August twentieth, 1818; she survived him and died August eighth, 1828, leaving Janet, David, William S., Charles, and Elizabeth, who married Thomas McCulloch.

Third, Harriet (or Henrietta); married Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice of Lower Canada. Their children were: 1, William Smith Sewell, in his lifetime sheriff of Quebec; 2, Reverend Edmund Willoughby; 3, Robert Shore Milnes; 4, Henry D.; 5, James A.; 6, Algonnon R.; 7, Montague C.; 8, Maria M., married Henry Temple; 9, Charlotte; 10, Frances G., married Trevor Davenport; 11, Eliza T., married John Ross.

Fourth, Mary; married Major General William Doyle, whose children were: 1, W. S. S. Doyle; 2, James St. Clair Doyle; 3, Susan Prescott D., who married Edmund Hobson.

The last named William Smith, (clerk, Leg. Council,) had, I think, two sons, one of whom, William, was commissioned ensign in the sixty-

eight regiment of foot, 1824; and Charles W. Smith. The latter brought a suit in the Supreme Court in 1852 for the partition among the heirs of the lands in the State of New York belonging to the estate of William Smith, the historian; but it being reported that a partition thereof could not be made without great prejudice to the owners, the same were ordered sold, and they were accordingly sold in 1854. Charles W. Smith is, if living, the sole male representative now of the family of WILLIAM SMITH, the historian of New York.

Before closing this communication, it is proper to state that I am indebted for the facts relating to Mr. Smith, the father of the historian, his uncle and children, to the Honorable A. S. Johnson, now of Utica, New York, and to the late James Dexter, Esquire, of Albany, for the papers in the partition suit from which the particulars of the historian's family are obtained. The latter gentleman obliged me also with a copy of the historian's Will, which follows:

This is the last Will and Testament of WILLIAM SMITH of the city of New York.

I devise to John Plenderleath Esq. who married my daughter Janet, all the Lands in Moore Town, whereof I am legally seized; to hold to him in fee simple, I having been only his Trustee, since Lady Moore gave the order to transfer the title to him. I remitted to Mrs. Plenderleath out of the funds he left with me, when he sailed from this country in 1776, One thousand pounds sterling to pay Lady Moore. And in favor to my Daughter Janet, I devise the loss upon such of the Bonds (by the insufficiency of the Debtors and the payment of Continental paper money) as I gave at her marriage, to be born by my whole Estate; for I intended she should have Three thousand pounds.

I devise and bequeath to my wife Three thousand pounds and to each of my other children Three thousand pounds.

All the rest of my Estate real and personal I devise and bequeath to my wife and all my children in five equal shares, except as to my son William who shall draw a share and a half. And I constitute them all to be my Executors; they arrive to full age. And I will and ordain that the majority of age, including my wife, hold complete power to make partition of my lands and to let sell or dispose of any part of my estate at their discretion, and this power I give to my wife alone, while she remains my widow, and has not a majority of my children of age with her in the Colony of New York, or wherever else she may be, counting herself, for this purpose as one. And I constitute her to be Guardian to my children in their nonage under twenty-one, she being my widow at the same time. And of this Will I execute Dupli-

⁶ Thompson's Long Island, 2: 111. Her daughter Anne married Thomas Hackett, the father of James H. Hackett, the popular actor. ⁷ Alden.

ates in totidem verbis this sixteenth day of November One thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

W^M SMITH [L. s.]

Signed sealed and by Mr Smith published as his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who subscribed as Witnesses in his presence, and at his request.

THOMAS SMITH
ROBERT WHYTE
JAMES S. SMITH.

Proved at Quebec before Judge Jenkin Williams of the Common Pleas, 30 January 1794.

CHURCH MATTERS IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1702-3

COMMUNICATED BY REV. WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY,
D. D., OF GENEVA, N. Y.

Agreeably to my promise I have had transcribed from the M. S. archives of the Episcopal Church, some notices of Church Matters in Massachusetts in 1702-3. They hardly require preface or annotation, and are sent with a regret that time will not suffer me to add many other interesting papers relating to the same subject:—

LETTER BOOK OF VENERABLE SOCIETY. VOL. I. 1702.
Col. Lewis Morris of East Jersey to Mr Archdeacon Beveridge. Extract

Mr. Keith is very busy. The following extract will give your Reverence some account of him, viz:

Boston 27th July 1702.

“I prevailed with Mr Keith to stay here till our commencement was over, where the good man met with very little university Breeding, and with less learning, but nothing disturbed him so much as the disagreeable doctrine he heard there maintained the last Thesis disputed by the masters was, ‘Immutabilitas Decreti divini non tollit Libertatem creaturi, the opponents urged, and both the President Mr Willard, and the Respondent assented to these two following propositions. 1. Adami lapsus vi decreti divini fuisse necessarium. 2. Omnes actum liberum creature Rationalis determinari a deo, sic, ut quicquid agat Creatura rationalis libere id quod agat necessario; and their manner of arguing hereupon did clearly evince their opinion to be that the bad as good actions of men were necessarily determined; the day being far spent was the reason why Mr Keith did not publickly oppose them, but when he returned to Boston he drew up in Latin an answer to the President’s arguing of a full sheet of Paper which is transcribed ready to be sent to Mr President on Mr. Keith’s return. He went hence to the Eastward the 8th instant At Lyn he found a generall meeting of Quakers but they refused to hear him speak to them, so that he made no long stay there, but went on to Hampton where he had severall discourses with Quakers some whereof were moderate. On the 16th he was at their meeting where besides Quakers were

“about 100 other persons, he heard them preach much false doctrine, which afterwards he refuted very fully and to the satisfaction of many, but the preaching Quakers refused conference with him. The Sunday following he preached at Salisbury church by the invitation of the minister and last week went to Dover, and this week we expect him back. I have preached three severall Sundays at Brayntree, a town ten miles hence, where we had the first time about 30, the 2nd time about 50 and the 3rd above 60 hearers; above $\frac{2}{3}$ of them were marry’d persons and of good fashion & repute & well resolved to encourage a church of England ministry.”

Reverend Sir. You’ll I hope pardon me for trespassing so long on your patience. I intreat your Interest in sending good ministers into America; but more especially to East Jersey which wants very much, the whole province not having one of the church, many Dissenters of all sorts, but the Greatest parts generally speaking cannot with truth be called christians. Braintry should be minded; it is in the heart of New England and a learned and sober man would do great good, and encourage the other towns to desire the like. If the church can be settled in New England it pulls up schisme in America by the roots, that being the fountain that supplies with infectious streams the rest of America.

Reverend Sir

Your affectionate Friend & Servant

L. MORRIS

Mr. Brown to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

SWANZEY 23rd Feby 1703

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE.

Having formerly sent a petition for a minister for our town of Swanzeay, and desired such maintenance for him as might be comfortable & encouraging circumstances being such as at present we are not able to do anything considerable that way and having now an opportunity by Mr. Barklay I do in all humility request that we may be supplied as soon as conveniently may be.

Mr. Myles of Boston has been very diligent and much concerned for our good Settlement and to inform our people in the Way of the church has not only several times preached among us, but put such Books as Bishop King, and Dr. Beveridge’s usefulness of the common Prayer, &c. into the hands of the people in our Town, and having sent a considerable quantity of Books to me I Lent them severally according to his direction and my direction so that many among us are better informed than formerly by Mr. Myles’ assistance who has likewise been unwearied in his endeavours for the good of the people in severall towns; and being of a kind and condescending temper is ready to embrace all occasions that may present to oblige people and has this advantage to recommend him

above some others, that he has never been under the imputation of any scandal in the country (I have known him from his childhood) And now if it may please your Grace since by what hath been already done we are in so good a forwardness towards a settlement I humbly desire your Grace's fatherly care and concern for us as shall be thought best and fittest. This together with the tender of my duty and thanks for the Bible and prayer Book sent us is what is offered by

Your Grace's

Most Humble Servant

JOHN BROWN

The Governor of New England and other the Members of the Church at Boston to his grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Boston 23^d December 1703.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE.

The Reverend Mr. Bridge one of the ministers of our congregation who hath faithfully served his cure and station among us has obtained the consent of the Reverend Mr. Myles and the vestry to take a voyage into England to wait on your Grace and we should be wanting to our duty to Religion and to him if we should not recommend him to your Grace's favour having in all things in his doctrine and manners been an honor to the church. Our hopes are by your Grace's favour to him and ourselves that your Grace will obtain for him a good establishment of his maintenance here. Mr. Myles we hope will be well supported by the Contribution and if Mr. Bridge by the Queen's Bounty might be well assured of his support they would with great honour carry on the service here.

We have further to pray of your Grace that since our congregation is increased in number (though not so much in estate) that our church is too little for us we may obtain assistance for building a new one. The French Congregation here have no convenient place to meet in and if we might be assisted with what may be necessary for a new Stone Church ours would be of convenient use for them.

In all other things relating to an account of our Present State we humbly refer your Grace to his attendance And we humbly ask your Grace's Favour for him and for ourselves and are

my Lord

Your Grace's most obedient Servants

J. NELSON

J. DUDLEY

THO. NEWTON

POVEY

FRA. FOXCROFT

EAST APTHORP

J. ELYDE

W^m. TAILER

CYPRIAN SOUTHACK

JOHN INDECOTT

GYLES DYER

THO: CREESE

GEORGE TURFREY

LANCELOT LAKE

JOHN COKE

PORTRAITS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REMINISCENCES.

By SAMUEL G. DRAKE, ESQUIRE.

The Question used to be sometimes asked—"Is there a Portrait of Roger Williams?" The inquiry at length became frequent, and amateurs in the fine art line began to watch auction sales whenever old oil paintings were advertised to be sold. The inquiry may have originated in Rhode Island. The writer though not a Rhode Islander—some thirty-five years ago, was among the inquirers. He, on one occasion, applied to an intelligent auctioneer in Providence, if he remembered ever to have sold any old paintings of portraits, without names, apparently of the period in which Roger Williams lived. He replied that he did not think he had, but that he had sold many guns that belonged to King Philip, and furniture enough that came over in the Mayflower to freight a first class man of war! Some relief was felt to think he had not sold scores of the desired portrait.

About this period, that is, some thirty years since, the writer was told by a gentleman in the same town of Providence—not by the auctioneer—that there did exist a portrait of Roger Williams, and that it was owned by a gentleman in New York. It may as well be mentioned here, that the original inquiry was suggested to the writer, on his noticing what purported to be a portrait of Roger Williams, on the bills of the Roger Williams bank of Providence. This portrait turned out to be imaginary as he supposed it would, and he rather expected that the one *discovered* in New York might prove to be somewhat of the same character.

For a good many years previous to the period under consideration, the writer had been a considerable of a collector of American portraits; or, rather, of all portraits which would in any way illustrate American history. In making such a collection one could hardly fail of meeting occasionally with familiar faces over the same name; showing that two or more individuals must have looked so much alike that a painting of one of them was quite enough to perpetuate the countenances of certain others. With a limited amount of this kind of knowledge in his head, and a strong desire to possess a portrait of one of the greatest men that ever lived, the writer was determined to hunt up the gentleman in New York said to be possessed of one of the desired portraits. His name he learned was Daniel L. Jones. With this clue, and a tolerable share of perseverance New York was reached, and a search was instituted for the headquarters of Mr. Jones.

With some little difficulty, and "weariness of lower extremities," on the twenty-second of October, 1844, the business place of Mr. Jones was found. His occupation was apparently that of a plumber. He said he came from Wales, and was

engaged in publishing a periodical in the Welsh language. It was in the octavo form, and thus far he had issued but a few numbers—how many, and the number of pages, is not remembered. Taking the applicant for a customer, the work was exhibited to him. In one of the numbers was the long sought for portrait of Roger Williams. It was a head in stipple, without any ornamental surrounding; on the whole, a very cheap affair, for so distinguished a subject. On a remark to that effect by the anxious visitor, Mr. Jones excused himself by saying, that in due time he would have another engraved worthy of the original; that the present one was hurriedly done for an emergency.

When Mr. Jones's visitor (the writer hereof, of course,) inquired respecting the original painting, he (the inquirer) thought he observed somewhat of uneasiness in Mr. Jones's manner. However, this might have been a small draft upon the imagination of the visitor, and Mr. Jones may not have betrayed anything of the kind. Nevertheless a tolerably prompt answer from Mr. Jones was, that the painting was in his possession. In answer to the question as to how it came into his possession, he said it was once the property of the Duke of York; that it, with another about as old, was sold at an auction in New York, at which, being present, he purchased both. On the back of one was written the name of Oliver Cromwell, and on the other, Roger Williams. This seemed to be perfectly satisfactory to Mr. Jones, but not entirely so to his visitor. The latter imagined that a portrait very similar to the engraving exhibited in the periodical, was already in his collection of engraved heads. This threw a spray of suspicion over his mind regarding the reality of the *great* discovery; yet he endeavored that Mr. Jones should not be aware of any suspicion.

Having made a purchase of a few of the numbers of Mr. Jones's periodical containing the portrait, the visitor, in the politest manner he could put on, begged the privilege of seeing the original painting. Mr. Jones replied that it was in a very shattered condition; that it was not then convenient for him to go to the place where the painting was stored, but that he should see it at a future time. Visitor said he was obliged to leave the city in two or three days, and hoped to be allowed to see it before leaving. Mr. Jones said "certainly," and agreeably to request, appointed the hour for visitor to call.

Appearances now looked promising, and the anxious applicant felt almost sure of seeing a portrait painted by an "Old Master," of *somebody*; yet he did not feel quite so confident of seeing a painting of Roger Williams; so he was promptly on time at the place appointed; but the other party was not, and he waited with much patience the first half hour beyond the time set. The next half

hour passed, and no Mr. Jones. No one about the place seemed to know or care where Mr. Jones was. Meantime some confused ideas drifted around the brain of the party in waiting—as, what Duke of York it was that could have wanted portraits of such disturbers of royalty as those in question? Whether a Duke of York would have preserved pictures of those men, unless painted with a rope round their necks? and a variety of other equally interesting conjectures. With those and others similar, however, an hour was worried away, and no Mr. Jones. Another call, at a later hour, was equally *satisfactory*. Mr. Jones and his paintings were finally abandoned, and nothing has been heard from either of them through all the twenty-six years which have intervened.

It now remains only to say a few words on the success of Mr. Jones's shallow hoax, or rather, fraud. It seems to have been hatched in his brain in this way: In 1830, Mr. John F. Watson published the *Annals of Philadelphia*. In that work he had a portrait of Dr. Franklin. This was indisputably the portrait used by Mr. Jones. Whether he had the same plate from which Mr. Watson took his impressions, or whether he had a copy made from it, is immaterial, as the portraits are of the same person. It is called a *shallow* hoax. It was more than that. It was an egregiously stupid one. He could not have made a better choice to ensure a speedy detection, unless he had taken one of George Washington himself. Had Mr. Jones taken a copy of some old English, French, or Dutch portrait of which there were hundreds, if not thousands, within reach, he might have stood a small chance of eluding detection for a *reasonable* length of time; but as it is, or as it was, he seemed to have escaped detection, or rather escaped being exposed, until after Mr. Jared Sparks had published Mr. Gammell's* life of Roger Williams, in his *American Biography*, in 1845.

The writer of this article, although he had satisfactorily (to himself) exposed the fraud, and was not for a moment deceived by it, did not deem it of sufficient importance to publish anything about it, presuming everybody might and ought to know Ben. Franklin as well as himself. Nevertheless, as numerous copies of Mr. Sparks's volume have gone abroad, and are doubtless being read by a new generation who have no means of detecting this and similar outrages, he came to the conclusion that an account of it should be published in some permanent work, that it may serve as a caution to those interested in such matters, who do not wish to be deceived.

Mr. Sparks, and doubtless those connected with

*In the well printed catalogue of the Massachusetts Historical Society, one might not very unreasonably expect to find, under the name of William Gammell, the life of Roger Williams, credited to him as its author; but it is not, nor is Mr. Gammell credited with it anywhere in that catalogue, as far as the writer can discover.

him in the production of his work, had no suspicion that they were imposing upon the public; yet it is almost a marvel, that men who from their boyhood, must have been as familiar with the features of Franklin as with those of their own fathers, should have copied the Welshman's hoax without a question. It is due however to the memory of my old friend, Mr. Sprks, to state that as soon as he heard of the imposition, he suffered no more copies of his *Life of Williams* to go out with a portrait of Franklin in them.

But the parties just mentioned were not the only ones taken in by the stupid hoax of Mr. Jones. The reader may see an amusing example on referring to Dr. David Benedict's *History of the Baptists*, published in a valuable and stately volume, in 1848. Soon after its publication, the writer saw that its publishers had been taken in, in the manner already described, but with this difference; these publishers had thrown Mr. Jones far into the back ground, in that they had produced, so far as elaboration in ornament was concerned, a picture worthy of the subject. A fine large steel engraving, done with an evident intention that its paternity should not be discovered; but it was a failure. No one familiar with the face of Franklin, as portrayed everywhere, could help seeing through the thin disguise. The publishers, on being informed respecting the origin of their engraving, did not receive the information in a kindly spirit; at the same time asserting their belief in its genuineness in positive terms, that their picture was a copy of a real portrait of Roger Williams. Their informant left them in their infidelity, and they may have died in it, from anything that has since come to his knowledge to the contrary.

There was another hoax played off in the portrait line, which, so far as he knows, went undetected many years. This was perpetrated about the year 1772, and the subject was Colonel Benjamin Church—more extensively known now than when he hunted Indians in the vicinity of Cape Cod and along the coast of Maine. The Colonel lived in Little Compton, after his warlike services were over, and those services were fast fading out of the memories of those cognizant of them, and new performers of exploits and daring adventures were occupying the minds of a new generation; but the near friends of the Colonel felt that justice had never been done him by the country, and they tried to persuade him to write an account of his campaigns. But the Colonel was no writer, and appears to have made no note of the dates of the thrilling events and scenes which he had passed through. However, he had a son who, with the assistance of his father's strong memory, undertook the task of compiling the wished-for memoir. This he accomplished, and it was printed in the year 1716. In this work there is no indication that there ever was a portrait made of the old warrior.

From the time of this publication to the year 1772, nothing is discovered to show that there ever was a portrait of the subject of the Memoir. He had now been dead above half a century. Some of the good people of Newport, whose immediate ancestors were well acquainted with Colonel Church, and had given protection to his family when they fled to the Island from King Philip's marauding bands of savages, began to think, probably, that it was matter of reproach to let the memory of such a man fade out entirely. The result of reflections of this nature, doubtless, caused a new edition of the Memoirs to be undertaken. The editor of this edition was Mr. Ezra Stiles, since so well known in the literary world, as D. D., LL. D. &c., &c. He was at that period under twenty-eight years of age; and although his name does not appear as editor, original papers in the writer's possession show such to be the fact. Hence the edition of 1772 has been called Dr. Stiles's edition. With this edition appeared two portraits: one of Colonel Church, and the other of King Philip. The genuineness of the former has been questioned of late years, while that of the latter has been allowed to *stand on its own merits*. That is to say, there has been little or no question about it; for the reason that a pretty respectable looking Indian could have been made up from the costume of that chief then said to have been owned by a family not far from Newport. Not so with the other; for it has never been pretended that even the old regiments of the Colonel had been preserved. However, as has been mentioned, the Memoirs of 1772 appeared with two portraits. It was known from authentic sources that the Colonel was a very fleshy and heavy man. This personal appearance was also apparent from the portrait in question: a circumstance corroborative of its claim to genuineness, had such claim ever been questioned. Indeed, so far as the writer knows, such question was not raised for fifty years after its appearance in Dr. Stiles's edition of the Memoirs. If questioned by anybody, it never reached the ear of the writer. It appears without any engraver's name, a rather coarse etching, yet portraying an honest and resolute countenance, well known to be characteristics of Colonel Church. His hair in front was cut short, and a large powderhorn appears under his right arm. In fact, there is nothing to excite suspicion that a portrait of another person had been palmed off for that of the Colonel. It was really in keeping with the well known circumstances.

Thus matters stood about the end of a century after the death of the celebrated warrior. A very few years later, the writer, then quite a young man, was acquainting himself with matters of this sort, especially with those of Philip's war. In his rambles he met with a copy of the Memoirs just described, in the perusal of which his surprise was excited, that for above fifty years no new edi-

tion of the work had appeared; and "to make a long story short," he resolved to become a publisher, so far at least as to republish the *Memoirs* of Colonel Church. Accordingly, he took a copy to an engraver in Providence, to bargain with him to copy both portraits upon copper. The engraver, though he did not object to a job, objected to engraving such as he called them,—"horrid looking things," and proposed to make some *more suitable* pictures from drawings which he would furnish. Finally, the new publisher, with some misgivings, put the matter into the engraver's hands, and the result was a figure, which, but for the name "King Philip" under it, might have been taken for a cross between a Mexican and a Laplander, or any hybrid whatever; and with this *illustration*—for he did not copy the Colonel—appeared the edition of Colonel Church's *Memoirs* of 1825.

This first attempt at publication was very unsatisfactory to the publisher, and he soon resolved to bring out another edition with the *original* portraits, according to his first intention. In pursuance of this resolution, another edition was issued early in 1827, with genuine copies of the portraits of 1772. Succeeding editions were issued until the copper-plate portraits were worn out and ceased to be used, about 1830. But the writer's interest having ceased in the work in 1828, he did not "keep the run" of it after that year. In all the time of his interest in it, and many years later, no person, to his knowledge, ever raised a question as to the reality of the portrait of Colonel Church. The publisher for a number of years supposed it genuine, and though he inquired for the original painting, as he had opportunity, no one could enlighten him, and the inquiry was generally treated as an idle one, and as being made by an individual in rather *small business*.

In the meantime, whenever the eye of the publisher accidentally fell on the portrait of Charles Churchill, the poet, it struck him very forcibly that the poet must have been Colonel Church, or Colonel Church the poet, bating the powderhorn. On mentioning the singular fact to friends, their visions became equally strangely affected; and it is believed that some one of them published something respecting the discovery. However this may have been, if the publisher of the edition of the *Memoirs* of 1827 was hoaxed, he was the first to discover and acknowledge it.

Other cases might be mentioned, and examples given, but time and space cannot be allowed, and allusion will be made only to one or two more. Some twenty-five years ago, perhaps more, there appeared a new edition of the life of the once noted Stephen Burroughs, "written by himself." The original edition, it was well known, had no portrait of the old thief, and it is almost certain there never was any. This *misfortune* the pub-

lisher of the new edition resolved to remedy. He did not go to the trouble and expense of copying an old portrait, as he was fortunate enough to find an old copper plate—rather the worse for wear it is true—of President James Monroe. On this plate the name of Stephen Burroughs was engraved in place of that of James Monroe; and the plate so altered has passed current as the portrait of Burroughs to this day.

How many names have been honored by a fancy portrait of Eliza Wharton, there is probably no means of knowing at this time, nor is it of importance enough to bring an inquiry to bear upon it. At all events, the transformations in this case are quite harmless. They relieve the eye of some reader, perhaps, in the same way the portraits possibly may, inserted in a modern Dictionary of Quotations. Those worn out beauties may cause the individual, searching for a *sentiment*, to forget the object he or she had in view on opening the volume. No other harm can come, it is imagined, from the use of such useless *illustrations*.

GENERAL MONTGOMERY AND AARON BURR.

By BENSON J. LOSSING, ESQUIRE.

To the Editor of the Historical Magazine: In Mr. Parton's *Life of Aaron Burr* is given a glowing account of the exploits of that distinguished American at the time of the death of General Montgomery at Quebec, at the close of 1775. He is represented as the General's Aid-de-camp, and marching by his side, when, at the head of his troops, he approached the masked battery at the foot of Cape Diamond, where the leader was shot dead.

"At that critical time," says the biographer, "when all but the stanchest hearts gave way, Burr was as cool as determined, as eager to go forward, as at the most exultant moment of advance." In support of this assertion he quotes the words of Captain Richard Platt, who commanded a New York company, and said: "Burr animated the troops, and made many efforts to lead them on, and stimulate them to enter the lower town; and might have succeeded but for the positive order of the commanding officer for the troops to retreat." Then follows a picturesque description of the bearing away of Montgomery's body, by Burr. "The faithful aide," says the biographer, "a boy in stature, exerting all his strength, lifted the General's superbly proportioned body upon his shoulders, and ran with it down the gorge, up to his knees in snow, the enemy only forty paces behind him."

This narrative is founded upon the evidently erroneous impressions and vague recollections of a chaplain, and a misapprehension of the true ap-

plication of the words of Captain Platt's testimony. I think Mr. Burr was not with Montgomery on the St. Lawrence side of the city, at the time in question, but with Arnold on the St. Charles side, at least half a mile distant from the place where Montgomery fell. If so, the whole story is necessarily apocryphal.

Montgomery had planned a simultaneous attack upon the Upper and Lower town. Captain Burr was then a member of his military family. Eager for renown, he had sought and obtained permission to lead a forlorn hope in scaling Cape Diamond Bastion, a part of the fortifications of the Upper Town. Circumstances caused a change in the plan of attack, and Burr was with Arnold and not with Montgomery, at the time of the final assault.

An autograph letter of General Arnold at Quebec to General Wooster at Montreal, now before me, and of which the following is a copy, is my warrant for saying that Burr was with Arnold at the time of Montgomery's death :

" General Hospital, Dec^r 31st 1775.

" Dear Sir :

" I make no doubt but General Montgomery acquainted you with his intention of storming Quebec as soon as a good opportunity offered. As we had several men deserted from us a few days past, the General was induced to alter his Plan, which was to have attacked the upper and lower Town at the same time. He thought it most prudent to make two different attacks upon the Lower Town, the one at Cape Diamond, the other through St. Rocks. For the last attack I was ordered with my own Detachment and Capt. Lamb's Company of Artillery. At five o'clock, the hour appointed for the attack, a false attack was ordered to be made upon the upper Town. We accordingly began our march. I passed through St. Rocks, and approached near a two Gun Battery, picketted in without being discovered, which we attacked. It was bravely defended for about an hour, but with the loss of a number of men, we carried it. In the attack I was shot through the leg and was obliged to be carried to the Hospital, where I soon heard the disagreeable News that the General was defeated at Cape Diamond, Himself, Capⁿ M^rPherson, his aide-de-camp, and Capⁿ Cheeseman killed on the spot with a number of others not known.

" After gaining the Battery my Detachment pushed on to a second Barrier, which they took possession of; at the same time the Enemy sallied out from Palace Gate, and attacked them in the rear. A Field Piece which the roughness of the road would not permit our carrying on, fell into the Enemy's hands, with a number of Prisoners. The last accounts from my Detachment about ten minutes since, they were

" pushing for the lower Town. Their communication with me was cut off. I am exceedingly apprehensive what the event will be. They will either carry the lower Town, be made Prisoners, or cut to pieces. I thought proper to send an Express to let you know the critical situation we are in, and make no doubt you will give us all the assistance in your power.

" As I am not able to act, I shall give up the command to Col. Campbell. I beg you will immediately send express to the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress and his Excellency, General Washington.

" The loss of my Detachment before I left it, was about twenty men killed and wounded. Among the latter is Maj^r Ogden, who, with Capⁿ Oswald, Capⁿ Burr and the other Volunteers, behaved extremely well. I have only time to add that I am, with the greatest esteem,

" Your most obed^t

" & very hble serv^t

" B. ARNOLD."

The officers mentioned in the last paragraph of Arnold's letter were Matthias Ogden, Eleazar Oswald, and Aaron Burr. The first named was Burr's college mate and warm personal friend. They had suffered together in the late marvellous expedition into Canada, under Arnold, by way of the Kennebeck and Chaudiere rivers. Oswald was Arnold's Secretary at the time of the attack on Quebec.

REVEREND JONATHAN FISHER, OF BLUE HILL, MAINE.

READ AT A MEETING OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, APRIL 7, 1867, BY WILLIAM REED DEANE, ESQUIRE.

Rev. Jonathan Fisher was the son of Jonathan Fisher of New Braintree, Massachusetts, a descendant of Anthony Fisher, who came from England and settled in Dedham in 1647. His mother was Katharine Avery, daughter of Deacon William Avery of Dedham and sister of the late well remembered Doctor Jonathan Avery of the same town.

Mr. Fisher's father, who died when his son Jonathan was eight years of age, was a man of great christian worth, and his mother was a woman of excellent sense and of an eminently devotional and benevolent spirit, a strong minded woman of the old school, a great reader of solid reading and one who remembered all she read. When a boy he manifested a great desire for knowledge, particularly of the ancient languages—excited by his finding a few Greek words in a book, that belonged to his mother. From ten to fifteen years of age his school instruction amounted to but four or five weeks each year. At fifteen he undertook the

study of Latin, but as he saw no prospect of obtaining a liberal education, he determined to devote himself to some mechanical trade, as he had also a genius and taste for mechanical and mathematical pursuits. His mother, however, influenced him to enter upon a course of study with his uncle, Rev. Joseph Avery of Holden, and eventually he graduated at Harvard College in 1792. The good mother's influence, so often shown by history in moulding and directing the character of her children, was here very manifest. Rev. John Pison, the minister of Taunton, who died some thirty or forty years since, used to read the fifth commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother." Jonathan honored and minded his mother, as did another Jonathan of olden time. Jonathan Harrington of Lexington, who died a few years since, (the last survivor, I believe of the heroes who took part in the first battle of our Revolution,) then a boy, was called up in the early dawn of the morning by his mother, when Colonel Revere's ride had informed the inhabitants of the approach of the enemy. "Jonathan, Jonathan," were the words of the mother, "get up; the British are coming and something must be done." Jonathan did get up and something was done. So did Jonathan Fisher, at his mother's bidding.

About the close of the year 1787, the year previous to his entering college, he kept a school in Dedham at \$3 per month, improving his leisure hours in making bird cages, which brought him some money to eke out his expenses. When he entered college he commenced keeping an exact account of his expenses. He was at Cambridge, as student and tutor, seven years. His expenses during the first five years were \$605. This amount came partly from his own small patrimony, partly by teaching, &c., and part was borrowed, but eventually paid in full, principal and interest. He was licensed to preach on the first of October, 1793, at Brookline, by the Cambridge Association. While a student at Cambridge at a public exhibition in 1790, he delivered an Hebrew oration. He pursued the study of Hebrew with great eagerness through life. He was settled in the ministry at Blue Hill, then Massachusetts, (now Maine,) in 1796. He was ever an earnest friend of education. Through his influence an academy was established at Blue Hill, and he was successful in obtaining from the Legislature of Massachusetts half a township of land as an endowment. He was one of its trustees and delivered the address at its dedication.

During the whole of his ministry he was a zealous, faithful and successful laborer in the service of his master. He sustained the pastoral relation forty-one years, when, owing to the infirmities of age, he gave up his charge. During the remaining ten years of his life he was quite actively engaged in preaching, writing, studying, painting

(for he was an artist) and laboring on his farm as opportunity offered and health permitted; showing himself to the very last a prodigy of industry. He died September twenty-second, 1847, nearly seventy nine years of age. Rev. Stephen Thurston, of Searsport, preached a sermon at his funeral the following Sabbath, which was published.

In personal appearance Mr. Fisher, (says Rev. Dr. Pomeroy in Dr. Sprague's Annals) was somewhat peculiar, being in stature rather below the medium height, dressed in the antique style, with small clothes, knee buckles and shoes and long waisted, ancient coat; his head and neck thrown forward slightly, his head bald (see portrait in the frontispiece of his Scripture Natural History), and his whole demeanor and appearance unmistakably clerical and grave. No man could see him and have a doubt of his profession.

He was a man of strictest order and punctuality. He uniformly rose at five o'clock each morning. His minutes were as precious to him as money to the miser. He was never in a hurry. Each day was mapped out, and reading, philology, manual labor, preparation of sermons and parochial duties each had its exact place. At the end of each sermon he noted the number of words which it contained, and could generally tell how much time it had cost him.

In the matter of economy Dr. Pomeroy says he must have outdone Franklin himself. His salary during the greater part if not the whole of his ministry, was not over \$300. He had, however, a lot of land given him as the first settled minister of the town. These were his resources. Yet he brought up a family of seven children, sent his daughters to boarding schools, and gave one son (now Rev. Josiah Fisher of Suckasunny, New Jersey,) a liberal education, and annually gave away more money than many ministers whose salaries are two or three thousand dollars. All his expenses were regulated with the most rigid economy. Being in debt for his education when he was settled, he contrived from his scanty means to save enough to form a sinking fund, by which the debt was extinguished after many years. He gave systematically and regularly to various religious and benevolent causes. He needed no promptings of circulars. It was to him as necessary to his spiritual life to give as to his physical to eat. He invented a short hand in which he wrote his discourses, estimating that during his ministerial life, he thus saved three years time, and using only three-eighths of a foolscap sheet to each sermon, saved seventy dollars in cost of paper, during the same period.

His house, barn, sheep cote, wood house and other outhouses were built from his planning and direction, and no small portion of them with his own hands. He made a machine in connection with his woodhouse to saw wood by wind, but as

he could not make it feed itself and thus save time, which was his object, he gave it up. There was no paint on the inside of his house, and all the latches were of wood and so nicely adjusted as seldom to fail of their object.

He was a good linguist, understanding well Hebrew, Greek, Latin and French, and he gave considerable attention to Russian, Arabic and other languages. He compiled a Hebrew Lexicon, the most marvellous achievement of his life, says Doctor Pomeroy. It still exists in manuscript, and should be deposited in the archives of some public institution as a monument of his untiring industry. This was the more remarkable, as from his remote frontier residence, he had scarcely any advantage from any of the few public libraries, at that period, and his own library was so small that a man of ordinary strength could probably have taken it all on his shoulders. His other literary works which were printed, were his "*Scripture Animals*," the engravings done by himself with his jack-knife; his book of poems, *The Youth's Primer*, and a sermon or two. So much for his philological and literary works.

He was also an artist. The walls of his dwelling were ornamented with paintings, the work of his own hands, including an excellent likeness of himself, executed by sitting before a looking glass. It represents him as having a Hebrew Bible before him, with the Hebrew characters nicely formed. Had his genius and his life been concentrated upon the pencil, he would undoubtedly have excelled. It is not supposed he would have succeeded so well as a poet, although some of his pieces are good.

His vacations while at college, which he spent mostly with his mother at Dedham, and much of his leisure during that time was spent in painting, drawing or making mathematical instruments; and among other things he invented a clock and constructed it with his own hands, which he afterwards inserted in his own house and always used, for half a century, till his death. That clock stopped on the day of his death (almost for the first time) and no one could make it go again.* During his settlement he had six weeks vacation every second year. Some of these vacations were spent at Cambridge, in learning the Russian language; others in travelling on foot in the back settlements of Maine, as a Missionary. He made his own pump. His daughters learned to braid straw in Dedham, a beautiful industry which was first introduced in 1793, by Miss Betsey Metcalf, afterwards Mrs. Baker. The Misses Fisher at first split their straw with a pin, but their father soon invented a machine for the purpose, much like those since used.

A relative from Dedham on visiting him at Blue Hill, some years before his death, found him build-

ing a heavy stone wall, with the aid of a machine of his own invention for lifting and placing the heavy boulders. His study table, by a slight operation, could at any time be converted into a work bench, with planes and chisels and saws at hand, so that he could in a moment pass from headwork to handwork.

Until the infirmities of age began to press upon him he never owned a horse or an overcoat, or wore flannels. His journeys on exchanges and all other journeys were made on foot (unless his wife was with him) in all seasons and all weathers.

He was a trustee of the Bangor Theological Seminary, forty miles from his house, and his frequent journeys thither were on foot. About 1825, at the age of fifty-seven, he walked from Blue Hill to Monson, Massachusetts, to take part in an ordination, in the month of November, on frozen ground, and walked back again to his home, without an overcoat. Whoever else, on any occasion where his duty led him, might be tardy, Father Fisher was not. *He never complained of any hardship.* He had a most excellent wife, and the undoubted testimony is that he was *never known to speak unkindly to her.* He said that he "little knew what God had in store for him when "he gave him his wife." He was a grave man, but an indulgent father. He was transparent as the sunlight, and *was* what he *seemed* to be. His piety was perhaps the most remarkable trait of his character. He was an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile.

The great mistake of his life, if mistake it may be called, I should say was in not concentrating his powers upon one thing; in diffusion there was loss, but the condensed force of all his faculties on one thing only beside his preaching, would probably have made him one of the most eminent men of his day and generation, as he certainly was one of the most remarkable for fertility and variety of genius and ingenuity.

Such piety and inflexible practical virtue as were the very being of Mr. Fisher, are the salt which preserves the world. He was no doubt a happy man, notwithstanding the great trials of his straightened life. The principles of the christian religion and his faith in God supported him in cheerfulness to the end.

Professor Silliman said on reading Dr. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*: "I have been allured on from the company of one wise and good man to that of another and another, and seeing others still coming on and approaching in a lengthened series, am tempted to speak with them also, and am engaged and entranced as if a phantasmagoria of the spiritual world were passing in review before me." Dr. Sprague's *Annals* include clergymen of different denominations; very many reached their three score years and ten, not a few were octogenarians, and some passed into the last de-

* There are several curious cases of clock's stopping on the day of the owner's death mentioned in the *London Notes and Queries*.

cade of a century. What a procession of good old ministers have passed away in our country. Long life is promised as one of the rewards of well doing. Sufficient proof is shown in these personal records of the ministry that virtuous and useful lives and elevated and pure contemplations are favorable to health, long life and happiness. We have a large proportion of clergymen as members of our society. Happy should we be that we can mingle, as we do often even here at our meetings, with these good men, if we can but wipe the dust from their coats; there is some virtue in that. Long may it be before either of our revered and reverend members, whether present or absent, are taken from us, or we from them. Let some one, now Dr. Sprague has completed his work on the ministers, give the Annals of their good wives—the mothers in Israel, as a counterpart to that of their husbands.

POEMS BY THE STILES FAMILY.

BY HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, OF HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT.

"A FAMILY TABLET: containing a selection of ORIGINAL POETRY. [Motto, from Akenside.] Boston: Printed and sold by William Spotswood, 1796." 12mo. pp. (12.) 81. "Copy-Right secured agreeably to law."

This little volume is not an "excessively rare" one, though it might pass for such in some bookseller's catalogues. Neither is it very common for the most accomplished local antiquary of Boston, a veteran book-collector, told me, not long ago, that he had never met with it. Probably the edition was a small one, and all or nearly all the copies were distributed to friends of the authors.

The selected poems are all anonymous. It is only by internal evidence that they are discovered to have been written by members of the family of the Rev. Dr. EZRA STILES, President of Yale College, and to have been edited by his son-in-law, the Rev. ABIEL HOLMES, afterwards D. D., and American Annalist. Readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will not fail to recognize the claim which such a "Family Tablet" has to the respectful notice of American scholars, independent of its literary merits. Every librarian and collector who has a copy of the volume will be glad to remove its title from his "anonymous" list to a place of higher honor.

President Stiles died, May twelfth, 1795. Two of his daughters, Elizabeth (unmarried) and Mary, wife of the Rev. A. Holmes, died before the end of the same year. The Preface of the "Family Tablet" begins as follows:

"The music of Carryl," says Ossian, was

"like the memory of joys that are past, pleasant and mournful to the soul." To perpetuate the remembrance of such joys, and, at the same time, to pay a funeral tribute to the memory of those friends who, when living, were the source of them, are the primary designs of this publication."

The selection comprises forty-seven pieces, by eight writers, distinguished by their signatures, as "Louisa," "Myra," "Myron," "Eugenio," "Cecilia," "Narcissa," "Henry," and "St. John." "Louisa," who contributed thirteen of the forty-seven poems, was Miss Ruth Stiles, the youngest surviving daughter of the President, afterwards married to the Rev. Caleb Gannett. She wrote the "Elegy," with which the volume begins, on the deaths of her father and sisters; "Lines to Miss S. W. on the death of her brother, Major J. P. W., [John Palsgrave Wyllys,] who fell in the battle at the Miami Village, 1790;" "Lines to the memory of Mrs. T. W., who died soon after the birth of her first child, March 20, 1795;" (these lines had previously been published in the Massachusetts Magazine;) and (p. 51.) Lines "To a gentleman who presented Louisa with a Pen, &c." This gentleman's "Reply," is signed "Henry," (p. 53), and is the only piece in the volume to which that signature is attached.

Three poems signed "Eugenio," were written by Dr. Ezra Stiles, Jr., who died in North Carolina, August twenty-second, 1784. These are entitled, "Lines occasioned by the War, 1777;" "Andre's Ghost; in imitation of 'Pompey's Ghost';" and "Conscience," (pp. 7, 8, 26.) The closing lines of the first of these poems, considering the period which they were written, are worth quoting:

"What scenes of varied woe thou meet our eyes,
"Fresh sighs for thee, lamented WARREN! rise,
"Nor long shall Britain thus her triumph boast—
"A happier Warrior aims a happier host!
"Before great WASHINGTON her sons shall fly;
"He leads our troops to conquer or to die,—
"While Warren's hovering ghost, each wrong repaid,
"In equal dust shall see his conqueror laid."

"Myra" is the anagram of Mary, the youngest daughter, first wife of the Rev. Abiel Holmes who writes as "Myron." The former wrote eight, the latter sixteen (including the two longest) poems of the selection. Among those of "Myron" are "Lines to the Memory of Mrs. T. H. (his mother,) who died 1791, ætat. 87" (p. 13); and an "Elegy on Doctor * * * * *" [David Holmes, his father], p. 58; "Hymn written at Sea" (p. 21); "The Transformation of Eliza [Miss Elizabeth Stiles?] into a Poplar" (pp. 41-48); "Lines occasioned by seeing a Portrait of the Goddess of Liberty finely executed by Mr. E. Savage" (p. 55); "Elegiac Sonnet on Mrs. K. T. S. [Kzia Taylor Stiles, who married Lewis B. Sturges, Esq., of New Haven, in 1785.] and who died within a year after marriage" (p. 57), and, *msc*

ambitious of all, "Yaratildia: an Epic Poem. In three Books. *Dux femina facta.* Virgil." This poem, the last in the volume, has a separate title page and preface. It was written to celebrate "incidents that actually happened during the residence of the Heroine in the Author's family," and was "originally designed as a winter-evening's amusement." That the writer's design was effected, there can hardly be a doubt—

"Albeit, in the general way,
A sober man" was he.

There is humor in this mock-epic,—but the humor is decorous and subdued, so as, on the whole, not to appear out of place on a memorial Tablet!

The two pieces (pp. 40, 49,) signed "St. John," were probably contributed by St. John Honeywood, who, while a student at Yale College, was for some time a member of Dr. Stiles's family, and who (says Dr. Holmes,) "as an orphan child and a youth of a fine genius, had shared, among many others, the benefits of the President's patronage." (*Life of Pres. Stiles*, p. 296.) Honeywood died at Salem, September first, 1798.

LETTERS OF THOMAS BROUGHTON, 1690.

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM B. TRASK, ESQUIRE, OF DORCHESTER, MASSACHUSETTS.

Thomas Broughton, the writer of the following letters, which are copied from the Massachusetts Archives, book thirty five, settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, as early as 1643; for in March of that year, according to Dr. Bond (*History Watertown*, page forty-two,) one of his children was there born and died. He married Mary, daughter of Nathaniel Biscoe or Briscoe of Watertown, "the rich tanner," who wrote and circulated a pamphlet in which he strongly opposed taxation for the maintenance of ministers. He was fined ten pounds for his "reproachful speeches and in publishing it." Afterwards he made an acknowledgement of his fault, and a portion of the fine was remitted him. See *Winthrop's Journal*, i. 303, 312; ii. 66, 93; *Bond's Watertown; Massachusetts's Historical Collections*, third series, volume i. 32, 35. In the last mentioned work is a copy of a letter written from England by Mr. Nathaniel Biscoe, "To his very loving son-in-law, Mr. Thomas Broughton, at his house in Boston, these," dated "From the Golden Taylor's Shears, in the upper end of Shoe Lane, near Holborn, this 7 of 7ber 1652," in which he says: "I am partly 'promised a place in the Tower of £50 per annum, but had we liberty of conscience with 'you, I had rather be there with £20 per annum. But the will of the Lord be done." This letter caused some excitement in New England.

Mr. Broughton removed from Watertown to Boston about 1650, and was a merchant there. His residence was at Centrehaven, "within the limits of Boston." He bought in 1651, of Nicholas Shapleigh, of Kittery, one half of a saw-mill, situated at Sturgeon's creek on the Piscataqua river; also corn and felling mills of Rev. Henry Dunster, on Mistick river, which mills Mr. Broughton had built. He owned land near the town dock in Boston, purchased a farm of 300 acres in Charlestown, of the Nowells, and was at one time owner of Noddle's Island, now East Boston, the latter tract being one thousand acres of upland and meadow. *Sumner's East Boston*, 182, 183, 256. His name is appended to a petition from the merchants of Boston in regard to a reduction of the duty on malt. *Drake's History of Boston*, 332, 336, 341. He seems to have been a person of some distinction in his day. Dr. Bond states that he died in Boston, November twelfth, 1700, aged eighty-seven. From the same authority we learn that he had children, besides the one who died in infancy—Elizabeth, born in Watertown, 1645-6; Mary, in Boston, 1651, who married Jacob Fowle; Thomas, 1653; Nathaniel, 1654; Thomas, 1656; Hannah, 1658; Sarah, 1660; Patience, 1663. To these we add a daughter Abigail. His son Thomas, the gunsmith, died December fourth, 1702, at which time were living Elizabeth, Mary, Nathaniel and Abigail.

There was a Thomas Broughton who embarked at Gravesend in the ship *America* for Virginia, June twenty-third, 1635, at the age of nineteen. We have no evidence that this was the Boston merchant, except the assertion of Mr. Savage in his *Genealogical Dictionary*, who does not give his authority.

We learn from *Oldmixon's Carolina*, that Colonel Thomas Broughton was one of the Counsellors of that Colony and Collector of the Customs in 1708. He was afterward Lieutenant Governor of the Province; succeeded to the command on the death of Governor Robert Johnson, May third, 1735, and died in 1738, when he was succeeded by Governor William Bull. *Oldmixon's British Empire in America*, second edition, i. 506. *Carroll's History of South Carolina*, i. 311, 327, who says that he was a plain honest man, but little distinguished for his knowledge or valor. *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. vi. page 91.

Boston In New England April 2^d 1690.

Mr Increase Matther. S^r not hearing any thinge from you of plantation worke since you went hence, makes me recite the sume of that treatise for your reminding therein, the treatise proposeth a liberall maintenance for the ministry because faith comes by hearing of the word of God preached. Rom. 10: 17, and a like plentifull

provision for schools, that children which are as seed to after generations may from their childhood be instructed in languages, arts and piety, so they will hand downe their virtues from one generation to another forever. Againie it proposeth worke for all, that all in some good way or other may labour six days as God comands, and none may finde leasure to be vitiated with idlenesse or ill company. It also proposeth, a comfortable reliefe for all poore, that none may say they want, but such as will not doe what they can doe for their owne subsistance; of whom God hath said let them not eate 2 Thess : 3 : 10 : It farther proposeth, greate defence in times of warr and a comfortable vicinitie in times of peace. It finally proposeth, disburdening of all taxes (that greate make bate betwixt governours and people) and binds up all in unity : that no rates shall be except in times of warr; and then none in his witts but will willingly lay downe his all for the enemy comes for that which he vallues more then all, his life. And to defray the charge of all these accomplishments, it proposeth, the improvement of wilderness land, as the most profitable and desirable estate : and this improvement to be made by tenants as most free from trouble to its owners : and all these improvements and attainments by them every one of them proved true by practical demonstrations. The charge to begin and carry on this so greate and good a worke is very small like a graine of mustard seed : but when grown up will become a tree under the shade whereof all mankinde may sit with greatest profit and delight. What interest doth it not provide for ? her's love to God above all, and to our neighbours as ourselves, and that to all generations : her's length of dayes in the right hand, even the days of a happie eternity, and in the left hand riches and honour : her's that narrow selvish spirit taken off, and a good Samaritans spirit placed in its roome. He that sees not these blessings in this undertaking, is not only so blind as not to see things afarr off, but cannot see his owne interest which is nearest to him. To say no more, but come to the conclusion of all, let us thus declare our faith in God and keeping his comands, this is the whole of man, ther's nether more nor lesse to minde, then God will comand his blessing on us even life forevermore. The greate and wonderfull revolutions of late in both Englands, and in all the world beside speaks the day to be neare dawning wherein knowledge shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea, the treatise is the apt means to attaine it. I pray doe what you can to set us to worke as the Larke, so soone as day breakes, that as fellow labourers in our distinct stations we may worke together for promoting the glory of God in our generation and there in our good account in the greate day, this the great gaine, all other lost labour. In your endeavors on so good and mo-

mentous a worke wishing you God speede I end, remaining Sr

Yours to serve you

THOMAS BROUGHTON.

It would greatly silence contemners of our authority to have our Charter confirmed by our king and parliament. I pray endeavor as much as you can its accomplishment for evils vented in evil words fret as a cancar and make government uneasie.

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Boston In New England April 2^d 1690.

Sr my plantation worke dyed not with my lord Major, others presently espoused it with me but the perrill of the present times hath put a stop, the value of so great a ship as lumber requires being thought too imprudent to adventure in one bottom, as times now are, hiring of the Hollander is judged best, a liberty for which is the end of this enclosed addresse unto the king, which requesting nothing from him but his fiat for demonstrating actually what you have affirmed (of New England) to the king may reasonably hope it will not be denied; and then with one act and disburse the kings interest and our plantation worke may be carried on at once the original value of each cargo will be small and the adventure may be secured by insurance and while troublesome times last scarcity will raise the price at a market furr above the excesse of charge of portage and ensurance, this country abounds in all sorts of mines only gold I never saw any : in the yeare 42 I was instructed in refining worke by antient rich men brought up in that worke from his youth in order to making me his steward and partner but I then knowing nothing experimentally of mines as after 47 years experiences I now doe I declined it : about 30 years since I brought silver ore to Capt : Hull to refine, it proved very rich, he advised me to improve it but I refused for reason cited in the addres, merchandise must be the entering wedge both to the kings and plantation interest when I shall be advised at the returne of this sloop of the kings pleasure I shall give instructions for a steering of matters in order to the ends proposed that I may be hidden in these transactions (for I intend not to cumber myselfe with any affaires of this world only to guide others in the worke by my counsell) I have desired two frinds to subscribe the addresse desiring you that my name may be concealed as to having any hand therein. 1000 £ stock laid downe in London will begin and carry on all without any need of more disburse. this may serve for a covert to the addresse from

Your truly respective frind and servant

THOMAS BROUGHTON.

I pray you impart all my lines to you to Mr. Robert Avery.

SOLDIERS AT LOUISBURG, 1760.

COMMUNICATED BY JOHN B. RUSSELL, ESQUIRE, OF
WASHINGTON, D. C.

I send a copy of an old document that may be worth printing in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

We the subscribers being soldiers in Col^d. Jon^s Bagly's provincial Reg^t do hereby acknowledge to have Received of Major Jos Goldthwait four Pounds Lawfull money being a Reward Granted us by the Great & General Court, for our being Detained here the Winter past.

LOUISBOURG MARCH 26, 1760.

Moses Woodman	Jonathan Burges
† James French	Jacob Hoyt
Abraham Page	Plumer Hadley
Samuel Kinrick	Henry Tuxbery
Ephraim Blasdal	David Molton
Nicholas Blasdal	William Low
Jacob Harvey	Wm Eaton
James Hlanders	John Merrill
Samuel Carr	William Hoyt
Jose Tirrill	Moses Merrill
David Spafford	Will ^m . Maggridge
Joshua Edwards	Jacob Thompson
Robinson Bond	Philip Chandler
John Smith	Samuel Blasdel
John Sturdivint	Jonath Wheeler
† William Skrigings	Welles Chase
Joshua French	Jacob Morille
† Thomas Thompson	William Plummer
John Carr	† Johsias Clint
Ebenezer Morrison	† Mickel driskol
francis Brown	Gideon Young
Aquila Hodgkins	† Joseph Springer
Jon ^s . Woods	Gideon Chase
Abel Coffin	Oliver Osgood
Phillip Wells	Benj Bagley
† David downen	† John pigot
† Elisha Adams	

Colonel Bagley was a captain in Colonel Hale's regiment during the seige of Louisburg, and from the names I judge that most of the signers were Essex county men.

LETTER OF JAMES LOGAN, OF PHILADELPHIA, 1761.

COMMUNICATED BY JEREMIAH COLBURN, ESQ., BOSTON.

James Logan, whose letter we give below, from the original, was one of the most learned and distinguished men in the Colony of Pennsylvania. He was born at Lurgan, Ireland, August twentieth, 1674. In 1699, he came to Pennsylvania,

† Those with a † made their mark

with William Penn. In 1701, he was appointed Secretary of the Province and Clerk of the Council. He was afterwards President of the Council and Chief Justice. In his religious sentiments he was a Quaker. He died at Stenton, Pennsylvania, October thirty-first, 1751, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

In his will, dated at Philadelphia, 1749, he says :
“ In my library, which I have left to the city of Philadelphia, for the facilitating and advancement of classical learning, are above one hundred volumes of authors, in folio, all in Greek, with mostly their versions; all the Roman classics, without exception; all the old Greek mathematicians, viz., Archimedes, Euclid, and Ptolemy, both his geography and almagest, which I had in Greek (with Theon's Commentary in folio, above 700 pages,) from my learned friend, Fabricius, who published fourteen volumes of his Greek *Bibliothèque* in 4 to., in which, after he had finished his account of Ptolemy, on my inquiry of him at Hamburgh, in 1722, how I should find it, having long sought for it in vain in England, he sent it to me out of his own library, telling me it was scarce, that neither prayer nor price could purchase it. Besides, there are many of the most valuable Latin authors, and a great number of modern mathematicians, with all the three editions of Newton, Dr. Halley, Wallis, &c. I have built a library room* and endowed it for ever with £35 sterling per annum for a librarian; he to advance £18 yearly to buy books. The room, books, and salary I cannot value at less than £2000, solely designed for the use of the public, in order to prevail on them (having such assistance) to acquaint themselves with literature.”

In 1792, it was joined to the “ Library Company of Philadelphia,” and in accordance with the founder's Will, the office of Hereditary Librarian is held by his descendant, Lloyd Pearsall Smith, who has held the office from 1851 to the present time. The number of volumes now exceeds ten thousand.

Philad^a 2nd mo 1701

Dear fr^d

By a short note last 7th day I requested thee to Send the Laws, the Credit of our County especially mine is now engaged in it for a Court being to be held this week for the Trial of a negroe where there is an absolute necessity for a Copy to be produced, it will look very ill to expose the Original in such a case before so many of the unsanctified Your copy is in a good forwardness and will soon be finished so that you will be but a very short time destitute of your Rule, tho' Bucks in general I know is so well supplied wth a better that they

* This house stood at the Northwest corner of Sixth and Walnut streets. The lot and the library building were sold in 17 for £700.

will not so Sensibly want that Coercive one. But nonsense apart our Necessity is so great I must adjure thee by all thats obliging in friendship not to fail to send them per very first for 5th day I doubt they will be much wanted. I have finished Milnors Warr^t as also Rowland, but believe it was omitted then, through some dissatisfaction in Title. I have been very particular in y^e Warr^t that thou have the easier Insight into it and hope Edw^d will as particularly recite mine. Smith had 300 acres but on what acc^t no wayes appeared, and he standing first in Bristol Township & y^e fore most obvious could not be omitted through neglect but design of wth I remember something. Pray be particular in thy Inquiry in this affair.

Upon a hint given the Gov^r He has ord^d a men^d to be entered the office that ye great Quarry in R Houghs & Abel Janneys Lands be reserved wⁿ they come to be confirmed being for ye publick Good of ye County of w^h if thou take notice in ye Resurrey & wth their consent it may be the better.

Through a pious and laudable desire and Inclination to Spend my Dayes and transact a life more after the original Institution of our Patriarchical Grand Sires I have been long enquiring about some convenient habitation accommodated wth 3, 4 or 500 acres of good Land and proportionable meadow in y^e Innocent County afore^d but have not been yet successful. I am really Serious in it and wish thou wouldst Supply my Deficiencies or want of success in the S^d Inquiry, for what I mention is really Intended. I hear the Gov^r has a plantation on wth one R^d Wilson is now settled adjoining on Pensbury and well accommodated, but if it be a part of the Mannor I too well know the value sett on that Land, and I would not buy happiness it self too dear, Gold I mean. Pray be pleased to inform me of this and thy sentiments on the whole. That Land above Broocks I suppose is by this time disposed of, but if not 'tis but barren I hear and that's a quality I should as little care for in Land as in an Employment.

I am very tedious and to honest P. Worrals no small affliction whose patience is just evaporating, must therefore conclude wth sincere Respects

Thy Assured & Affect^{ionate} fr^d

JAMES LOGAN.

Pray lett as little Occasion of Disgust as may be) be taken at y^e executing of that Warr^t for Venables Land.

To

Phineas Pemberson.

P^r Sent.

P^r P. Worrals

DR. FRANKLIN, CHARLES THOMPSON AND
MRS. LOGAN.

COMMUNICATED BY HON. WILLIAM WILLIS, LL. D.,
OF PORTLAND, MAINE.

Having in my possession some original letters of former times, relating to early events in our history, I have thought that their perusal might give as much pleasure to some of the readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE as they have to me. I now send you extracts from two written by the celebrated Mrs. Deborah Logan, of Philadelphia, which contain interesting anecdotes of men and things. You are at liberty to publish them in the Magazine, if you think them of sufficient importance. My first extract is from one written to a friend in 1829 :

"It was late in Dr. Franklin's life when I knew him. The first time I ever saw him was going up to Congress, upon his return to this country during the Revolution. He was fat, square built, and wore his own hair, thin and gray : but he looked healthy and vigorous. His head was remarkably large in proportion to his figure, and his countenance mild, firm and expressive. He was friendly and agreeable in conversation, which he suited to his company, appearing to wish to benefit his hearers. I could readily believe that he heard nothing of consequence himself but what he turned to the account he desired, and in his turn profited by the conversation of others.

"I have no doubt but that he had a considerable hand in writing the 'Historical Review.' There is a great deal of his acumen in it. But it was utterly unworthy of him, for party purposes, to violate truth and candor, as is done in that work. It is founded on false views, and does the greatest injustice to the memory of the virtuous dead.

"Dr. Franklin once told my husband that the celebrated Adam Smith, when writing his 'Wealth of Nations,' was in the habit of bringing chapter after chapter, as he composed it, to himself, Dr. Price and others of the literati of that day, with whom he was intimate ; patiently hearing their observations, and profiting by their discussions and criticisms. Nay, that he has sometimes reversed his positions and re-written whole chapters, after hearing what they had to remark on the subject before them."

Mrs. Logan was the wife of Dr. George Logan, grandson of James Logan,* the friend of

*See preceding article — EDITOR.

William Penn, whom he accompanied to Pennsylvania in 1699, and was afterwards Chief Justice and Governor of the Province. Dr. Logan was himself distinguished as a scholar and philanthropist, and was a Senator in Congress from 1801 to 1807. He died in 1821. His accom-

plished widow was highly endowed, was a beautiful writer, made large and valuable collections of historical facts, was a member of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and compiled from the numerous files of papers left by James Logan and the Norris family, five quarto volumes of invaluable materials for the history of Pennsylvania. She furnished many of the interesting facts which Mr. Watson, employed in his *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*. She died February second, 1839, in the seventy-eighth year of her age. She was called "The Female Historian of Pennsylvania." "She was the delight of the young and the beloved of the aged." Several of her letters in my hands indicate familiar acquaintance with persons, facts and incidents connected with the early and later history of that Commonwealth, written in a clear and beautiful style, and with admirable expression in the Quaker idiom, to which sect herself and the Logan family belonged. As she was so connected with this family, it cannot be wondered at that she should speak so severely of the Historical Review, whose sharp arrows were aimed at the Penn proprietors, the friends and patrons of the Logans. Franklin's efforts and labors were in the interest of the people of the Province, in opposition to the selfish and oppressive policy of the proprietors. Mr. Smith of Philadelphia, in a letter, March twenty-third, 1829, says: "Much of Walsh's article on American Biography, in his new Review, is from the pen of Mrs. Logan about Thompson, and is, I think, the best part of the book."

The following letter, referring to this subject, from Mrs. Logan, will give an idea of her style of writing:

"My Respected friend; I received thy note of the 5th inst., and in reply to thy invitation to write, or copy, some of my recollections respecting my late valued friend, Charles Thompson, I may tell thee that when I have a little leisure, I will endeavor to prepare something of that kind, and the more readily as there seems to be a scarcity of material, and no prominent person has as yet offered anything respecting him, or his eminent services to the country, as information to posterity. But it would be more desirable to me to give what I can prepare, which, however desultory and small it might prove, would yet be authentic, to the Historical Society, for reasons which I will tell thee when I have the pleasure of seeing thee.

"With respect to the paper on the *Revolution*, it does not seem to me to be one that should be made public, or placed in hands where there was a chance of its being so. Much explanation is necessary to understand it aright, and much might have been given by the parties con-

cerned, if they had supposed it would have been necessary. I have a glimpse in my own mind, from what I recollect hearing of the intrigues of Joseph Galloway and his party, then very dominant in Philadelphia, to keep John Dickinson out of the first Congress, that those who felt the spirit and necessity of an opposition to the unconstitutional measures of Great Britain, had a nice part to act between open foes abroad and insidious enemies at home. But I cannot for a moment believe that either of those gentlemen would stoop to any act of duplicity, or in the least sanction the sentiment that the end would justify the means.' I am, with great esteem and confidence, Thy sincere friend.

DEBORAH LOGAN.

"Stenton, 9th 1st mo. 1827."

The persons alluded to in the letter are Charles Thompson, the long and faithful Secretary to Congress; John Dickinson, the author of the famous "Farmer's Letters;" Governor John Reed and General Thomas Mifflin. Charles Thompson was cousin to Mrs. Logan. He died August sixteenth, 1824, in the ninety-fifth year of his age.

The Historical Review, referred to in the letters, was generally imputed to Franklin; but his grandson, Bache, declared in Court that it was not so. There is, however, reason to believe that he had an agency in its production, if he was not its author. It was attributed to James Ralph, an early companion of Franklin in Philadelphia, and who accompanied him to London on his first visit to that city. Ralph acquired some reputation in London as an historical writer and poet. In the latter capacity he made himself sufficiently conspicuous to be introduced into the *Dunciad*. The work was entitled: "An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania." It was written and published in London, in 1759, with an intention of enlightening the British public on the character and condition of Pennsylvania, whose people had been greatly misrepresented and misgoverned by the Proprietors. It therefore reflected severely upon those persons and their proceedings, and the name of the writer was consequently concealed. It was republished by William Duane, a relative of Dr. Franklin, in an octavo volume of four hundred and thirty-one pages, in 1809, at Philadelphia. The editor of the volume, in an introductory note, says: "The public prints [of London] abounded with misrepresentations of the colonists; and two pamphlets on the same subject were published. Meanwhile Dr. Franklin published an anonymous book, entitled *An Historical Review of Pennsylvania*. This Review attracted much attention and made a very deep impression in favor of the Pennsylvanians, against whom many prejudices had been excited. Much asperity

"followed against its author, who did not absolutely disavow it." He adds: "Attempts have been made to deny the venerable patriot the merit of this, like others of his more important works, because it was not claimed nor avowed."

William Temple Franklin, in the memoirs of his grandfather, published in London and Philadelphia in 1817 and 1818, thus speaks of this work:

"Mr. Franklin, while engaged in negotiations with the proprietaries, employed his leisure hours in drawing up a minute account of the province, for general information. * * Having sketched his design, he found that it grew upon his hands, as it not only obliged him to enter minutely into the detail of facts and the adduction of records, but to illustrate them by explanations, and to apply them by reflections. This performance appeared at the beginning of 1759, with the title of *An Historical Review, &c.* This work was necessarily anonymous; and the strictest circumspection appears to have been observed in regard to the author. * * The 'Review,' therefore, long passed as the production of James Ralph, the historian."

Clarkson, in his life of William Penn, observes that "this book was the production of Franklin, though it was attributed to one Ralph, to prejudice the people against the proprietary family."

These testimonies confirming the statement of Mrs. Logan, of itself convincing evidence, leaves scarcely a doubt of the authorship of the celebrated work to which we have referred.

LETTER OF THOMAS CUSHING TO JOHN HANCOCK, 1776.

COMMUNICATED BY JAMES SPEAR LORING, ESQUIRE.

The writer of the following letter, Hon. Thomas Cushing,* was born at Boston, March twenty-fourth, 1725; was a scholar at the Boston Latin School, under Master John Lovell, contemporary with Cooper, Checkley and Royal Tyler; and was graduated at Harvard College in 1774. He was a member of the Massachusetts Provincial House of Representatives fourteen years, and its Speaker eight years. He was also a member of both the Provincial and Continental Congresses; Commissary General in 1775; a member of the Governor's Council from 1775 to 1778, and in 1777 was Judge of Probate for Suffolk. Afterwards he was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

For eight years he was Lieutenant Governor of

Massachusetts, under Governors Hancock and Bowdoin; and, when Hancock resigned in 1785, he became acting Governor. He died, of lung fever, February twenty-eighth, 1788, aged sixty-three:

BOSTON Dec 16 1776

DEAR SIR.

I have received your favor of the 16 November, hope the express will arrive very soon with the Cash or I shall not know what to do. The ship Hancock is arrived from Newbury Port into this Harbour. It was thought she could not by any means lay with safety at Newbury, Capt Manly has therefore exerted himself to get her Round, and has been obliged to be at very considerable expense to execute this business at this season of the year, pray inform me whether I am to provide Sloops for the seamen, and whether it is not the Business of the captain. I think by the rules and regulations of the Navy, it be longs to the captain; however, if Congress orders that they should be purchased and laid in the charge of the Continent for the use of the sailors I shall obey. Capt Manly says that you told him you should give me directions to pay the officers of the ships their back wages or arrearages. I find their commissions are all dated the 10th of October last, but you must be sensible they were appointed and have been employed in the service of the ships long before that time, please to let me know your mind upon this subject. This State has not as yet been able to procure the Cannon for the Hancock, and I know not when they will, please to let me know if the Congress will allow the enormous price of one hundred pounds and ten for them to the owners of the furnace in Rhode Island provided I can prevail with them to cast them. I wrote to you sometime ago upon this head but have not as yet been favoured with an answer. The sooner I have the mind of the Congress upon this head the better. The ship might go to sea in Ten days if she had her guns and men and I could procure some Duck for her light sails. Capt Bradford the Continental Agent tells me there is a considerable quantity of light Duck under his care in one of ye Continental prizes which he has wrote to Congress about, but as he does not know but they will order him to send it to the Southward he dares not part with it, pray send him orders to Deliver me as much of it as I may want for the ships, as also any other article he has that will be of use for ye vessels.

I remain with great Respect

Your most humble serv^t

THOMAS CUSHING.

P. S. Pray send me answer by the return of this Express, who carries a letter from ye Council which renders it needless for me to write you relative to ye proceedings of our Assembly.

The Hon John Hancock Esq.

*Mr. Loring read a very interesting paper on the life of Thomas Cushing, under the title of "HANCOCK'S BOSON FRIEND," before the New England Historic-Genecological Society, at Boston, Wednesday Oct. 1, 1856. This paper was printed in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* the next day and was reprinted with a new title in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE 1st S. vol. vi. pp. 212-16.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER BOOKS OF JOHN THURMAN, JUNIOR.

COMMUNICATED BY BENJAMIN H. HALL, ESQ., OF TROY, N. Y.

Ralph Thurman, the grandfather of the writer of the letters whence the extracts that follow are made, was born in Leicestershire, England, in the year 1671. His son John, was born at Lower Shadwell, Cockhill, March fifteenth, 1695, and married for his first wife Elizabeth Wessells, and for his second, a Miss Nulty. John Thurman removed to this country, and on February twenty-seventh, 1732, John Thurman junior was born, in the city of New York. Of his early years but little information is preserved. As early as 1760, he was a merchant in his native city, and had on sale at his warehouses a large assortment of dry goods, clothing, millinery, hardware, crockery, pewter ware and groceries. These he supplied not only to the citizens of New York for money, but with them carried on an extensive trade in the back settlements, obtaining in exchange the furs of different animals and such other articles as could be sold in New York or in England. Having visited England in the latter part of the year 1759 or early in 1760, he returned thence reaching New York in August of the latter year, and soon after informed some of his principal customers at Albany and other places, by letter, that he was awaiting the arrival of "a very neat assortment of goods," and hoped "to have the pleasure to serve" them "in many articles."

At the breaking out of the Revolution he was opposed to the schemes of taxation which Great Britain strove to impose upon the American colonies, and as will be seen, by reference to his letters, freely expressed that opposition. It seems, however, that when, under the act of June thirtieth, 1773, passed by the Legislature of the State of New York, he was required to take the oath acknowledging the validity of the government of that State, he refused to comply with the demand, and was subsequently, in consequence of such refusal, removed within the enemy's lines.

Referring to this compulsory residence, one of Mr. Thurman's nephews wrote, in 1789, as follows: "It is true Mr. T. some part of the War resided within the British lines, tho' this situation was not a voluntary choice of his making but the effect of an abuse of power assumed by a committee (previous to the establishment of our present State Government) who banished him thither. Mr. T. has long since been reinstated and is entitled to all the rights of citizen-ship." Mr. Thurman himself gave his reasons for his conduct, in a letter to a friend written April twenty fifth, 1789, in these words: "No Law in our State deprives me of recovering Interest on my acco^d on acco^d of my being within these

"Lines being sent in for no offence but conceiving the Oath tendered me a flat contradiction in itself."

After the close of the war he resumed business in New York city, but subsequently resigned it to his nephews and began to purchase and settle lands in the northern part of the State of New York. At Johnsbury, in Warren county, he made his principal settlement about the year 1790, at which time that place was twenty miles remote from any other settlement. His residence at Johnsbury was known as "Elm Hill." He was never married, although it may reasonably be inferred from his letters that he held the fair sex in no light estimation. He was gored by a bull, and died in consequence of the wounds thus received September twenty-seventh, 1809, aged 77, and lies buried in a small enclosure at Weavertown, a village in the town of Johnsbury:

[New York] 3 Sept^r 1760.

Christopher Chambers Merch^t London.

I have the pleasure for the first time dating a Letter to you from my on Country. I arrived here after having been from Falmouth 53 days, tho' we touch^d at Marblehead & Boston in our way, as to publick news I am no politician & suppose you don't expect it at my hand; however I can say, as the world says, our Armies have marched by several ways Against the Enemy, Gen^l Amherst via Oswego, Heaviland by Crown Point & Gen^l Murray up the River St Lawrence, so we make our Approaches on all sides, & I hope ere I sent this Epistle to say all Canady is reduced, & the Inhabitants prisoners of War or under the Oaths of Allegiance to his present Majesty. As to domesticks, I found all friends well, George & I have got to house keeping tho' my housekeeper who has been only one week with me is very poorly, & so you'll say we keep but a Bad house, why say it if you will for God knows its Bad enough old & Rotten & is much in Want of a Thorough repair, but says you what do I care for that, why let me tell you, if ever I get able to Build a New house I will have better conveniences for carrying on the Furr Trade, & you shall Judge when that has done sufficient to Furnish me with the materials. Our friend Rensen still stands Batchelor, as dose Mr Earnest but his Lease is so nerly expired that we'll write him safely mored head & Stern in the Harbour of Bliss, his main mast step'd his Keelson good & Firm & we'll call it by the name of Miss Sally Tenyke. here is such a stroke carried on in the matrimonial way that was you acquainted I could give you a List of at Least 50 Couple Spliced & about to be spliced in 3 moons. this is Leap year & God knows its well carried on. I suppose I shall be obliged to return to your Town when I get in the Vien, then oh! my dear Miss Cowley! I Suppose you visit Barclay's Building, if not pray go to

Mrs. Renalds & Kiss the dear girl for me & Let me know how she dose, as shall always be glad to hear from her, & at the same time let me know how you prosper, now Let me beg my Compliments, to M^{rs} Sargent Aufere your Good Sisters, M^{rs} Dean, M^{rs}. Miss & M^{rs} Bowland, Savage, M^{rs} Sharp & Family, & all friends of My Acquaintance Colonel Dean may now take upon him the Government of New York, as his honour James Delancey, departed this Life in July Last, I shall be glad to shake him by the Fist. * * *

N. Y. 3 Sept^r 1760

John Whitelock (Merch^t London)

* * * Mrs & Mr. Rivington, like the Country exceedingly. * * *

[New York Sept 3d, 1760]

John Sargent (London)

I have the pleasure to begin a Correspondence with you from my Native home where at my arrival I found all friends in health, The Mount & Flag Business is nigh crushed, & many here are great sufferers, so great that we fear they will scarcely be able to go on in business. About 3 weeks since Two Jew Traders, at Albany Shut up Shop & made themselves scarce, & its computed our Merch^{ts} in New York Lose between £15 & 20,000 a great Loss, tho I dont know any of your friends except M^r Marston (who I believe is very able to bear his Loss,) Sufferers. Governor Delancey departed this Life Last July, a Great Loss to the Government I shall be glad to see the Colonel & his Lady come over, to Occupy his place, & the Governmts Loss by that means Restored. I am sure she'll Like this Country, as well as England, as we have a Much Better Climate, & as Fruitfull Soil. I hope to Insert by Postscript that all Canady is ours, as we have got near the Enemy on all sides of Montreal. The Flower Shipp'd by the contractors from London is every Barrel condemned as unfit for use. * * *

[New York, October, 1760]

John Whitelock [London]

I have the pleasure to say I had a very Good Sale Since my Goods arrived. I hope to enlarge my orders & encreas their annual Acc^{ts} as I have no doubt all in your power will be done to enable me to undersell my Neigh^{ts} tho you have miss'd it in some things which for your Government Ill point out. The Thread Lace is not the sort used here & is said to be very high. The Nett Silk Purses, I bought when in London a 6-6 are equally as Good as those you have charged 7-6 & were chose before them at one price. the Egrets Brests, Flowers & some little things, all say are handsome but dear, they have given me much Trouble to no purpose for I have

not sold any, tho I offerd them at Less Profit than I sell other things. I shall Trouble my self no more wth those Trifling articles, till I see a change but hope to do better Business with you. many have Imported them Lately & the Miliners are accustomed to have them at their own Price which youll readily Judge is Low enough. I should be glad you could do the Silk Hand^{ls} somthing better as to other matters I hear no complaint. now is the time for me to Lay a firm foundation for doing business in Better times. Little can be done at Present more than securing Good Customers by selling Cheap, you know the Strongest Tys of Business, Bills of Exchange are Ris from 62 1-2 to 80 which is I think higher than they can remain Long, as soon as they Fall or Furrs come in you may depend on a Remittance. I need not assure you it Shall all be done in due time having verbally conn'd over this matter.

I have the pleasure to assure you James Rivington is Indefatigable in his business, & will not give himself time to go to a weekly club, & finds business enough to Employ every moment of his time. he declares he is as contented & well satisfied as ever he was which I think is verifed by the magnitude of his Corporation, all his cloaths want Letting out, he is held in much esteem & Look'd upon as a very usefull man, & I believe will soon be a Rich man my best compliments to your Good Spouse, Son & Daughter.

[New York, October, 1760]

Mr. Benton Harrison.

I Just Reced a Line from our friend Mr John Milner, who is taking the Gown as per his Inclosed Letter & having a desire to become an inhabitant of your country would be glad to know what places are vacant & what Sallery & Perquisites are annexed to them he is a Gent I dare say will give Great Satisfaction in Preach^t the word of God amongst you as he is universally liked by all who converse with him if youll please to write me by return of Post I will forward it to him & any serv^t you can do him shall be esteemed done to your assured Friend & serv^t

N. York, 28th Oct^r 60

Miss Jain Blockley at Birmingham

In yours 4 June Last you was pleased to say you would be glad to hear from me at my arrival According to your desire be it done. now you'll say this man writes Long epistles, he is a Stranger to the Fair or he would not Transgress so far upon their patience, but you have challenged me to it therefore I will go on Midsummer day I Left your Island Forty two days after we made the Continent of America, & put in at Boston, where we Lay a few days & put to sea again & in 11 days after arrived at this Port, after having been at sea

53 days mostly very pleasant weather, undergoing many different scenes of sickness & health, pains & Pleasure we Landed, all stout & hearty, here I was very agreeably surprised to see the havock & Ruins the Late conflagration had made removed, & a stately New Building Standing in its Stead, which contain'd the Man I Love best in the World, he receed me with Joy & Gladness, & after a mutual Imbrace Saluting all my friends in perfect health, had the inexpressable pleasure, to find my Father, after having Lived in a habitation to a good old age very contented & satisfy'd to change it for a new one, so much Philosophy is not common to men of Riper years, I will not say you know but undoubtedly you've heard, the prejudice people are apt to have to dwellings after havg occupied them from their Infancy, that old people by removing from their dwelling Generally remove out of this world, soon after. now having detain'd you so Long at the Fair of my friends, I shall begin my epistle to you, & if I knew by what name I would Insert it for I suppose, the Man with a Black Gown, has said FOR BETTER & FOR WORSE, & so removed Blockley out of the Question, well Jain these are things that must be done, & happy must that Man be who geteth thee for an Helpmeet Prudence & Virtue Joind to every other good & desirable Qualification, Centered in the Breast of an agreeable Person. can't but make those capable of being happy, Truly so, & that man must be a wretch indeed, that dose not possess every thing in Possessing you Oh! that I may Visit England once more, not but I Live in full as good a Country, But aLass I'll say no more so fair well old England. Now let me enquire whats become of your Brother Tom he is either confoundedly in Love with some girl or other or Lost his senses for having been so or his memory for want of Being so, or or, or I dont know what for I am sure all is not right with him, ask him how gese Chape & Lockmaking, & Let me know how Long its since he forgot to write, or who was his former scribe & of what distemper he died, nay ask him Ten Thousand Questions as I would was I with him & all to as Little purpose I am determined to with hold my pen till I hear from him, if his silence Last till dooms day, & then I'll not write Indeed I willn't.

Dear Girl as you absented yourself from company & Diner, to Give me the Inexpressable pleasure of a Billit so in Return, I weary after following Business all day. Light my candle Sit down & write, I would to God I had some other way to Testify my Gratitude my candle in the Socket reminds me of its end & I see the necessity of concluding this Long Letter for in the very humour I began so I end fully persuaded your patience is all exhausted, my compliments to your Good fither M^o & family, Blakely & Suart, my watch tells me you are fast and sound on your Pillow it be'ing

about 4 o'clock in the Morning with you God Give you pleasant Dreams & Continue your health & every needfull Blessing is the Sincere prayer of him who Loves you Much & is most asuredly yours.

[New York] 25 Oct^r 69

John Sargent Esq^r London

I can't but Imbrace all opp^r to Let you hear from me, I presented your compliments with The Ladies to our friend Reade, setting forth the pleasure he would add to your life by revisiting England, & the Great & inestimable happiness you intended him in a Good wife he was vastly Inquisitive & desirous to know who the Lady was I assured him she was a very fine woman & well worth all he could do to obtain her, these arguments weigh much with him, & he seems very desirous of Coming to you, but the Distance & as he seems to think, he's past the Miredian, a re all the objections. by Davis hope to send you somthing Truly American, for every thing you have in common are the same as our's are, therefore not worth your acceptance after a Voyage. The Seat or Fountain of News, is removed so can say nothing on that head. Our Good, therefore wise General, is coming down tho' he has done all that can be done, & what none before him could do Success has crown'd all his undertakings, and he has restored Peace to this Land, without the Loss of many Men, he always secured the country he went Thro' & restored safety to the Back Inhabitants, even in Times of Warr, tho he has done this, & excluded the French from any commerce with the Indians, Relieved the Inhabitants from the Tyranny of the army, had a Strict eye to Justice. punishing all that were Faulty in the Army, as the Civil Law dose in Government without respect to persons, after all this, many say more was in his power & he ought to have done it, & others as Ignorantly say all was done for him, & he has done Nothing, this shows the absolute Impossibility of Pleasing every Body, or Acting in a Publick Character without Blame. I hope those at the head of affairs may see & Reward his merit, and never give up the Great acquisitions, but annex them to the Crown, & Future Ages Bless the Man that's rooted out so noctious an enemy.

My Best Compliments to all the Ladies of our acquaintance, I shall be proud to render them any acceptable Service on this Side the Water I am much obliged to M^o Sargent & Miss Chambers for recommend^s George to me, I am in great hopes he will make a very Good Boy. he seems to Like the Country very much, the General has established New York Paper Money thro' all his conquests even to Quebeck, this will be of Great advantage to this Government & a mighty support to the Credit of its mony we dont know but war may Last another Year. Since the Mount & Flag Traid

has been stopped, Dry Good are slow sale, & in consequence much Fallen in price not only so, But Bills are monstrously Risen now 182 $\frac{1}{2}$ pc^t, I have Bo^t none nor will I at those Prises, if any way can be found to do without If any change threatens the Present times that may give a Turn to affairs shall be glad you would please to communicate it wth your Sentiments thereon & you'll add to the many Obligations already Received, which shall always be acknowledged by your assured Friend & Ready Hble Servt

— N York 26 Oct^r 60

John Sargent [London]

Since I wrote you, by this opp^r. send you an American Animal call'd a Raccoon, it Feeds on Milk Bread, nuts meats &c, It thrives in the Fall till Christmas after which Season they grow Lean, they are very fine eating, I wish you a Good Appetite when ever you dress it, I have given it to doctor Stuard who says he will send it by a safe hand to London, by Water, I shall always be glad to hear of M^r Sargents health & am wishing you every needfull Blessing yours assuredly

— N York 6th Jan^r 1761

John Sargent [London]

Yours per the Gen^l Wall duly came to hand, I can only say Many Goods are gone from hence to Quebec & Montreal, But those places will be furnished with Goods from your place Immediately, & I cant see we can have any other connections wth them in Trade, if the country be as fruitfull & pleasant as described however this advantage must arise to this place from this noble Conquest we have a Large frontier all secured from hostilities, where the Farmers may as they heretofore have done Raise their Crops of Grain Cattle & C^t. wth out fear this must reduce the price of all sorts of Provis & enable us to carry on an advantageous trade to the West Indies, this place must also be the receptacle for every commodity Taken on the Lakes at Niagara Oswego & C^t. & secure us the Indian Trade w^{ch} is a very advantageous Branch, they are mostly paid in Trifling Articles for the amasing Quantitys of Furrs they Take. this article can only be remitted for Dry Goods is we have no other market for it & the more numerous our back Inhabitants & Indians are the Greater Quantities of Goods we shall want to supply them as they never make clothing when they can employ themselves in Agriculture, as to the Contract or Contractors at Halifax I can say nothing to it as have had your Letter but 2 days—I shall if Possib^l Inform myself & Let you know, in time of Peace it will be done for much Less than at Present, & from what I have already said should the Warr continue Provisions certainly must fall unless some unforeseen cause prevents for your Government you have the Present Price of all the articles nec-

essary for the Govern^t allowance from which youll be able to form a Judgement.

Winter Rages Ice Surrounds this Island, & in Short from the Scarcity of money one would Judge this piercing air had also Stopped its circulation. If the mont or Flag Trade is not allowd, fairwell Dry Good Business for at leaste one year the vast Quantitys expended in that way caused Great Imports, its sudden Stop has caused great Sale at Auction, we do all we can to discourage such proceedings, but all sorts of Goods are sold every day at 50 perC^t. Le-s than they can be Imported for. Bearskins Coating & several other coarse Goods Sutable to the season, I had in time & have not been able to sell but a meer Trifle nor do I expect to sell any till next year, if in the Spring these Goods are as plenty no man will see his own for any cargoe he may Import If these are ye pleasing prospects to a young beginner I can only wish to be delivered from them however Something Great may Arise from our New conq^t w^{ch} we have not had time to experience. * * *

— N Y 11th Feb^r 1761.

John Sargent [London]

I have to crave your acceptance of one dozen of our Quails, as they used to the Coop hope they will arrive safe wth you, I have the Cap^t promise he will be carefull of them as they will be a novelty about your country seat, I would just recommend this method to you in raising & keep^r them there, have one wing of each Bird Cut off at the first Joint from the Body, then Let or cause some weeds to grow in your Inclosed yard where you keep your Poultry, and as it will be arly in the Spring when they arrive you I hope will have a fine covey by Fall,—they Bring 20 or 30 young at once & generally hatch Twice in every Season if those do not arrive safe or if you have no Luck in Raising them shall send you more from time to time as I can get my friend to carry them my best compliments to your Good Spouse & Children, M^r & M^{rs} Aufrere, Miss Chambers, M^{rs} Deane, The Colonel, Doctor & all friends we Long to hear what our Grand Fleet is Doing—

— N York 12th Feb^r 1761

Chris^t Chambers [London]

I can give you no other marks of the Sincere friendship I bear you than now & then to send you small Tokens whereby you shall bear me in mind. by this opp^r. send you a Martin Skin Purse, Taken from a Great Warrior as also a Powder horn of curious work & String of Porcupine Quills from one of our Warriors. I send you those as I know your fond of the Gun. I shall send you by some other opp^r sometime hence a couple of Young Dogs, such as are most esteem'd by the Indian Hunters, but I must tell you they are in the Womb of the Dam yet I observe your Disposition Concerning

Furrs & I fear you Loose time in your Search after that Article I expected Long ere now to have had the Particulars of every Market in Europe. I have Laid myself out for that article & unless I find you better Inclined to that article, or that you can Let me Act upon some certainty, I shall not Adventure so Largely in that article as we intended but dispose of them some other way. I know from Long experience they will always make a remittance if sold at your Market. I shall send you no more till I hear from you nevertheless I shall purchase all I can Lay my hands upon pray be Industrious now is the time if ever to make something by them the Vast Quantities thats in the Capitulation you fear will Lower the Price wth you Query, Did not the Same Quantity go to the Same Market every year, all that were Taken at Quebeck went to France & you know where they are concerned, our Government is not to be by the London Market, tho that Market always rules us here, as you said so I hope you'll get at the Last Market, I am endeavour^g & will soon Get at the first, so if between those two we cant make it do why the Furr business must not be worth Following, be diligent & dont Let the Grate Fortune you have make you Indolent or stop the Progress of your enquiry you have capacity, I doubt not but I shall hear of your getting some Publick Post of Honour, as by the Kings Death they were make Vacant, so by his resurrection they will be fill again.

Remsen is a shamed to give you an acco^t of the many Defeats he has Suffered, nevertheless so it is Let him say what he will to the contrary. & you'll perhaps say poor fellow he has hard fortune & deserves pity but dont mistake the Matter, he is greatly to be commended, his views are such as ever clever fellows ought to be, he persivers in choosing women of the first character & will not fail to do him honour whenever he Succeeds. I have marked out my Camp. as soon as the cold moderates. I shall entrench & take the Season before me, determined to conquer & grant honour Honourable Terms. you shall receive the capitulation & surrend, the Number of Prisoners, kill'd wounded & C^t. before we write 1762, pray tell me how you Like Sally Cowley, & if you have not seen her go to her & present my compliments to her, by way of Introduction.

Well after having^g as it were tired your Patience I shall turn to the Ladies, pray my complim^{ts} to M^{rs} Sargent, your Good Sisters, M^{rs} Deane M^{rs} & Miss Aufrere, & all friend that visit May Place I shall be glad to do them any acceptable Services here tell them George is a Very Good Boy & the Longer I have him the Better I Like, he answer's the Best Character I have had of him—

now let us condole together over our Good friend Christopher Chambers, for his want of resolution & if I am not wrong in my conjectures he is doom-

ed to Live & Dye an old Batchelor what an amazing fund of Happiness he'll Lose, to pass over the Prime & active part of Youth & Vigor, the only time he'll have of renewing Life in old age, I mean of Living again in the ofspring of his Body & Tasting what can't be described, fair well I'll say no more about it but subscribe myself as no man is more so,

Dr sir Your assured friend & servt

—
N York 1st March 1761.

Chris^r Chambers [London]

Had the Packet Saild before I should not have had the pleasure of writing you, but I Pistol you by all opportunities, to which you are kind enough to say nothing. pray tell me what can be the reason of your not writing me as you promised, by all opportunities respecting many matters. I am not much concerned about publick affairs, for they all seem to go well, yet a Little of that is agreeable, tell me how diversions go on at May place, what Fowling you have, who is like to be married, how, my acquaintance in Fenchurch street do, kiss all the Ladies for me & shake the fist of all the men, I bear them a Sincere regard & am Glad to hear from them—there came a Small Bundle from Birmingham for me while Hary was at London tho he could not Get it onboard the Edward, so put it in at your store, they are a Parcell of Dyes—pray if you have not already sent them, do it pr first opp^t.

Remson is closely engaged, the whole Train of Artillery is bro^d before the Castle & he acts Gallantly, the Besieged Sally out now & then but are always repulsed, so we expect a Capitulation. I shall Leave the Description of the Fortress for another epistle—Let me hear how you go on, or whether you are Inactive Still. My best compliments to all the Ladies at May place.

—
John Sargent Esq^r Pr the Earl of Halifax Cap^t
Bowleston. [London]

N York 15 Aug^t 1761.

* * * * I am Informed Great Quantities of Beaver & other Furrs are coming don from Niagara & C^t & would have been here by this time had not the Carriges & Vessels all been Press'd in the Kings Service to Transport the Troops Baggage &c^t to this place for our Secret Expedition—here will be a Mighty Imbarcation Soon but where destin'd we cannot say but Politicians will have Martimeo & the Massisipi. I suppose you know best & most abo^t it) * * * *

I congratulate you on the reduction of Bell Isle. I hope M^r Lewis distinguished himself in this Honour to his country & Sitts down unhurt after the Seige.

The Glaring hopes of Peace, from the Publick Prints seem to be quite Vanished & in the stead of a Sessation of arms a mighty exertion from all

Quarters to bend them by Force & Superiour Power. I wish we may make a Lasting & Honourable peace or war on to Maintain the Honours we have acquired, & God grant that they may Increase to the subversion of French Treachery & Power. I am glad to hear his majesty sets a proper Estimate on Canaday & intend to hold that Valuable Acquisition. I am repairing my house & making it convenient to carry on business or I would do myself the Pleasure of Visiting it, & giving you an accot of it from my own observations, now, I can only say most People say its a fine Country & the Climate (which was alway represented as Intolerable in Winter) is more moderate than ours. * * *

N York 27 Nov^r 1773

Mr. Rutger Blecker [Albany].
Sir.

* * * * No Tea is yet Arrived we have had a Comitty from a Select Body of the Inhabittance who waited on the Commissioners appointed by the India Company to know what they Intended to do with the Tea When it Arrived when they Generously Informd them they Thought it was so much against the Seence of the Inhabittants that they could not Execute the Commission & that they never would do any thing that was Contrary to the Settlement of their fellow Citizens which makes us very Easy on this head & I hope we shall have no disturbance when it arrives seeing the Commissioners are ready to do Whatever the City shall Judge Right. * * *

26 Decr 1773.

Amos Heyton [probably of London]

* * * * * You will see by the News Papers what Kind of Reception the India Companies Teas have had in America Boston hath been drove to the necessity of Destroying it, Carrolina Philad^a & this Place I trust will have it in their Power to Return it our Governour having the affections of the Inhabitants used his best endeavours to get their consent to Land it, but the affair at Boston has determind the Americans to perish Rather than suffer it to be Landed or to have any disunion amongst themselves unless Parliament determine to Repeal those acts they had Better declare war against the Colonies at once, & I dare say they will stand forth for their King & Liberty Like sons of Freedom, we all wish for Peace & a Good understanding between Great Britain & her Colonies and as much wish to suport our Liberties which never will be tamely Given up you may be assured.

[New York] 30 Dec^r 1773.

Thomas Willson [probably of London].

* * * * The Tea Ship is not yet arrived you no doubt ere this have heard the reception it had at Boston & I am in hopes his Excelency will suf-

fer it to return from this Post w^{ch} I believe will be the only means to preserve it.

— New York 18 May 1774

John Stark. [London]

* * * * We are very uneasy & dont know but Parliament mean to drive us to measures w^{ch} may prove destructive to Great Brittain & her colonies, every good friend to both will wish for a lasting union & I am sure it is the desire of every good American to wish Great Brittain may forever Remain our Head & Ruler tho never to impose Internal Taxation.

— 18 May 1774

Messrs Low Griffin & Clay [London]

* * * * Surely Great Brittain can never mean to drive us into measures that may Lay the foundation to an eternal seperation Is it Possible you can mean to Ruin the Town of Boston by one single act of oppression & what is done to one may be done to all, & should this act be carryed into execution then fairwell American Freedom & Happiness & I may say Englands glory.

United in Love & friendship to Great Brittain we are a Happy People, but if a Civil Warr is carryed on by acts of oppression, & distress Hurry the People into acts of violence, God only knows what will be the end. This is the most alarming affair I ever knew, we have had a meeting of the Inhabitants of this City, we have chosen a very respectable commity of fifty of the Principal Citizens & every measure will be taken to keep Peace and good order. I should wish to see an end put to our Troubles & Peace and Harmony Restored. America never will submit to Internal Taxation—never can be Happy but under Great Brittain. I am in hopes General Gage will set all matters Right. We know him to be a good man, he is much esteemed in this Country, he arrived at Boston Last Friday, Expresses are sent to the different Provinces & you may depend they will all unite in one Cause & endeavour by all Possible means to maintain Peace & Good order. I shall be more full in my next & hope never to see the day when Americans shall not love an Englishman as well as an American and that America may ever be Ready to Draw the Sword in Defence of Great Brittain and her King—but never lift a Hand against him is my sincere Prayers.

— New York 21 June 1774.

Aaron Orme & Sons [London]

* * * * We are in great Troubles about the Injustice of your nation & I dont know but such severity may bring on a Civil Warr amongst us, the Love we formerly bore for your Country which by every American was consider'd as their own I fear will dwindle into Hatred, Strife & Discord if nothing Worse. Your own Imagination

will Sugest the Straits, our Brethern at Boston are drove to.

N. York 6 July 1774

Jellis Fonda [Probably of Albany]

* * * * Tea is not to be got but for Cash & then by Particular Interest & as you would only chuse it if I could get in my way w^{ch} cannot be done, but should you be so much in want as to Chuse I should advance the Cash will endeavour to procure a Chest for you. the cash is Lodged before the Tea arrives frequently. * * * *

New York 7 July 1774

John Elmendorph [of Albany or some place on Hudson River]

* * * * Politicks is the Only Business we mind at presant & that is as Crooked as Dick's Hatband & we seem but too much Divided in Parties.

[New York, about Sept. 14, 1774]

Sargent Chambers & Co. [Probably of London]

* * * * The I hate Politicks from their Late very disagreeable Circumstances it may not be amiss or very disagreeable to you at Present to hear the opinion of a True friend to the Liberties of America, & a sincere Lover of Great Britain—I am Greeved to think she is Weary of her Greatness, & that Prosperity should set so heavy upon her, is there no enemy to be found on which she may waste her Blood and Ill got Treasure or has Conquest & Success only Laid a Foundation for Cruelty & Oppression, or has the operations in the Estate given such a Relish to Murder Oppression & Robbery that finding no more Plunder there she should Turn her Voracious desires on Plundering America, her Best Friend, the Child of her Bosom & Support of Age every American was Born free we Boast every Liberty our Most Excellent Constitution affords we are long used to its Benign Influence & would part with Life Sooner than Live under the Fetters of discontent & Slavery, You have often told me America would Become independent of Great Brittain, the Sound of which was very disagreeable to me nor could I conceive it Possible or which way it would be brought about it is Said Oppression will make a wise man mad I am sure Loss of Liberty & the Horrible expectation of Cruel and Barbarous oppression is enough to make every American mad what have we done to forfeit our Birth Right or how came our Liberties dependant on the parliment of Great Brittain, we are Slaves to no power under Heaven It is said you Protect our Trade, & Therefore we ought to submit Part of our Property to your disposal as an adequate for such Protection.

That our Ancesters came from your Island, by which we Became Children & ought to submit whatever you may think of the Matter we think

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we are men & that Grey Hairs in America Command as much Respect as old age in England.

Neither do we think we have been deficient in Supporting the Warr or Protecting our Trade tho we have not had men of Warr we have had province Ships & Privateers in abundance which we have found the Best Protectors of Trade. I do not remember a single Man of Warr all last Wurr sent here or to any Place on the Continent to Protect our Trade some were sent to Convey the Transports & then Pressed our Sailors & Distressed our Trade we bore a full proportion of all the Conquests in America & you reape the whole Benefit we have less Furr Trade now than when the French had Canada we have peace on our Frontiers, & you have all the Profit of it whoever will Examin Facts will find we are not Indebted to you in Good will and an Exertion of our Powers in the General Cause.

Now you must take away the Charter Rights of Boston unheard, Pass a law, send Ships & Soldiers if they dont Submit to our Laws we will make them feel our Power. Americans dare dye but dare not tamely give up their Liberties—we dread the Consequences of a Civil Warr & Fighting with our best friends, this seems at hand. Freemen are not to be governed by Power & force, we have no Idea of it & God only knows where it will End. Most People seem prepared for the worst of Consequences. I wish General Gage & his men were here or in England & that Boston was Governed as usual & the India Companies Teas had never been taken out of the Store, & that Love & Harmony which has Subsisted for Ages between Great Brittain & her Colonies had Remained Undisturbed—that we were Left to Govern ourselves & discharge the Expence of our Internal.

That you should appoint our Governour & Confine our Trade so as that you may have every Reasonable advantage that our Love towards you might have Increased if it were Possible & until this Good old way of Governouring is established we shall never have Peace. It is yet in your power to call back our Love to save your Honour to make us Happy yourselves Prosperous, but should you drive America into a Rebellion you will in my Oppinion find it Easier to Conquer France than to subdue them.

There is not a Man born in America that does not Understand the Use of Fire arms & that well, as we have much Sport Every Man is provided, it is Almost the First thing they Purchase & take to all the New Settlements & in the Cities you can scarcely find a Lad of 12 years old that does not go a Gunning

We were Shocked with an a Larrem that General Gage had Robbed the Magazine of the Powder & that in Attempting to take it Back were fired upon & 6 men killed he did take the Province powder but no further harm was done. It is said

above Fifty Thousand Men were in Motion for the Relief of Boston, & Expresses dispatched every way Believe me a verry dark Cloud hangs Over this Country & By Force I dare Propheesy She Never will be Conquered.

I love Peace & Good Order, I have Frequently exposed myself in support of them & can only wish & Pray for a Happy Reconciliation Should the General Voyce of America be followed you would have no Trade in these Quarters—there would be a Non Export as well as a Non Importation Agreement & whatever shall be advised by the Congress I verily believe will be as effectually Observed as ever an Act of Parliement.

He that first Began to Exert the power of Parliement over America so as to bring her Right in Question has proved already the Greatest Curse of the Nation that Has Happened since the Revolution.

— New York 21 Oct^r 1774.

Rutger Bleeker [Albany]

* * * I absolutely think it best to get what we can from him [Diamond, a debtor] for the whole never can be got & to punish People too severely in this world seems to answer no good end as we do not know any abatement will be made in the next for what they suffer here.

* * * * Politics seems to be at a stand—Captain Sears got himself soundly drubbed by Captain Braine an Irish Gentleman a paper War in a very close way began. “Sir you have Used me ill make proper concessions or meet me & try if you can parry Cold Lead.” but in all those Matters the aggressor made concessions & so affairs ended and politics lay Dormant, nothing certain from the Congress, but sure it is now that M^r. Dickenson the Pensylvanian Farmer is added to the number, it is generally believed a Non-Importation is sure.

— [New York] 29 October 1774

Mess^{rs} Low Griffin & Clay [London]

Bad times and worse a coming if your property in these parts of the world is unsafe so are our own Total Ruin may be the end of Civil Wars^{wh} must certainly be the Case or those very unconstitutional Acts must be Repealed With your Great Men Rest the Fate of the British Empire America my friend will never be Governd by force we have too high a sence of Liberty to Surrender it Tamely & France may much easier be conquered than America, we can get nothing by the contest & I think Britain Less, all may be thrown into Ruin & Confusion to Gratify an Arbitrary Desire of Governing a Free People & in the end never be accomplished by trade you must get our wealth & what cannot be got in that way must Remain with us, it is Impossible to make the Americans Hate an Englishman, we Love you & Honour you as our ances-

tors friends & Brethren, & shall the Sword be drawn to drench the Blood of English troops in America God Almighty avert it & May Americans swords never be drawn but in defence of Great Brittain & in support of her Honour. I hope never to see an American Establishment but that Requisitions may be asked only in times of need, and that we may alway Support our own Internal Government without expence to you On this Ground I dare say you will find Americans Blood & Treasure Ready in Support of your Honour.

I am sorry to hear a Non Importation is Like to take place turning the natural course of trade is very easy but to bring it Back requires more than Human Wisdom. I must quit this very disagreeable Subject as no human Wisdom can draw a lire that will make Peace experiance is the Best Rule for Government & what has been found wise for ages past I hope may be again adopted.

— [New York] 29 Oct^r 1774

Amos Heyton [probably of London].

* * * * * You will find we are in a Terrible Situation the Bostonians are Ready to draw the sword as is Connecticut they are a Numerous Brave People & will as Surely fight if Hostilities are begun as we Live you know these People all understand fire arms & are daily under arms, the Spirit is gone forth I hope it may be Recaled in Peace if once a Blow is Struck which may be done by some Imprudent hand God only knows where it will end—I hope your Rulers may have wisdom & Americans Moderation & that Peace & unanimity may Ensue.

— N. York November 21 1774.

Rutger Bleeker [Albany].

I can no longer put pen to paper on the Subject of Politicks it seems to me our Liberty is threatened on every side I can only pray that God may give us a Happy deliverance from the Threatning Storm. * * * *

— N York 14 Dec^r 1774

Henry Broomfield Boston

* * * I can say Little of Politics our City are well determind to carry the association of the Congress into execution tho some of the Lines Bear hard on Individuals but as all depends on harmony & a faithfull union & observance of our agreements that no discontents of mistrust may arise between the Colonies God give us a Happy deliverance from the Present distress of times.

— 27 Dec^r 1774

Rutger Bleeker [Albany]

* * * * We have acc^{ed} from New Hampshire that the Inhabitants went to Plimoth or Portsmouth, I can not now say which & took out of the Forte (which was Guarded by about 6 Invalids)

220 full Barrells of Powder & discharged 3 of the Cannon they then went to the Governour in Council & demanded a Categorical answer to these questions, whither he knew of any ships or Soldiers coming to that Place or whither he had wrote for any—he answered he knew of none nor had he wrote for any—in the Evening they Visited the Forte again & Took away all the small arms. What will be the End of these things.

—
N York 18 Feby 1775.

Mess^{rs} Remington & Briggs [London].

* * * * Politics Run so high here that we do not know any Property is safe amongst us how they will end God only knows, the neighbouring Provinces seem so determind on no Submission & have done Little towards an accommodation that should as Little be done by Parliament all will be confusion for my own part I have no Idea of America being forced into measures they Generally deem oppressive & if Force is used I think we need no Spirit of Prophecy to say it will never Effect it we begin to think what Property we have in New England very precarious as the most of the Inhabitants in this Place are averse to any Violence & wish to Support Law & order we are abused by our neighbors because we do not run into the same violent measures with them yet I dare be bold to say this province would be as firm in any constitutional opposition to unconstitutional Impositions as any of them.

—
N York 18 Feby 1775.

Amos Heyton [probably of London].

* * * * I shall not enter into politics we are in a bad Box Struggling for order amongst our Selves & determind to Support our Liberty on Reasonable Grounds how this may please on your side the water I cannot tell but it is Looked upon by many in America as Giving up our all.

—
New York 27 March 1775

Mr Rutger Bleeker [Albany].

I shall begin this Epistle on Politicks as it must be so in Answer to yours.

I think we are all in the Wrong both Parties in the House & out, Committees Congresses & Conventions a Spirit of Opposition so frequently excludes Reason & Moderation that Matters are now got to such a pass as to require more than Human Wisdom to set them right I am quite passive & only wish the Hypocrites in Politicks may find Wo due to them—We are told by all the Governours on the Continent if we ask a Redress of our Grievances thro our Assemblies we shall be heard & if Our Grievances are real they shall be redressed I am for taking them at their Word & would follow Peace in any way & so far agree with our assembly in their mode—

I think it was very Wrong to Hurry the House

in the Consideration of the Congress this would have come well at the Last of the Session I think they ought to have appointed a Committee with Powers to meet Committees of the other Colonies & to Consult with them on all Cases Respecting the Liberties of America to have prevented a Delegation of New Powers which may & I fear will over Set the Power of the Law.

I boldly assert I will obey no Power But such as I think the Law will Support & that I will ever Endeavour to Support that Order which I think essential to Liberty. If it were Possible for Great Britain to make peace with America without Degrading herself below the Dignity of a Superior & leade to new Broils I should be easier than I am. But as I think she Cannot grant all thats asked I fear the Breach will not be healed—here I must Leave politicks. * * * *

—
New York 6 April 1775

John Markland [London]

We are still in the dark as to what measures will be taken with America I hope Lenient ones as I am sure they are the only means to save the state, if Force is used I am sure it will never answer the End a Free People must be Governd by Love it is not Possible for any other to subsist, & nothing but ruin & distress can be Got by either side by Civil Warr. * * * *

—
New York 6 April 1775

Thomas Willson & Co [London].

* * * *

I hate Politics as I think we are all in the wrong tho you & I, I hope will Remain friends thro every Storm Should Great Britain Persist in not Repealing the acts & America to be Obstinate in their demands & the sword is once drawn & force used I fear we shall be Eternally Separated—I only wish to Live under the Power of Great Britain yet no man would Risque more to ward off the Evil of Internal Taxation. I will not attempt to Draw the Line for Governing America yet this much is clear to me unless they are Governd & tyed to the Parent State by the strong cords of Duty, Love & Interest they cannot be Bound, Your Good Bishop of St Asoph is the man that would Retain the Affections of America & save the Honour, Glory & Dignity of G Britain.

We have many Internal Troubles, if Difficulties arise I hope you will not suffer by my Countrymen.

I wish a speedy & Happy Reconciliation & dont in the Least doubt your best endeavours will tend that way---

—
[Probably New York, April 6, 1775]

Amos Heyton [Probably of London.]

I have nothing new to Communicate as to Politics the head Politicians do not Loose Ground &

many seem quite Desperate the matter in dispute is such as Leaves us divided at Present & the moderate People have some sway but as all America seem determined never to submit to Internal Taxation If Violent measures should be taken America will in my opinion become as one man for then the whole will be sowerd [sour'd] it is a most unnatural dispute and no Good can be Got by it— * * * *

— New York 6 May 1775

Thomas Brown [Probably of London]

* * * *

How the Club at Westminster Bridge will like the account from Boston I know not, & whither they may still drive on to a total Separation & endeavour to Subdue America by a long Sword, this is not to be done that the Americans can fight and understand the use of arms is notorious to all who have been there and many Proofs they gave during the last warr, when the Bateau men beat the Enemy after their Escorts were drove off &c.

Now at Boston 3 or 400 heat 1200 & Really put them in Confusion Several Times & had they been 10 miles farther from Boston by all accounts they never would have got Back Will this be Called Rebellien with you & will they Pass a new Law to make it so we in this Country Call it Loyalty & think we are defending the Dignity of the Crown, & Supporting the Liberties of the nation, thus the People in America differ from the Club in Reasoning on this Important Subject it will not be in America as it has been in the East Indies, you will want at Least an army of Two or Three Hundred thousand men to Subdue America by the Sword Consider a free people fighting for Liberty in a Country that has every necessary for Life and for Warr within its Bowels we still hope an Accommodation this Keeps the Americans from making any Preparation except the military manovers Since this dispute I dare say we have had in the diffrent Parts of America by the best account, about One Hundred and fifty Thousand Stand of Arms Strange as this may Seem I believe it Strictly true and as to Powder it is believed there is Enough in New England for Seven years.

Thus circumstanced it is with God alone to turn the Hearts of men or the Corporal feeling must Convince them of their Error I flatter myself we shall have peace & that wisdom will prevail & direct our Governours to Govern in the Hearts of America by Love—

— N York 19 June 1775

Robert Hamilton Esqr Manchester—

* * * * To say nothing of our Present troubles would be unfeeling Our Situation is truly alarming & a Civil Warr Inevitable unless an alteration of measures with you & when once begun God only knows when & how it will End—I most Sincerely

wish an Honourable Accommodation without Bloodshed—

— New York 5 July 1775

John Stark [London]

* * * *

I shall say Little of Politics as your Son will give you a State of our Condition the measures you are carrying on are Cruel Wicked & abominable every man in America will sooner dye than Submit to the Will of Parliament you may spend much money slay your Best friends & when you are done you can get neither Honour nor Profit. Loss & Ruin must Insue We may be drove into a Cordial Hatred of an Englishman & to despise the name for Acts of Cruelty never fail to fix in the mind a Desire of Revenge. The army have in my opinion wantonly Burnt Charles Town Such Cruelty was never heard of against an Enemy, it is Said they Payed Dear for the Act every Subject that is Slain is a Loss to the nation & this Country never will be dragoon'd into a Surrender of their Rights, as Englishmen this it is more than Probable will be the Last Letter you ever will Receive from Your Assured friend & Serv't.

— 5 July 1775

Robert Hamilton [Manchester]

* * * *

I fear the Present measures carrying on will Separate England & her Colonies, the Burning of Charles Town is Looked up as an act of Cruelty & Wantonness we hear every Day of Bloody Work the Scene of Warr is open the Americans Generally kill about double the number of the Regulars to what they Loose of their army. England will have to kill and Destroy some Hundred Thousand Americans if she persists in making us Submit & in the End she will have no Submission. Hatred Ill will, & Rancour never Procured Submission from a free People & I dare say it never will in this Country. Such an unnatural Warr never was entered into against any People a Warr where neither Honour nor advantage can be acquired, you may Loose your Trade, spend your Treasure destroy your armies, & Lay waste the Sea Ports of America to Satisfy a Cruel administration, you will have Public acts of the Conduct of the army and the various Engagements in all which the Americans have killed at Least double the numbers of Regulars to what they have Lost. Every man in this Country understands the use of Fire arms tho they do not form in Bodies & are under Little or no command they fight Wickedly, think what they will be when they come to be well Diciplined, they have now Got able Generals & will begin to learn the art of Forming Regiments & to fight in order.

God send administration may think Better of the matter or that you may have Spirit enough in the

nation to maintain our Freedom from the Hands of Cruelty & oppression, I hate to mention matters so extremely disagreeable to my friends, when I think we shall in a short time be the worst of Enemies, by the cursed measures carrying on against us—

New York 25 July 1775

Aaron Orme & Son [Probably of London]

Perhaps this may be the Last Remittance I shall ever make you a Civil Warr is now begun a Wanton Ruinious Warr. It is not choice in the Americans, they are hard Drove they have nothing Left but Slavery or Death the Latter is Preferable in their Esteem in Such an unnatural contest what can you expect the attempt to Subdue America by force will cost Englands best blood & Treasure & in the End she will fail; I dare freely Pronounce it is not to be done Every man in America will take up arms before he will tamely Submit, & Such a Country never was conquered, Your Troops have made Two attempts in both actions they Suffered amazingly as you will see by the Public acts—in the Last the Regulars lost 76 officers Killd & wounded & about 1200 Privates tho the action Lasted only 57 minutes—the Provincials had about 250 Killd Wounded & missing. the Regulars obtained the Ground & drove the Provincials off but were not in a Condition to follow them Judge you how it will be when they Get Regularly Disciplind Green as they are they are an over match for your Troops Strange as this may appear to you it is a fact Every man in this Country is a Sportsman, they now use their Cock Pieces & have not yet got Bayonets fixed, yet under every disadvantage of Equipment they Slay the Kings Troops amazingly—

Where is Old English virtue where are her sons of Freedom that you should wantonly destroy your friends even your best friends, for no Sin but that of being free dutifull & Loyal Subjects & Refusing to become tame Slaves, is this the Love you bear us, is this the cord to bind a free People; or are you tyered of your greatness & Weary of Commerce that you Should Labour to Lose the Trade of America, to Lop off your Right arm in Time of Neede & Lay your Selves Prostrate before a natural Enemy by Destroying your best friends, and what can be got if you should Subdue us & lay waste this fine Country, we have no Riches for you to carry off, You must leave the Earth & Climate behind & whoever inhabits it will be free & if you have not Virtue Enough to change those arbitrary Rulers & give Peace to America England & the Constitution will totter from its Center we have nothing to Expect from your Rulers, if you will carry the Burthen and Expence of a Civil Warr, we must Trust to God & our arms.

24 feby 1776.

Amos Heyton [Probably of London]

How Should a man bereaved of his Senses wright or attend to Business. I Love your Country but I think she is descending from her Glory & that she will force this country into an Independance & unless the Almighty fights against America she can never be subdued—

I would wish to dye out of Debt but I fear this will not be the case. As to the Note you sent me of Fredrick Desaguleous I have it Still, he was not to be seen when I got it & very shortly after went to Boston where Col. Robinson was to endeavour to get the money—all communication was shortly after rendered Difficult & cut off That I have never heard anything more about it, your best way will be to apply to Boston, I am really ashamed of my neglect in not writing before which is owing to Distractiion of the Times. Business is at an End with us. You will please to pay the Ballance of my Acco. in your hands to Messrs. Low Griffin & Clay—I hear you have cut off all Intercourse with America & are to make Prise of all American Property, if it be true Where is Justice—surely not with your Rulers—fairwell—

New York 24 Feb^r 1776.

Mess^{rs} Low Griffin & Clay [London]

It seems we are devoted to Destruction, this may not be so easy as some may Imagine, nor do I think it Possible to do it by force, time will show it as it seems you have Barbarity enough to Try it without ever Hearing America. It is well I will not write you on Politics Least you Judge me a mad American I hope never to be a Slave & I would Reather Dye than see my country so. *****

[Probably 1776]

Mess^{rs} Low Griffin & Clay [of London]

I trust it will be in my Power to do you ample Justice if my Property is not destroy'd in this unnatural Contest we wish to be Good Dutifull and free subjects Such I hope the Commissioners will make us, if not we must abide the consequence of a Ruinious Civil Warr. *****

[Probably 1776]

Mess^{rs} Sargent Chambers & Co [Probably of London]

Bills are not to be Got, you may easily Judge—Produce not to be Sent—It is the Fate of the Times. I will do Justice If Possible tho Civil Warrs Tear our Country If you never Get paid it must be want of ability not Inclination to do Justice. I expect I have Some money in the Hands of Robert Hamilton of Manchester I have ordered him to

pay you £300 Sterling as early as he can make it convenient if he is not in cash.

I was in Hopes to have Sent you some Oyle But I fear our Vessells will be made Prize by act of Parliament if so I shall never admire the Justice of that Law. I trust America will remain Free against every attempt to enslave her, You know I Love my Country, & cannot but hope confusion may attend her Enemies.

N, York June 1779

Messr^s Sargent Chambers & Co [Probably of London]

Long silence may in your opinion [have] Laid me in the dust, want of opportunity & the times placed me where a correspondence was forbidden. I now take up my pen to let you know I am still in the Land of the Living. This has been done Long since had I had it in my Power to Settle your aects. I have been within these Lines above 9 months—No Law no money coming in for old debts what Property I took out of the city is among the Rebels—what I left is in a great measure destroyed. I have not Rec^d. any Sum of my outstanding Debts since our Troubles began I would Like to give you my opinion on the Politicks of the day. But this may not be altogether safe—the Commissioners you may depend were fully informed of the true State of this Country. I cannot think but this Rebellion may be easily subdued; by nature mankind incline to Democratical Government tho it never was found to answer, as the ambitious part of the community cannot be satisfied. this Country was Happily Governd before these Troubles, a Similar Free Constitution would make it so again, and unless Great Wisdom is used in forming it the wound will not be Heald: Under such a Constitution the Americans would crush the Rebellion (in General they despise a French connection) & Revive the old Love & Friendship—under such a Government in which the Americans would gladly, assist to Reare, the Persecuting obstinate Rebels would Loose their Power & be taken off, the Honest tho deluded be reclaimed the Innocent and well affected would be safe, a wise discrimination to punish the Guilty & Spare the Innocent would bring more terror to the Rebels than any thing that has yet Happend, & I see no other Possible means to Revive our old affection, & Great Brittain must Govern this Country by the Good will of the Inhabitants, or it never can be worth her attention. the Liberal offers made by the Commissioners will never hold this Country, a Good Colony Constitution alone can do it, on the Formation of which depends the Fate of Empire.

[New York, June 1779]

John Stark [Probably of London]

Again Returnd to this City I take up my Pen

to Renew our former Friendship. I have been from among the Rebels upwards 10 months I have forbore to write my friends having nothing very agreeable to Communicate. Richardson & Nicholas Roosevelt are still amongst^d them & cannot get here without Loosing what Property they have amongst them, I was sent off by a law they made, or a Test oath, tho' the Law dose not forbid Persons Refusing to take the oath, the Right of taking their Property, the Commissioners would not Permit it. I have done no kind of Business since I left you nor do I know I shall do any until times wear a firmer aspect, If right measures are pursued I have no doubt but there will speedily be an end put to the Rebellion, few very few Americans Relish their French Connection, Their Rulers hate to Relinquish their Powers & the Bulk of the People have nothing to say being bound by Severe Penal Laws have no Power to Resist their oppressors, thus Stands the State of Matters in this Country at Present. * * * *

New York 8th Sept^r 1785

William Smith Esqr. London,

to the care of Rob Rashleigh Esquire
No. 25 Garlick Hill.

* * * * I spent some time Lately with your Old friend Gov^r L. he never mentioned your name tho I gave many openings he said it was not against his conscience to declare Independance, tho he did not do it as they were not instructed by the State—he did not rejoice in the Change but Acquis'd in it, as there was no way of avoiding it, he readily acknowledged there was no way of Support, but by a general retrench, & using the things that are absolutely neces^s Ribbons, Gauses Trim^d Silks Feathers & ornaments not necessary to decorate the Ladies, nor Lace fine Cloths Cambrick &c to the men commeree Not necessary—Riches an Evil, Pomp a Sin. Poverty Frugality Industry & agriculture Virtues absolutely necessary, and must be in Practis ere we can be Happy Our Happiness Approches very fast, Many of our New Merchants & Shopkeepers set up since the Warr have faild we have nothing but Complaints of Bad times, in Philad^a it is worse, yet Labour is very high and all articles of Produce very high, very small are our exports—there is no Ship Building, but House Building in abundanee & House Rent remains high—Law in a Bundance, the Trespas act is food for the Lawyers—yet we say there is no money Feasting and every other kind of Extravagance go on reconcile these things if you can. Gloomy Joys.

Perhaps the Following Story may not have come to you from any of you friend Mr. Goadsby an English Gentleman who arrive here since the Peace was Taxed £7—0d by the Partial Law and as he hid not conceive himself Subject to the Law as he was clearly not within the description of those were

to be Taxed he refused to pay, Alderman Wool, committed him, Coll^o William Livingston by a Writ of Habeas Corpus, brought him before Judge Hubbard in this Business about 24 Gen^o of Mr. Goadsbys Acquaintance attended him from Prison to his own House, 2 & 2 as if it had been a funeral, Our Rout from the Prison, Thro Chapple Street up Queen & Wall Street to my House in Smith Street, here some 5 or 6 Gen^o gave 3 cheers—which caused many people to enquire what was doing Coll^o Livingston Mr Cox Goadsby & the Sherif & Jailor went from hence to the Judges, who Remanded Mr Goadsby to Prison—He paid the Tax to avoid further Trouble, we went to the Coffee House Drank a Large Boul of Punch, & Closed the Business. But to our Great Surprise the Assembly then Sitting took Allarun, had Mr. Goadsby taken into Custody on a Charge of Treason & sowing Sedition &c. in Proof on a 3 days Tryal and calling for every person that was supposed to know anything about Mr Goadsby it was proven he had found Fault with the Insolvent Law had said a man had nothing to do but run in Debt, go to John S. Hubbard & get White Washed and Cheat his Creditors—in Talking of the Tax Law he had said they were all fools together—but whither he ment the Makers of the Law—or the Assessors & Tax gatherers—or all that had any thing to do in the Business might be meant the witness could not say but supposed the Latter. Alderman Wool said Mr Goadsby had told him he did not wait on him in consequence of the warrent but out of Complacance—as much as to say he was not subject to the Law he Mr Goadsby had said he would have this Business advertised in all the News Papers in Europe—it did not appear he had been charged before the House by any Single Person, on Oath to Authorize the Proceedings—Mr Lawrence & Peter Yates appeared as Prosecutors in the Business—to examin witnesses &c—in this part of the Business, the Gentlemen began to prove that Mr Goadsby might have Council; Laws, Cases, the Constitution &c; &c; was poduce, when one of the Gen^o said Mr Goadsby had not asked for Council nor did he know if he wanted any it would be time enough to prove those matters when he asked council the Question was then put to him & he said he would be glad to have Council and time, which was granted Coll^o Hamilton & Livingston were of Council, argued the Matter to very Little purpose Coll^o H in opening the Business made use of these remarkable words—I was Lought to appear in Council on this Business, and would not consent, but on Mr Goadsby Assuring me there could be nothing proved against him, & had he known so much would have been Proved, he Certainly would not have consented—Lawrence & Yates criminated Goadsby from this declaration, which I think must have hurt the Coll^o as I was informed he said he would give L 100 Guin^o—for an oppy to reply.

The House Resolved Mr Goadsby should ask Pardon pay Fees & be discharged—which he did Coll^o H took 10 Gu^o for his Services—I am sure I should think 10 copers more than they were worth—for had it not been for his Services I do not think but Goadsby might have been freed.

I was calld before the House to Evidence in the above Cause but was not examined, and have since been told by several Members had it not been for this affair something would be done for the Banished &c, but new nothing would be expected even Me. himself told me this. I told him I did not care a Single Dam, for my own prrt they might do as they pleased, without further Grace on the 8 of Nov^r. next the Law is as full against me as it is against you let time work even the Spirit of Liberty equal Liberty seems Dead—no daring advocates now days, we all Look for and expect Humiliation which alone can make us thankfull for what we receive, & Bless God it is not worse—Our Governor with whome I had a Long Confab, mentioned the Evils of Oppressive Laws, he Justifys them from the necessity of the times seems reather Surprised we had not more of them Says they will be done away as the Spirit of Resentment abate all will be right by & by—not a word about you, he told me all the N. Englanders that settle in our bac Country becom Good Yorkers, admire our Constitution & Laws &c^t Blessed times are approaching—in short to me all things Point one way from Bad to worse—

We have throughout the Country the Greatest crops of Wheate we have had for many Years except Long Isl^o. & parts of Jersey adjacent to this city—this is mostly destroyed by the Insect that appeared on Long Island for 4 years Past There is an amasing Quantity of timber come to this market, down the Hudson the Shore is full of Rafts from this city to Greenwich the Best Oak Timber sells from 10d to 1s—the Square foot—Masts & Sparrs bring no Price at all many Ships have Laden Oak Timber for foreign Ports & some Large Dutch Ships have Laden Masts & Sparrs—our Exports are very trifeling, the East India Voyage I believe has turned to but a Bad Acco^t. there has been much talk of trying again & subscriptions opened & several meetings on the Business but all have fallen through I hear no more of it It is said the American Agent at Ansterdam is Broke £ 150,000 in Debt to the States for Loans Received in Holland, the Congress it is said have attach'd what Effects they could find here, yet some say it is all nothing & that every thing is very safe, to me it seems very strange we should keep on Borrowing in short our Politics are Incomprehensible to me there is not the Least sign of an Enquiry into money matters, the Business of speculation in our Different State Securities seem the only advantageous Business carry^{ed} on at Present, there is so many concerned in this kind of traffic that no man who

will not engage in it can be Popular, Ruinous as it may be to the community at Large none dare oppose those Staunch friends to their Country, such firm and Brave Whiggs, they have fair prospects in View and Bless themselves in the Liberty they have obtained.

This day the Tryal of Denemer for the Estate of Delancey came on, Coll^o. Hamilton, meant to prove a fraud in the Executtors sale, tho they had paid the Legates what came to their hands, he said the Estate would have sold for much more. I heard the Court agreed at first that this kind of Evidence might be Reced—But after the Atty Gen^l spoke to the Subject & Brought many Law authorities, the court altered their opinion and Denemer was Defeated, thus this mighty affair is oome to a close, we hear no more what Congress are doing than if they were not in this world, tho they are siting every day the only Visible Sign of their being met is Chains drawn from the Corners of the Hall a Cross the street, to prevent the noise of Carriages Passing to Interupt their Deliberations. * * * *

—
New York] 19 Sept. 1785.

William Smith Esq.

* * * * Much Business has been done at our court, many very many actions on acct of Tresspasses &c. during the War—The claimants under Begardus Burnt the Fencing of different enclosures on the church Ground, the Grand Jury indicted them and they were found guilty of a Ryot at this siting. Adjudged to 3 mos. Imprisonment & the Payment of a small fine, I do not think we shine at the Barr, there is much wrangling or disputation Law authority miss Applied—in short there is a want of Law knowledge & a Greater of that strength of Judgment necessary to distinguish accurately—Yet we go on Decently & the Courts are held with much order, & a Proper respect is shown to the Courts of Justice. Necessity drives all orders to Industry, had it not been for the Peculating Genuses in Power, & had not our Laws compelld many to be rogues & opened wide the Doors of Litigation, I think by this time we should have mixed all Parties in one General Mass—but while Confiscations & a Grasping after such Property remains, there will be heart burnings & Iniquity—Congress Sit every day nothing transpires and they are as litte spoken of as if they sat in the Moon. Unless it be that they want Power & can do nothing for want of it—this Power is Revenu. not a Lisp of Accot.g for monies Received, they say 5 p Ct on all our Imports will enable them to do something, & make them a Respectable Body—thus our Hemisphere is Clearing off, Some People pretend to see a cloud in the East, that a very serious demand will be made, and that Equity must determine what confiscations will be good—there is no apprehensions of any

disturbances amongst ourselves at Present nor is Vermont spoken of but as a State.

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[New York] Decr 20 1785.

William Smith Esq^r

* * * I most Sincerely Congratulate you on your Apointment & wish it may prove as satisfactory to you and your family as it is Honourable, and that you may experience every felicity in your New Abode Necessary to Happiness in this World is my Sincere Prayer. What is the State of our Politics at present is not in my power to Divine, Congress is as Secret as the Grave all we hear from them is our Quoto of Taxes, which are Geathered by force, in a Great Measure, espotially in New Jersey. Our Assembly are call'd the 6 of next month it will be an Important Session Confiscations are nearly all disposed of. Little I expect will be said on that head, now we may expect moderation as the View of Gain is removed—Warm debates and Strong Inventions will make their appearance to increase the value of Certificates, as the Knowing Polititians have formed Companies & have made Large Purchases their Hands are on the Budget and by so powerfull an Incentive as Gain, they will use every exertion to prove the Publick are bound to pay them 20s or 30s for what cost them 4s or 5s You know the men and none dare yet oppose, measures are still Justified by them that have Ruined our Country, better times are still promised, more Power to Congress is to increase our commerce, how is to be found out by their Superior wisdom; he is deemed unfriendly to his Country who fears any future Evils, the none disery future Good. Paper money will be strongly urged in the next Assembly. It will Look Like former Paper and bring more Ruin. Something I take it will be said on the Treaty, the Indians not being well satisfied as to your intending to give up the Back Ports & possessions agreeable to Treaty. I long to see those clouds removed and a firm Love peace & a good understanding between the Two Countries I trust it is their Interest and I wish they could view it in that Light—I do no business as yet drive on with the Stream endeavour to prevent future Losses by Paper payments it is expected this Assembly will repeal some of those Laws. I collect nothing worth naming.

I hear apples are very Scarce with you, they are very much so with us. I herewith send you 3 Barrells they are Sorted, Some Pippens, Crook Apples, & Coss Apples, they are the Best I have seen, & all I could pick fit to send you out of 5 Barrells is the Reason of their Being Sorted. I wish they were better I hope you will get them as Sound as they are and accept the Will for the Deed that you may enjoy Health in eating them with your friends is the Ardent Prayer of

Your assured friend & most Hble servt.

[New York] 9 April 1786.

Mess^{rs} Sargent Chambers & Co. Merch^{ts} London

* * * I dare not write on Politics Our Country is mightily Fallen! fallen from oppulence to Distress from Virtue to Vice & speculation, from Frugality to *Pomp & Parade* Generals Colonels &c. maintain the Show Debtors Browbeat Creditors no Debtor fears his creditor & almost every Creditor fears his Debtor Laws are made to favour these changes in short every thing looks the wrong way. from this Picture Judge our situation. I will say no more than as the Lawyers say half the Country are under Bonds & the other half under Sureties, & Executions do not bring the Needfull I was in hopes times would mend but it Thickens in in the Clear.

[New York] 5 Aug 1786.

Mess^{rs} Sargent Chambers & Co. [London]

* * * thus I have been persecuted on Both Sides, The British destroyed my Property to a very considerable amount they Occupied one of my Houses in Broadway for which the commandant ordered me payment but I could never get the money—Another at the North River they Occupied the Whole Warr for which I could get no Satisfaction nor can I see how I am to make a Claim on Govern^t for Losses Nor do I wish it yet I think they ought to pay for my Houses which claims I have constantly made If an attachment to the British Government deserves a reward I think I stand foremost with my countrymen should you Judge anything might be got on these Papers I will send them to you if not it is not worth troubling you.

[New York] 14 June 1788.

Merr^{ts} Sargent Chambers & Co. [London]

* * * It is needless to Enter a Catalogue of Grievances but when I consider Congress have Struck off 400 million of Dollars introduced them in Circulation & Sunk the whole by a Resolve, which was so much taken out of the Circulating Property, and this was principally Scattered thro the Country by the Dry Good Merchants who were the only People who extended Credit I am rather surprised everyone of them are not Bankrupt, you no doubt feel & Bear a proportion of this Loss. & had I not been Declining Business when the Troubles began & not much in Debt Judge what must have been the consequence—every shilling of Floating Property went Debts not to be recovered & Landed Property will not command Cash.—I am so far Happy as to assure you you shall be paid in Time & I hope the Period is not far Distant, you have been kind enough not to distress me by Importuning Letters, & I trust there will be no need for them. * * * *

LETTER OF HON. EPAPHRODITUS CHAMPION, 1814.

I send, from my collection of autographs, the following letter addressed to "Mr. Timo. Green, Easthaddam, Conn.," and franked "E. Champion :"

WASHINGTON SEP^r. 22nd. 1814.

MR TIM^o GREEN SIR—

I arrived in N York on Tuesday night 10—O'clock and left it next day at 4—afternoon—I went with Mr Griffin and paid up the bills but had not time to get the bonds—Mr Griffin was to get them & forward to me which he has done I rec^d. them to-day I enclose them to you together with receipts for the money paid—

The destruction of the public property here was more complete and appears more melancholy than I had any idea of—The house of representatives instead of each one having a mahogany desk a large arm'd chair stuff throughout seat back & arms and plenty of elbow room—are now coop'd up on small wood bottom'd chairs a little more than half as big as ones bottom with a pine board along in front exactly 13½ inches wide to write on and right and left each member has just about as much room as you allow on deck to a horse for the West indies with nothing to prevent the enemy's frigates from sailing up any fair wind and throwing their shot through the hall where we sit—

Nothing of consequence yet done nor can I make any guess relative to paper money—Your friend
EPAPHRODITUS CHAMPION.

The Hon. Epaphroditus Champion was a member of Congress from Connecticut from 1807 to 1817. In the Revolutionary war, he drove from the farm of his father the cattle which first reached Warhington at Valley Forge. He was called "General," in later life; but this was probably a militia title. He died at East Haddam, November twenty-second, 1835, aged seventy-eight.

D. WILLIAMS PATTERSON.

Newark Valley, N. Y.

NOTICES OF THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER VATTÉMARE, FOUNDER OF THE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE.

By his son, M. HIPPOLYTE VATTÉMARE.

Translated from the French by Salomon Alosfen.

Alexander Vattémare—issued from a Norman family of which the head, Jean de Vattémare, Seigneur de Vasoeey, has been ennobled by Louis XI—was born in Paris on the eighth of November 1796, and died in the same city on the seventh of April 1864. After a much checkered childhood, he found himself at the age of seventeen attached as a house-surgeon to the hospital of Pity, under the auspices of Dr. Alibert. In 1814, he was ordered to reconduct to Prussia three hundred

convalescent prisoners,† sent back to their own country after the fall of the Empire. He acquitted himself of this mission with so much zeal, that, on his arrival at Berlin, he was rewarded with the decoration of the order of the Iron Cross, for the particularly delicate cares and attentions which he had had for his sick.

During the reign of the Hundred Days, the Prussian Government proposed to him that he should take service as a surgeon in the Prussian army; but upon his refusal to do so, he was retained as a prisoner of war. Being in a foreign land and without resources, he then bethought himself of putting to profitable use the remarkable gift of vocal illusion which nature had bestowed upon him, and which thus far had never served him but for his own amusement. A fortuitous circumstance hastened this resolution. There was in Berlin a French emigrant family ruined by the Revolution, struggling with misery and want. To these unfortunate countrymen of his, the young Alexander devoted the fruits of his first representations; and, as he had no family of his own, he immediately adopted them and for always as if they were his own kindred. From that period his dramatic career was an uninterrupted succession of triumphs, and the name of Alexander became extensively known to the generation preceding our own.

Unfortunately for him and for his family, to whom he should have left a splendid inheritance, the artist was nothing but the envelope, the chrysalis (if we thus could express ourselves) of the bibliophile and philanthropist. However, the shell was not broken before Alexander, fair and honest in all things, had respectably secured the position of those who were his own, and it was then that Vattemare appeared. Is this second incarnation preferable to the first? This is a question which cannot be solved until mankind shall have themselves decided which they like better, to be instructed or to be amused. From that moment the Artist was dead, and so truly dead that those who had formerly known and applauded him could hardly believe in this sudden metempsychosis. It is to be added that Vattemare lost nothing in their estimation.

During the first days of this novel and very difficult career, the artist did not entirely forsake the savant, for it was the artist who appointed himself the petitioner and taking Vattemare by the hand, he rapped with his magic wand at the door of heads of Bureaux, of Ministers, of Kings and Emperors, and the entrance opened wide. Alexander threw himself into the shade, but the introduction of the savant was an accomplished fact. Vattemare was listened to, first for politeness's sake, then with interest, afterwards with pleasure,

and although they strove against it, approbation had to follow as soon as the magnitude and the usefulness of the object were gradually developed. The barrier once broken, the theories considered at first as purely utopian, were accepted as perfectly practicable.

Thus the system of International Exchange came into existence. How it threw out vigorous shoots and produced happy results, that was owing to the energy, the courage and perseverance which formed the basis of Mr. Vattemare's character. Drawing only upon his own resources, sacrificing in the pursuit of this undertaking the fortune so honorably and laboriously acquired, he wandered over the world sowing everywhere the fertile seed and instilling in every mind the robust conviction which animated his own soul.

To exchange the duplicates on hand in public and private libraries, and so enrich ourselves by our own gifts; such is the primitive idea,—the starting point of the system. By degrees, as fast as he could sift his thoughts, Mr. Vattemare gave it all the development of which it was susceptible.

His first voyages on the continent of Europe had satisfied him that his theories could easily be materialized. He had everywhere laid the foundations of pacific relations destined to bring the nations together on neutral ground, where all could give each other the hand in spite of politics. He then thought of introducing the New World into this confederation of Intellects. Apostle of Popularization in the largest acceptance of the word, he left his native land,† leaving behind him, without hesitation but not without regret, all that habitually attaches and retains a man to his home and fireside. His voluntary mission to the United States was a long ovation. The Congress of the Union, State Legislatures, learned societies, citizens of cities and residents of the country, all received the promoter of a grand, liberal and humanizing idea with that kind of enthusiasm which one finds nowhere else but among a new people.

It would be impossible here to relate all the kindnesses and fellow-feelings which smoothed Mr. Vattemare's path in America, all the honors which were spontaneously rendered him. Without proofs, this recital would seem rather too hyperbolic. But these proofs are not wanting; they are found among the acts of the great constituted bodies of the United States; among the bills of various Legislatures, from Maine to Louisiana; in the resolutions passed by popular assemblies; in the unanimous votes of thanks of an entire people; in short, in the three hundred thousand volumes exchanged between France and the United

†Mr. Vattemare, encouraged by Lafayette, Gen. Cass, Mr. Cambreleng and others, embarked for the United States, Sept. 20, 1839, to lay his plan of International Exchange before our people, and spent over two years here. He visited this country again in 1847.—ED.

†Prisoners of War,—S. A.

States, without speaking of the innumerable specimens of works of art and natural history.

Truly we may say the United States were revealed to the world by Mr. Vattemare. Before his successful voyages, it was of course well known that on the other side of the Atlantic lived a people, energetic, active, liberal in the best acceptance of the word, marching with a deliberate and firm step towards progress; but as to what that people could or had already produced in the matter of sciences and arts, the world at large was ignorant of or nearly so. On this double and very interesting point of view, Mr. Vattemare has enlightened the whole world.

Nobody is a prophet in his own land! If ever any man has been able to apply to himself this discouraging apophthegm, it is, without contradiction, Mr. Vattemare. During thirty-two years, he remained at the breach, asking France to adopt officially his idea; but always without success. Certainly, the eulogies and the official concurrences of the ministerial departments, even honorific distinctions, have not been withheld; but the moral force and consequently the perpetuity which an official recognition alone could give to the system, has been utterly wanting. In this case, as in many others, France has let herself be distanced by the United States.

Exhausted by labors of every kind and by superhuman efforts, Mr. Vattemare died when he had only reached the last limits of mature age. A painful illness, the result of great fatigues, which he had obstinately braved, overmastered his indomitable energy; a great intellect has been prematurely extinguished.

It was in vain that, after the death of the founder of the system of International Exchange, his eldest son, Mr. Hippolyte Vattemare, for eighteen years his father's co-laborer, asked from the government and from learned societies to resume, and to proceed in, the work so happily and energetically undertaken. Nobody understood the case, or rather, no one would understand it. Mr. Vattemare found everywhere the doors closed to him, and he has seen, not without deep regret, a work falling to the ground, which, from filial respect, he would like to have seen permanently established. Nevertheless, let us hope that this work may not fall into oblivion: and that prejudice be not permitted to prevent that the magnificent results, realized by a man abandoned and left to his own wits, without official character and without fortune, shall obtain a collective form.

As ordinarily happens to inventors, Mr. Vattemare did not enjoy the fruit of what he had created. But, whether sooner or later the system of International Exchange shall place itself on a solid basis, the name of its founder shall forever remain attached to the same.

Paris, December, 1869.

Mr. Alofsen of Jersey City, N. J., who contributed some of the most valuable articles to the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE while it was under my charge, being willing to furnish an article for my number, but in doubt as to a subject, I suggested that a memoir of Mr. Vattemare, such as I supposed he could readily compile from materials accessible in Paris, where Mr. Alofsen then was, would interest the readers of the Magazine. I wrote to him that this would answer a double purpose, for, besides helping me, it would furnish information which Mr. Trask, the historiographer of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, of which Mr. Vattemare was a corresponding member, had felt the want of in preparing a sketch for the society. Mr. Alofsen found more difficulty than I supposed he would in obtaining materials: but he was fortunate enough to hear of a son of Mr. Vattemare, who, at his request, prepared the preceding biographical sketch to be preserved in the archives of the above society. In the letter which accompanied the sketch and translation, Mr. Alofsen wrote to me:

"In publishing this short biography of Mr. Alexander Vattemare, we ought not to lose sight of the fact that it is Mr. Hippolyte Vattemare, his eldest son and co-laborer in the work, who is the author of the same. The idea of International Exchange was grand, and originated with Alexander Vattemare. He became the founder of the system, and as such is entitled to our praise and admiration; but experience has shown us that he was not a systematic man, consequently not fully competent to give effect to his own work or carry his plan to perfection. After the system had been a few years working order, what results did we in America see of it? To assume a fact; the first volume of an European work under publication was sent to some one of our institutions, but when the second volume of the same work made its appearance, it was sent to another one, Mr. Vattemare having in the intermedium totally forgotten to which society he had previously sent the first part of the work. There have been such occurrences; even one in which the illustrations of a certain work reached New Jersey, whilst the volume of explanations in all probability was sent elsewhere. This was a publication of the Dutch government, and related to an important event in the history of the Netherlands, and would have been more appropriately placed on the shelves of the New York Historical Society than in the collection of that of New Jersey. I mention this to show that there was a want of judgment and lack of system. If we in America experienced such errors, others in Europe must have had the same experience; and can we then be surprised at the want of interest, of which

"Mr. Hippolyte Vattemare so bitterly complains?
 "It is evident that the neglect shown by the French government towards the father, was a sad disappointment to him, and it is in compensation, perhaps, that the son speaks of his father's labor in such extravagantly glorifying terms.

"It was, I think, about 1848-1850 that Mr. Alexander Vattemare travelled in the United States, endeavoring to interest the country in his project. At that period 'the world at large' was already long and very well acquainted with the progress of the arts, sciences and literature in the Union. The expression that 'Mr. Vattemare has revealed the United States to the world,' and similar ones, are therefore mere exaggerations. Also, when we read of 'the innumerable specimens of works of art and natural history,' we cannot help thinking also of the innumerable specimens of absolute dubs and trash with which, through him, our learned societies have been presented.

"Several years previous to the above period, Mr. Vattemare visited the United States as an artist of vocal illusion, but then I believe the idea of International Exchange had not yet occurred to him. At that time, if I am not mistaken, he exhibited for an entrance fee, in Clinton Hall, corner of Nassau and Beekman streets, New York, a collection of prints more curious, I think, for their antiquity than for their intrinsic merit.

"A smart, energetic, indefatigable man, Mr. Vattemare certainly was, but I cannot look upon him so as to think that at his death at the age sixty-eight, 'a great intellect had been prematurely extinguished,' as his son informs us. It is very probable that Mr. Vattemare made personal pecuniary sacrifices for his favorite scheme; but did not the Congress of the United States or the governments at Washington, at Albany and Boston, and some of our societies, vote him annual compensations to defray, in part, his disbursements?

"I am convinced from conversations with his son and the language of the biography, and from what I have heard in society, that it was not from pure love of literature and art that Mr. Vattemare undertook to be the intermediary of these International Exchanges. His evident plan and object was to establish here in Paris a Governmental Bureau for that purpose; with himself at the head of it, and with his son as his assistant and future successor. In this he failed.

"I made Mr. Vattemare's personal acquaintance when he applied for letters of introduction from and to the presidents of railroad and steamboat companies and for free passes on such conveyances. These he received on almost every road and river in the Union; and I am well assured that in this respect he had little or no expense.

"I will also add that before Mr. Vattemare made his idea known in the United States, the government at Washington was in the habit of sending to the representatives of foreign powers residing at Washington, two copies of all the Congressional documents and of all works of importance printed by the same. Frequently additional copies of such works were sent to the foreign legations, specially destined for public libraries and scientific institutions in their respective countries. Some American authors would occasionally do the same, and I believe the Smithsonian Institution forwarded their publications through the American consulates abroad. I got copies of works published by the New York Legislature, for the city of Amsterdam, and in return, that Library sent me a list of their doubles on hand from which the State Library at Albany selected several old scientific works in learned languages. But this happened in the latter years of Mr. Vattemare's life, when the exchanges through him began to languish, and the interest in his system to diminish.

"This exchange of public documents between the respective powers of Europe and America may perhaps have suggested to Mr. Vattemare the idea of his plan of International Exchange, so that, in point of fact, he may only have given a wider scope to a system already in existence, by courtesy, among various governments of civilized nations. I, however, would prefer that we should continue to consider him as the founder of the system. His enthusiasm led him to assume a task for which he was not fully qualified. It was gratuitously undertaken, and proved to him to be a costly, annoying and ungrateful labor; and although the results have not answered the general expectations, the idea was a glorious one; and Mr. Vattemare deserves for ever the well-merited thanks and esteem of all who take an interest in the spread of knowledge throughout the world."

It may interest the readers of the Magazine to know that Mr. Hippolyte Vattemare, the writer of the notices of his father's life, is a literateur and contributor to various magazines. He is the author of biographical notices of several prominent generals of our war, both Northern and Southern, which are printed in the *Revue Contemporaine*. A younger brother is one of the vicars of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Paris.

The sketch of Alexander Vattemare, by Mr. Trask, before referred to, is printed in the *Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. xix, pp. 367-9. It contains many interesting particulars not given by his son nor by Mr. Alofen, some of which were obtained from a public address delivered, in Boston, by Mr. Vattemare himself, and printed in one of the mammoth newspapers, then in vogue, the *Boston Notion*, May 8, 1841. EDITOR.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF DR. THOMAS ROBINSON, OF PETERSBURG, VA.

By CHARLES CAMPBELL, ESQUIRE, OF WARRENTON, VA.

The following biographical sketch of Dr. Robinson consists mainly of information derived from members of his family, and partly from my own long and familiar personal acquaintance with him.

Thomas Robinson M. D. of Petersburg, Va. was born in Enniskillen, Ireland, November 12, 1770. He was graduated with distinction at Trinity College, Dublin, about the year 1798.* While a student there he became intimately acquainted with Robert Emmet. Thomas Moore, the Poet, was also a college-mate, being in the class next below Robinson's. These two had the mutual satisfaction of meeting again, in after years, at Norfolk, Va. Robinson being a member of the Association of United Irishmen, became obnoxious to the British Government and was forced to leave Ireland. He came over in company with Archibald Hamilton Rowan, another refugee,† and they landed from a leaky ship, at Philadelphia. The two lived together, for some time after their arrival, in a cottage, on the bank of the Christine, a branch of the Brandywine, not far from Wilmington, Delaware. Young Robinson in the first instance had to depend upon his pen for the means of subsistence. He afterwards removed to Virginia, where he took up his abode with the family of a Mr. W. Banks, a lawyer, in Halifax County. Thence he went to Pridesville, in Amelia County, in 1801, where he taught a school till 1803.

About this time he repaired to Philadelphia, where he remained thirteen months, attending Dr. Benjamin Rush's Lectures on the Institutes and Practice of Medicine; also his prescriptions in the Pennsylvania Hospital, during the winter of 1803-4. Dr. Robinson also attended the private practice of Dr. James Reynolds, an eminent physician, and, for some time during the summer of 1804, while the yellow fever prevailed in Philadelphia, had charge of the Lazaretto there, and gave great satisfaction by his successful practice and humane conduct—as appears by the letter of the Board of Health and the certificate of Dr. Rush.

Dr. Robinson, returning to Virginia, married

Annie,* eldest daughter of William Murray, Esquire, of Amelia County, who traced his lineage from the Murray, Duke of Athol. Mr. Murray, by his worth, urbanity and hospitality, acquired among his neighbors the sobriquet of "The Duke." Soon after his marriage, the Doctor took up his residence at Farmville, Prince Edward County, Va. not far from Bizarre, the seat of the mother of John Randolph of Roanoke, who became a frequent visitor at his house, being a cousin of Mrs. Robinson. Mr. Randolph, in a letter dated at Bizarre, July 20, 1806, says: "Dr. Robinson has at last brought his lady home. We dined with them to-day." The friendship now formed between the Doctor and Mr. Randolph was permanent. When subsequently the Doctor removed to Petersburg, Mr. Randolph, in his occasional visits to that town, made the Doctor's house his stopping place. In a letter dated at Georgetown D. C. Feb'y 8, 1808, Mr. Randolph says: "Greet the Dr in my name & tell him that I was much concerned to see by the papers that he had lost the locks of his fowling-piece, & shall be glad to hear that he has found them." And again: "My best regards also to Mrs. R. & tell her I hope my little friend, Will, is well, although I am sorry to learn I am likely to lose him as a neighbour." Again, under date of March 18, 1808: "Remember me affectionately to Sally & to Hodijah & Tom. Murray. The Doctor & his charming wife I hope have not forgotten me, although I fear my little friend has." * * "When you see Dr Robinson, you may consult him on any difficult passage in the classics."

About the year 1810, Dr. R. removed to Petersburg and passed the remainder of his life there, in compliance with a promise made to Mrs. Murray, as a condition precedent to receiving her daughter's hand, that he would never take her beyond the limits of Virginia. He kept his promise faithfully, in spite of strong inducements held out to him to remove to Philadelphia, where he had acquired the friendship of the wealthy Stephen Girard, who offered to assist him if he would undertake to establish himself there. Dr. Robinson did not take a degree at the University of Pennsylvania, in consequence of the requisite expense being greater than he could afford to incur. Dr. Rush, however, in a certificate dated Nov. 30, 1804, says: "From Dr Robinson's talents, general knowledge & attainments in his profession, the public are justified in expecting from him eminence & usefulness in the exercise of the different branches of medicine." A diploma unsolicited, was subse-

*Copy of a diploma. [On parchment about 12 inches by 8.] Arms of the College, a Lion courant, harp and a building.

"Ingenuo magnaeque Spiel Adolescenti Thomae Robinson; Propter Insignes in artibus progressus in Classe tertia, Examinatione habita initio Terminii Michaelis An. Dom. Milles: Sept: nonages septimo: hanc Tesseram dederunt Praepositus et Socii de iores Collegii Sacro Sanctae & Individuae Trinitatis, juxta Dublin Loco Praemii literarii, quod bis in anno eodem dari hand concessum est. Quod testor

A Browne
P. Prim^s

†Mr Rowan subsequently returned to Ireland, and having made his humble submission and pledged his fealty to the government, was pardoned.

*She was descended from Pechahontas as follows: 1 John Rolfe married Pocahontas; 2 Their only child, Thomas Rolfe, md Jane Poyers; 3 Their only child, Jane Rolfe, md Col. Robert Bolling, 4 Their only child, John Bolling, md Mary Kennon; 5 Anne, a daughter of theirs, md James Murray; 6 William Murray, son of James Murray & Anne his wife, md Rebecca Bolling; 7 Their daughter, Anne Murray, md Dr Thomas Robinson.

quently conferred upon him by Jefferson College, Philadelphia. The Professorship of Materia Medica in that institution was also offered him and declined.

The learned and able Essay on Irish music prefixed to McCreery's Irish Melodies, erroneously attributed to Burk, author of a History of Virginia, was written by Dr. Robinson. He contributed to a Northern Journal of Medical Science, a valuable article on "The Circulation of the Blood." He appears to have composed an elaborate article on Arithmetical, which does not appear to have been published. He did not participate in party politics, but on one occasion prepared, in behalf of the Virginia Agricultural Society, an Address, remonstrating against the U. S. restrictive tariff duties. It is a matter of regret that a man of such eminent genius and extensive learning, should have written so little. He appeared to be singularly devoid of ambition and indifferent to fame.

Dr. Robinson practiced medicine for upwards of thirty years, in Petersburg, and his practice was large and lucrative; but he was too liberal and had too much Irish generosity to accumulate much. Indeed, a considerable part of his practice was bestowed gratuitously upon the poor. In going his daily rounds, he was fond of prolonging his stay at houses where he found literary, appreciative and congenial society. It added to his enjoyment if a dish of hot and fragrant tea was served up to him. His humor was ever ready, spontaneous and exquisite—Irish humor, and he found material for it everywhere. He would relate, with the imperturbable gravity of a Turk, incidents the most extraordinary and incredible. For example, he once owned a cat, which he trained to hunt hares, like a dog, and she possessed this singular advantage, that she could pursue them up trees. He was once skating on a lake, several miles wide, in Ireland. Spreading his cloak for a sail, he was wafted, in a few minutes, across the lake, when the wind, suddenly shifting to the opposite point, he was, with equal rapidity, wafted back to the spot from which he had started. When phrenology was much in vogue, the Doctor illustrated the truth of that science, so called, by the following incident: He once had a bird, which was a very fine singer; he punctured it's organ of music with a needle, and the bird never sang any more.

The Doctor once had a remarkable dream, which he repeated to some of his acquaintance, who deemed it comparable in interest to one of Scott's novels.

Dr. Robinson, like Sir Walter, was exceedingly fond of dogs and usually had two—the one a greyhound, the other a terrier—by name Pepper. These two accompanied him in his daily rides about Petersburg, and looked upon themselves as chartered libertines, making themselves quite at

home in the houses which their master visited. He was, when he first came over to America, out on the Delaware river in an open boat with his friend, Hamilton Rowan. The Doctor diverted himself by tilting the boat over, first on the one side and then on the other; Rowan, finding his remonstrance fruitless, at length, in accordance with a previous threat, upset the boat. The Doctor with a heavy overcoat and boots on, swam for the shore, some half a mile distant. But just as he was about reaching the land, he recollected that his little white dog had been left under the cap-sized boat. Without touching the land he immediately swam back to the boat and turned it up, when the little dog leaped upon his shoulder, and thus the two returned to the land.

The Doctor once owned an eccentric dog, who for his amusement would in rainy weather, go about the streets, catching puppies and small dogs and sticking their noses down in the mud, and would leave them in this unpleasant posture, with their tails erect in the air. Pepper, his favorite terrier, was so sagacious as to justify Sir Walter Scott's remark, that "he could believe anything of a dog." Pepper ever kept himself well informed as to the municipal regulations of the town, as will appear from the following circumstance: During the summer, when the dog-law was in operation, Pepper was in the habit of going across the Appomattox river, by way of Pochahontas bridge, very early in the morning, and would remain without the limits of the corporation during the day, returning home after dark, thus evading the bloody-minded dog-catchers, and would so continue to do until the dog-killing season had elapsed, when he would resume his ordinary domestic habits.

The following letter and extract from another were written to Dr. Robinson by Mr. Randolph:

Roanoke, June 2^d, 1813.

Dear Doctor,

I have neither time, nor spirits, to write, except upon one subject. my poor Sister (if alive) is now with you. whatever medical skill can do for her, I know she will have the benefit of. But I beseech you, my good friend, to write to me if it be but one line & let me know the real state of her case. I have seen the effects of your skill in prolonging human life & I may say I have felt it. Tell me what I have to hope in this case. my best love to Cousin Nancy [Mrs. Robinson] & your little ones.

your friend, always,
John Randolph of Roanoke

Dudley, who is with
me desires his love & duty
to you both.

Roanoke, July 9. 1813

Dear Doctor

Your letter without date [postmarked June 20] did not reach me until Sunday last. I had heard from M^r R— of Bizarre, of your severe attack & he assured it gave me very great concern. Take care of yourself & turn *miser* for a few years (I am not at all afraid of the habit becoming fixed) & then you may abandon the drudgery of your profession. Tell Cousin Nancy, that I wish I could give her a sharp turned-up nose—a little red on the tip of it, & then I should have some hope of making her a skin-flint. But come what may, I indulge a hope of seeing you both yet, before I die & of course before you die; your melancholy prognostications to the contrary notwithstanding. I am sure I have the best right to predict, for my liver is schirrhous & my whole digestive apparatus, gone. I tell you this in answer to your reproaches for my silence on this head. Like yourself I have not heard one syllable of my poor sister since she left Richmond. many thanks for your account of her case. It is not very different from mine, except that I have better stamina.

You ask after "my amusements" &c. I must answer you, in the language of our price current on some of the first necessities & comforts of life "none." Dudley & I are here in the wilderness. you know what sort of a place it is, by dire experience. We often talk of you & he expresses the strongest desire to see you, always speaking of you & M^r R— with the tenderest regard & respect."

As a physician, Dr. Robinson ranked high, and in a great city might have attained eminence and celebrity. He was gifted with an intellect of the first order, and his conversational powers were unrivalled. A thorough-bred classical scholar, an able mathematician, a great reader, he was conversant with the entire circle of polite literature. John Randolph, it is said, remarked of him, "He is the only man I have ever encountered, that I could not fathom." In person he was of a massive, Herculean frame, but finely proportioned and symmetrical. His head and face noble—of the antique classic kind; his forehead smooth and beautifully rounded—phrenologically perfect; his eye luminous and restless.

In his habits, he was temperate, domestic, social, hospitable, fond of dogs, tobacco, tea and music. In this last, the members of his family were very proficient. The Doctor was a most expert swimmer.

His house was for many years the hospitable and attractive resort of artists and literary and scientific men, who enjoyed in his conversation a rare combination of humor, wit, fancy, metaphysical subtlety, eloquence and irresistible powers of rationalization.

Dr. Robinson died in Petersburg, of paralysis, September 14, 1846, aged 76. The funeral sermon was preached at St. Paul's (Episcopal) church, on the following day, by the Rev. Mr. Norton, and his body was interred in the burial ground of the Old Blandford Church, in the presence of a large concourse of people.

Mrs. Anne Robinson, the Doctor's wife, born at Grovebrook, Amelia Co., Va. Feb. 26, 1780, died in Petersburg, March 24, 1837, aged 57—a gentle, refined, lovely woman. Dr. Robinson left four children:—1 William Murray, 2 Robert Emmet M. D. (dec.) 3 Powhatan, 4 Rebecca Matoaca. The daughter's name is derived from Pochabontas.

AFFAIRS IN THE WEST INDIAS, 1690.

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM B. TRASK, ESQUIRE.

The following letter from Edwyn Stede, Lieutenant Governor of Barbadoes, was written to Jacob Leisler, Governor of New York, January sixth 1689-90. It is copied from the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 35, pp. 163, 164. This communication is in part relative to two fugitives from the island. The writer gives us also interesting statements as to the movements, at that period, of some of the more important islands, in their difficulties with the French.

In 1685, when Richard Dutton, Esquire, was Governor of Barbadoes, he appointed this Mr. Stede, who was an Agent to the royal African company and had been his Secretary, to be his Deputy Governor in the Island. "Hitherto the "Governors of Barbadoes had received their salaries from England alone, but Stede had the address, during the absence of Dutton, to prevail upon the Assembly to make him a present of "one thousand pounds. This suggestion they incautiously adopted, and by adopting it established a precedent which has continued," says Coke, in 1810, "to the present time." "Every new Governor," he continues, "now views, this present as a debt or obligation, which he has a right to demand, and the custom has been too long established to be revoked."¹

In 1673, an affidavit about the taking of New York was made by William Hayes, before Edwyn Stede.²

Among the English Manuscripts in the office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N. Y., is a permit by Edwin Stede, Lieutenant Governor of Barbadoes, dated April 23, 1690, to captain Henry Beer, to sail from that Island to New York:

Honored S^r.

Barbadoes: vi^{to}: January 1689.

Your most obliging Letter of y^e Three & Twen-

¹ *Hist. of the West Indies*, by Thomas Coke, LL. D. London 1810, vol 2, page 117.

² *New York Colonial Manuscripts*, III. 213.

tieth of Novemb^r: wth severall Papers & a bill of Loading therein Inclosed for two Rebellious, bloody Irish Villaines Patrick Henly & Nicholas welsh fugitives from this Island as well as from their duty & allegiance to their Maj^{ties}, who went to their Maj^{ties} Enemies y^e French & by Feigned Lyes & Stories animated them to Lye In waite wth their men of warr about this Island to Take Southward & Inward bound Shippes Some of w^h they tooke accordingly, these two Traytors being on board one French Man of Warr, who they in a Hostile & traitorous manner assisted wth Force & armes to take their fellow Subjects belonging to the dominions of y^e King & Queene of England; these your Letters & papers touching that affaire wth a bill of Loading for these Fugitive rebels I received by y^e hands of Tho: Dapwell Master of the Constance, who Signed y^e said bill of Loading for the Fugitive rebels, but hath suffered y^e said traitors to escape before hee came from y^e coasts of New Yorke; who being gott to Pennsylvania writt mee a most Impudent Letter of their Innocencie appealed to mee for Justifying them under that p^rntence & to send them certificates thereof, when on y^e Contrary I must declare them fugitive Rebels & traitors to their King & Countrey, & for any thing yet appears to mee they have murdered the watermen they forced against their wills to Carry them to Martinico, they never having been Since heard of, but by reportes that these bloody Irish villaines cutt their Throats; I knowing noe Cause neither for their running away from this Island but their deadly mallice & Hatred to y^e protestant religion & to their Sacred Ma^{ties}. who God was pleased to Raise up to be a Protector & preserver of his pure & protestant religion & to Save us from popery, arbitrary power & Slavery. I also have received by Mr. Gerratt your duplicates touching these rebels & Your apprehension of their being Escaped wth your orders to Secure them & y^e Master Dapwell for his soe Long trifling & Lingerig on your Coastes after he had your dispatches by all w^h you have largely Testified your Zeale to their Ma^{ties} Service & your affectionate Kindness to y^e Hon^{rs}. Interest & well fare of this Island; all w^h I have Communicated to their Ma^{ties} Councell here who Joyne wth mee in y^e returne of our most hearty thanks to you for this Your So great testimony of Respects & Kindness to this government, w^h is also a reall Service to their Ma^{ties}. & I assure you both I and y^e Councell will be glad of an opportunity to returne our grateful acknowledgem^t to you for it, as well in your private as Publick Capacity it being as you very well observe an Indispensible necessity for the governo^rs of y^e american Colonies to assist one another to y^e utmost of our power against the comon Enemies y^e papists & french w^h I have done to y^e utmost of my Power & shall Continue to do wth out Hesitation to the utmost of my abilities; having

also Testified my respects to you by y^e Kind reception & Civill Treatm^t of all that have Come hither from New Yorke, and have been friends to Your Governm^t, w^h Is all that opportunity has offered to mee for to testifie my respects to you by, though I shall gladly Lay hold of all good occasions to Enlarge them to you & all that are true & faithfull to their Maj^{ties} & the true Protestant Religion. And In testimony thereof I have not only Sent aids from this to their Ma^{ties} Leeward Islands for their defence ag^t y^e French, when they St. Kitts [*sic*] by w^h ye rest have been preserved from the French, but thereby also Enabled & Encouraged them to make attempts on y^e French Islands w^h they have Taken & destroyed wth little or noe Loss on our Side, who have weakened the ennemye thereby & gott great booties from them, that is to Say Mary galland, Bartholomew and St Martines, w^h are taken & utterly destroyed, so that they will never be worth the resettling, the Booty that fell into y^e land of the English at Mary galland is Estimated at about Fifeteen thousand pounds besides a great deale was burnt & destroyed that they could not well carry of, the other two Islands were farr Short of y^e first in y^e vauew of y^e Plunder w^h Yett afforded so much as to encourage y^e officers & Souldiers to thnt degree that they now Resolve to attack St. Xtophers & hope will be masters of it without loss of many menn or much time being assured y^e French are very weakne there in men & wanting in provisions & all necessaries of warr nor Is Martinico in a much better Condition, neither that nor Gaurdaloope being able to assist St Xtophers in any respect & they are y^e only two Islands of noate in these parts now possessed by y^e french besides that of St. Kitts, & I am in hourly Expectations & hopes to receive an acc^t. that Mons^r. Ducass wth his man of warr of forty odd gunns y^e only usefull Ship y^e french have in these parts is taken, being advised our Small flete was in chase & gott in Sight of him, So that nothing but his nimble Sayling & Night can Save him the vessells in chase of him Sailing Also very well one of w^h carries fifty odd Gunns & Sailes very well, having five hundred Men on board w^h two other Shippes & two good sloopes so that I hope mons^r will hardly Escape w^h will much weaken & discourage them by Sea & Land & as much Strengthen & Incourage us. Wee are Still wth out certainty of Affairs In Europe having had no Shippes from England Since y^e middle of Decem^{br}. & they were so long detained in y^e west Countrey that our Letters were of a very old date, but by the acc^ts they brought wee have reason to hope & believe all things go well In england to y^e full content & Satisfaction of their Ma^{ties}. & all Loyal good protestant Subjects, hoping also before this Ireland Is Subdued & brought to y^e obedience & Subjection of their Ma^{ties} the King & Queene of England, w^h will be of great benefit & Safety to

their Ma^{ties} & all their dominions & leave them wholly at Liberty to pursue y^e Treacherous Tyrant French who will I hope be soe hard be sett this yeare on all sides as to reduce him both by Sea & Land & give y^e Englis. opportunity to Land upon him & make a great Conquest of his Country according to a Prophecie I have Seen that King William Should doe & now is y^e time as it Seemes to mee for y^e english Collonies in y^e northern parts of america that I ye neere y^e french to unite together & raise Forces & Subdue both y^e French & Indians in Canada & parts adjacent, they being but weake in those Places before aide Can be sent them from France or thut, y^e Dutch Come to take them who in time to Come may prove worse neighbors to y^e English then the French Can be; S^r what I have to add is my very hearty & affectionate Service to You & to Assure you that I am wth all respect Honno^{ble}: S^r.

Your Most Oblidged & Most humble Servant
(Signed) Edwyn Stede.
Was directed

To y^e Right Hon^{ble} Coll^{le}. Jacob
Leisler Governo^r. and Command^r: in Chief of their
Ma^{ties} City & Province of New Yorke &c.

By Cap^t. Elbridge These Present.
Q. D. G.

NEW YORK IN 1776.

On the second of May, 1855, Dean Dudley, Esquire, of Boston, read a paper before the New England Historic Genealogical Society, in which he gave extracts from the diary of Dr. Isaac Bangs, who served in the Revolutionary army. This paper was printed in instalments, in the *Boston Daily Bee* for February, 1856. From it a few extracts are here made, giving interesting facts concerning New York while occupied by the American army in 1776.

Isaac Bangs was the son of Benjamin and Desire (Dillingham) Bangs, and was born at Harwich, now Brewster, in 1752. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1771, and studied medicine. When the Revolutionary war broke out, he entered the army as a lieutenant. In 1776 he marched with the New England troops to New York, and afterwards to Virginia, where he died unmarried, September twelfth, 1780, at the age of twenty seven years:

[April] 19, I spent most of the day in viewing the city, which is more extensive than I imagined. It is nearly as populous as the town of Boston. The public edifices are more numerous, yet not in general so magnificent as those of Boston.

New York is between two rivers. In the town we found every street leading from the water almost stopped with the breastworks built by General Lee, on his arrival in this town, to prevent the enemy from landing to set fire to the town.

On the southwest part of the town, which is a point between the two rivers, is a very strong and costly fort, built by the King's troops many years since, for the protection of the city. Outside of the fort, at the edge of the water, was a battery erected at a vast expense to the King, of hewn stone, being about ten feet high, and having the inside filled up to form an inclined plane, sloping inwardly down to a wall one foot and a half high. Over this the cannon were to play. But as so low a wall would not be a sufficient cover for the men, our people were busily employed in making a turf-wall upon the stone wall, and when we arrived had almost finished as complete a battery as ever I saw.

Several other fortifications were erected in this town, which made it tolerably strong and safe against any attacks of the enemy. From the above mentioned fort, a spacious street running east-north-east in a straight line, reached without the town about one mile. In this, near the fort, is the equestrian statue of King George the Third. The design was an imitation of one of the Roman emperors on horse-back. The man, George, is represented about one third larger than a natural man, and the horse is larger than life in the same proportion. Both are neatly constructed of lead, and gilded, being raised on a pedestal of white marble about fifteen feet high. The whole is surrounded by a finely designed iron fence, about ten feet high, the enclosure being oval and containing one fourth of an acre of green.

20th. I visited the Water-works that are being made to convey water through the city, as that from the walls is very bad and unwholesome; so that the inhabitants prefer to buy water, for making coffee, out of carts employed in carrying it around the city. These works were begun about a year ago, at the city's expense, to defray which they issued bills of credit, that are current as other money. A Dutchman undertook the work, and has already performed the most difficult part of it, though not with that success which was expected by the citizens, as they say. But he says he has done as well as he promised. The work already accomplished is to convey water from the side of a hill, nigh a pond, to the top of the hill, from which, being higher than any part of the city, the water is to be conveyed about in pipes. The well is 40 feet in diameter and 30 feet down to the surface of the water. In this well is an engine which forces the water almost to the top, and from thence through a wooden tube up to the top of the hill, which is a distance of about five rods. At the top of the hill is a pond covering one quarter of an acre, and being from 8 to 11 feet deep. Thus far I could easily comprehend the operation of the works; but now the mystery was, how the machine in the well was first actuated and kept in motion. This (as I at length dis-

covered, with surprise,) was done by the power of boiling water. I found that, by means of a large copper boiler, the steam or vapor of the water is conveyed from thence into a strong copper tube of 18 inches diameter and 10 feet long, which stands in a perpendicular position. The lower part or end of this tube is light, but the upper end has in it a moveable stopper which may move upwards or downwards with as much ease as possible, and at the same time keep the air without from entering into the tube. In order to keep it tight, another part of the works constantly supplies the top of the tube, above the stopper, with a small jet of water. The steam of the hot water (as I take it) entering into the tube, rarifies the air therein to a great degree, when the stopper is let loose and flies upward with rapidity to the upper end of the tube, and immediately is thrown back by the pressure of the air from without. When it gets to the bottom, it is again driven upwards by the same cause as before, and repelled downward in like manner by the air, causing a constant motion. To this stopper a stout lever is fastened in the middle upon an axis. This lever is moved up and down by the stopper in the tube, and thus works the engine in the well, forcing the water up to the top of the hill.¹

21st (Sunday). * * * In the afternoon, being desirous to attend public worship, I went into a small meeting house, but could not in a long time understand a word the priest said. It proved to be a Dutch church. * * *

April 26. I mounted guard with Capt. Crooper, at Harrison's Brewery. Here is a beautiful circular fort, built wholly at the expense and by the labor of a company of Grenadiers belonging to the city, for which they received the General's thanks publicly expressed.

28th (Sunday). In the forenoon I attended public worship at the Congregational meeting; was very much disappointed with the preaching. The parson had invited a chaplain of the army to do his work for him, who performed it miserably. Being tired of such nonsense as I heard in the forenoon, I tried the Church of England in the afternoon. But the satisfaction I received from the substance of an excellent sermon was greatly abated by the pedantic behaviour of the priest, the irreverent conduct of the people and the foolish parade of ceremonies. I am determined next

Sunday, (unless I can find better entertainment), to attend worship with the Dutch priest, whom I heard last week, choosing rather to worship where I understand nothing, than to hear and see such folly. * * *

May 1st. Went with Capt. Allen and several other officers, to visit Mr. McPherlin, Love, and their families. We spent the time very agreeably; took a survey of the furnace (near by). In this furnace have been cast many excellent brass field-pieces (six pounders), besides iron cannon equal to any ever made in any part of the world.

May 4th. Took a survey of the city Gaol, which the gaoler showed us. The prisoners here are as well treated as in any prison I ever visited. The gaol itself is a magnificent building on the north side of the common, having more the appearance of an elegant mansion than of a common gaol.

FIRST PROSPECTUS OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

The following is a reprint of the original prospectus of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, which has never before appeared in its pages, and which some of its readers, no doubt, will wish to preserve. It was written by WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, Esquire, who, it was then expected, was to be the editor. The "Introduction," in the first number, was also written by him:

PROSPECTUS OF THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE;

A WORK DEVOTED TO ESSAYS, NOTES AND QUERIES
CONCERNING THE ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY
AND BIOGRAPHY OF AMERICA.

The undersigned, on announcing his intention to publish a monthly magazine to be devoted to historical subjects, begs leave to submit the plan of the proposed work, and a synopsis of the reasons which have led him to undertake it.

There being, at present, State Historical Societies in more than one-half of the United States, and many county, town, and family societies instituted, to investigate and perpetuate our history, it is evident that the proceedings at the meeting of these societies, and the essays and discussions delivered before them, will be of interest to all students of history now, and form a valuable source of information to all future inquirers. It is the object of the proposed magazine to publish condensed official reports of such meetings, and thus preserve for posterity the information now buried, as soon as it has once reached the light, in the columns of a daily newspaper. So strongly has the necessity of such a preservation been forced upon the consideration of our societies, that one at-

¹ In giving an account of an expedition to the Jerseys, June 21st, "to cut cedar logs, &c., to build Fire Rafts," he mentions a visit to Mr. Schuyler, the owner of the cedar swamp in which they worked. "An old man," he writes, "accompanied us as pilot, and in our way he showed us the copper mines belonging to Mr. Schuyler. Nothing has been done in these mines for four years, the engine for throwing off the water having been burst. It cost about £3,000 sterling, and would cast out of the earth 80 hogshheads of water per minute, being actuated by fire, from which it had its only motion. It was constructed upon the same principle and in nearly the same form as that of New York for watering the city. But the works of Mr. S. were greatly superior in magnificence to those of the city."

tempt, at least, has been made to print the transactions of one of the most distinguished of them, as a distinct serial. The principal Historical Societies have already decided to furnish authentic reports of their meetings for the magazine.

Another department of this projected work will contain reviews of various historical works, which will not only serve to show the opinions of competent judges, but will bring various valuable works published either abroad or in our inland cities and towns, to the notice of students throughout the country, and awaken the kindly recollection of those formerly resident in the particular portion of the country to which the work may especially refer.

Lastly, a section of Notes and Queries will be given, on the plan of the English periodical of that name, which, as comprising many subjects not strictly historical, such as bibliography and local customs, will interest the general reader.

It is confidently expected that this section will be found very useful to historians at the South and West, who, while tracing an ancestry or historical investigation of New England derivation, may be unable to prosecute their inquiries in person upon the spot.

Every item relating to our early customs or history, every fact to be gleaned from English town or county histories, bearing upon the settlers of this country or their colonial history, will be diligently sought for.

Considering the rapid increase of a taste for historical pursuits, the subscriber trusts that the preceding remarks will meet with an indulgent consideration and an encouraging response from the public, so that the work may be placed upon a firm basis, and his means to carry out his intentions, be enlarged.

The co-operation of all gentlemen engaged in literary and historical pursuits—in every part of our country—is earnestly requested. It is intended that the work shall be the organ of no party, section or clique; but be devoted to the encouragement of historical inquiry in every portion of the United States. Contributions to its columns are solicited. As a general thing communications should be brief, as the limits of the work will not allow full and elaborate discussions of any question.

The subscriber begs leave to announce that his project has received the attention and approbation of the following gentlemen, whose names may be mentioned as a sufficient guarantee of its importance:

Hon. Edward Everett, Wm. H. Prescott, Esq., Rev. William Jenks, D. D., Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Samuel G. Drake, Esq., Hon. James Savage, Rev. Joseph B. Felt, LL. D., Lucius M. Sargent, Esq., B. Homer Dixon, Esq., William W. Greenough, Esq., of Boston, Mass.

Jared Sparks, LL. D., Prof. Convers Francis, D. D., George Livermore, Esq., Charles Deane, Esq., J. L. Sibley, Esq., of Cambridge, Mass.

John W. Francis, M. D., LL. D., Evert A. Duyckinck, Esq., Benson J. Lossing, Esq., George H. Moore, Esq., James S. Loring, Esq., of New York City.

Horatio G. Jones, Esq., Thomas Balch, Esq., of Philadelphia, Pa.

Samuel F. Haven, Esq., of Worcester, Mass.

S. F. Streeter, Esq., of Baltimore, Md.

J. D. B. DeBow, Esq., of New Orleans, La.

W. Gilmore Simms, Esq., of Charleston, S. C.

Henry Barnard, LL. D., of Hartford, Ct.

Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D., of New Haven, Ct.

Hon. William Willis, of Portland, Me.

Henry T. Beckwith, Esq., of Providence, R. I.

Hon. John Wheeler, of Burlington, Vt.

Wm. A. Whitehead, Esq., of Newark, N. J.

Rev. William Barry, of Chicago, Ill.

The work will be printed in small quarto form, and will be published in monthly numbers of thirty-two pages each, of the size of this sheet, at two dollars per annum. The first number will probably be issued in January next. Gentlemen who receive this circular and are willing to encourage the enterprise by becoming subscribers, will confer a favor by forwarding their names to the publisher as early as possible, as the work will not be commenced till a sufficient number of subscribers is obtained to defray the expense of printing.

Address

C. BENJ. RICHARDSON,

119 Washington Street,

Boston, Mass.,

Publisher of the N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register.

NAMES OF SUBSCRIBERS.	RESIDENCE.	NO. OF COPIES.
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I have before me a clipping from the *Boston Daily Bee*, Friday, November seventh, 1856, containing a report of the meeting of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Wednesday, November fifth, at which the project of publishing the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE was first publicly announced. I extract that portion relating to the magazine:

"Mr. Dean remarked that he had long felt the necessity of some better medium of intercommunication between historical students in this country—something resembling in some particulars the London 'Notes and Queries.' A few weeks ago he mentioned the subject to his friends, Messrs. C. B. Richardson and W. H. Whitmore, both members of this Society. He suggested that the work should endeavor to obtain the sanction of the numerous historical societies in the United States, and that it should be considered the organ—not of one Society

"merely—but of the whole. The journal he thought should be published as often as once a month, and might contain brief reports of the proceedings of the various societies, some of the best of the papers read before them, and discussions of historical subjects generally. One department should be devoted to Notes and Queries upon American History.

"The plan was approved by the gentlemen to whom it was mentioned, and Mr. Richardson, who is a member of the firm of Robinson & Richardson, publishers, has since thought seriously of undertaking such a work. He has consulted several literary gentlemen upon the subject, who heartily approve of it. Mr. Dean closed by moving that a Committee be appointed to examine the plan and report at the next meeting of the Society, whether it was worthy of its approval. Mr. Richardson then gave further details of the plan, which had received the approval of Mr. Sparks, the historian, and Hon. Edward Everett, and answered some inquiries respecting it, when the motion of Mr. Dean was adopted, and the following Committee appointed, viz: Judge Farrar, Francis Brinley, Rev. Sylvester Bliss and Mr. Dean."

My impression is that some of the other Boston newspapers gave fuller details of the plan. The Secretary's record has already been printed in the *MAGAZINE*, 1st. S. ix, 149-50.

The chairman of the committee appointed at this meeting was Hon. Timothy Farrar, LL. D., author of the *Manual of the Constitution of the United States*, published by Messrs. Little, Brown & Co., in 1867. A report was made to the Society at the next meeting, Wednesday, December third, 1856. I copy the abstract given in the report of that meeting in the *Daily Evening Traveler*, Boston December fourth, 1856:

"Sylvester Bliss, Esq., made the report of the committee to whom the plan of a new historical periodical was referred at the last meeting. The committee reported unanimously in favor of encouraging the work by its approbation and support. Mr. O. Benjamin Richardson, of this city, who proposes to publish the work, being requested to state in what manner the project had been received, read letters from Evert A. Duyckinck, Esq., of New York (for many years Editor of the *Literary World*), S. F. Streeter, Esq., of Baltimore, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop of Boston, Hon. Henry Barnard of Hartford, and William A. Whitehead, Esq., of Newark, N. J., in relation to the subject. Letters had also been received from H. G. Jones, Esq., of Philadelphia, J. D. B. DeBow, Esq., of New Orleans, Dr. J. W. Francis and Benson J. Lossing, Esq., of New York, and others. All these gentlemen highly approved of the plan, and promised to further its objects. The proposed

"work has also received the approbation of Jared Sparks, LL. D., Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. James Savage, Rev. Dr. Felt, Lucius M. Sargent, Esq., and others in this vicinity. The work will be a monthly magazine, partaking of the character of the English "Notes and Queries," and the "Gentleman's Magazine," with some features peculiar to itself."

The first number of the *Historical Magazine* was issued Friday noon, January sixteenth, 1857.

J. W. D.

THE SITE OF LA SALLE'S SETTLEMENT IN TEXAS.

By JOHN G. SHEA, LL. D.

It is one of the advantages of a Magazine like this that a body may here set forth his doubts, hesitations and uncertainties, or even if you like his positive statements and dogmatic assertions, on points where the writer really is in doubt; for a magazine gives room for repentance, and the writer can, six months after, maintain the opposite theory just as stubbornly as he did the first; and students will certainly be helped on towards truth by it all. In case of a book, unless the work is stereotyped, the error remains uncorrected; or if it runs through several editions, and the author, without any notice, corrects his shortcomings, it only perplexes and astounds students who, quoting a writer from one copy, refer to another to find it dead against them.

When I projected this article, I wished to be dogmatic and positive, but I cannot. There is a fog historical enveloping the site of the settlement of La Salle in Texas; and having failed to dispel it, I will now try, by means of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, to perplex others with it, and befog the matter as much as I can.

The common theory, which I believe we may ascribe to Dr. Sparks, and which has been generally followed, assumes that the *Rivière des Boeufs* of Joutel is the river afterwards called *La Vaca* by the Spaniards, and still so named on our maps.

Why this was assumed, I do not find. The similarity of the names seems to have been the chief reason, but it is utterly at variance with the Spanish accounts, and though some of them are not very lucid, others are pretty clear and distinct; but then again the present topography raises a difficulty. Where lies the truth?

After passing the mouth of the Mississippi, either intentionally or accidentally, La Salle kept on west for a time; then parting with Beaujeu, the naval commander, he sailed down the coast, passing, as it is clear from Joutel's narrative (p. 51), the opening now known as *Passo Caballo*, and kept on, as Joutel and Cavellier tell us, till he had made some forty-five or fifty leagues from the

river seen Jan'y 5—6. They evidently anchored at Espiritu Santo Pass or Cedar Bayou, and here Beaujeu on the Joly rejoined them (Joutel p. 58). Joutel was put ashore with a party and marched northward along the shore till he came to a river which he could not cross. This was evidently Passo Cavallo, (Joutel p. 67). The Joly and Belle came in sight on the fourteenth of February 1685, and here La Salle resolved to land, (Joutel p. 70). The first fort was thrown up here, it would seem at or near Saluria (p. 95). La Salle then entered the bay and went up to a little river eighteen leagues from the mouth (Proces Verbal), although the Belle could not come within six leagues of it (Proces Verbal, Douay). This river was the smallest of those in sight, and was called by them La Rivière aux Bœufs (Joutel p. 113).

Of the fort erected Joutel says, (p. 126): "We were posted about 27° N. two leagues inland, near Bay St. Louis, and the bank of the Rivière aux Bœufs, on a little hill, from which could be seen to a distance fine large plains, stretching westward, quite level and filled with grass which afforded pasture to an immense number of cattle (bisons) and other animals. Turning from the west towards the south you saw still other plains, shedded with tufts of woods of various kinds. South and east were seen the bay and the fields bordering it, from east to north; the river ran along a little hill, beyond which were other great fields, with some tufts of woods at intervals, and terminated by a border of woods that seemed to us very tall. Between this little hill and the settlement there was a kind of marsh abounding in game, such as curlews, water hen and other kinds; in these marshes there were little ponds full of fish."

In the rude fort here put up, La Salle left a part of his emigrants, who nearly all perished at the hands of the Indians. A few survivors fell into the hands of a Spanish force sent to the spot soon after.

Buckingham Smith, in his interesting *Coleccion de Documentos*, publishes a report of this Spanish expedition, which says, (p. 25):

"On St. Mark's day we discovered Espiritu Santo Bay, and the settlement which the French had there, which consisted of a strong wooden house, with iron spikes, and a board roof nailed, and a chapel attached to it of saw wood, and other fine wooden houses plastered with mud, with many loop holes, on the bank of a very deep little river (riachuelo), which enters Espiritu Santo Bay. The site is very level; the soil very pleasing and fertile; bison and fish in abundance. * * The first Frenchman says that from where the settlement is that we saw, to the other that they had, by land, passing some great rivers, swimming or going lightly (meaning probably in an unburthened canoe), it took an

"Indian, whom he sent when he came exploring in these parts, ten days, and that by sea to the bay, as he went on two or three occasions, it took him four days in a bark. I send a map and diary to his Excellency Count Galve, showing where is Espiritu Santo Bay, with the Island in the middle of the entrance, which is about a quarter of a league in circuit. The bay, they say, is twenty leagues long and ten or twelve wide. It is at 29° 3', although the astrolabe was somewhat out of order. The settlement lies from the entrance S. W.—N. E. about twelve leagues from the mouth, two leagues up a little river which empties into said bay," (p. 28).

Now in this we have quite a description of the unfortunate La Salle's post, a better one than Joutel gives, but no description of the surrounding country. The Spaniard makes the fort twelve and the French Proces Verbal eighteen leagues from the mouth, meaning evidently Passo Cavallo, the point taken by both; but the Spanish direction given is embarrassing. S. W.—N. E. is a form that I have found in French and Spanish; but I am assured that the second is merely redundant, and it simply means in this case south-west. Now is La Vaca river the smallest entering the bay, as Joutel says the Rivière aux Bœufs was? Would it be called riachuelo, a little river, or rivulet? The settlement was two leagues up this little river, which could not be reached by ships, as the Belle could not get within six leagues of it.

It may be that changes have taken place on the coast, and that after all Passo Cavallo is not the place where La Salle entered, for the Spaniards sent two expeditions by sea in 1687, both of which saw the wrecks of La Salle's Belle and Amiable (Barcia, *Ensayo Cronologico*, pp. 268, 284); but when Don Dionisio Perez Ballones was sent there, in 1718, to occupy the place, they found the channel closed with a sand bank, so that his brigantine St. Joseph and balandra "Our Lady of Guadalupe" could not get in. (Barcia p. 342). Yet with its island it corresponds now with the earlier account. Barcia, with access to maps and documents might have solved all our difficulties, but he translates Joutel without explaining it or locating the settlement. Shame to thee, Barcia.

But there is some light. There is a manuscript History of Texas, and a fine work it is, by a Padre Morfi, who died in Mexico in 1783. Of this I have seen two copies; one was in the hands of the Cronica, a Spanish newspaper in New York. I tried to purchase it, but could not. It was, however, promised to a Franciscan convent in Western New York, and would, I supposed, thus be accessible; but it vanished. The other copy was in the hands of Mr. H. Stevens, and is probably now in the hands of some American gentleman; Ojala! que de mas! A gentleman in New York has a manuscript volume of what may be considered *Pieces*

Justificatives, a Documentary Supplement to Morfi's work. Morfi's History of Texas is certainly one of the best colonial histories I have met, well arranged, thorough and accurate. He alludes to La Salle's attempt, and at a later period, April 6, 1722, mentions the laying out of a new fort on Espiritu Santo Bay, on the site of La Salle's. He remarks: "On digging they found relics of that 'unfortunate expedition, such as nails, gunlocks, &c., the place where cannon was taken out and powder fired. This Presidio was called Santa Maria de Loreto de la Balua del Espiritu Santo."

Now the original position of this Bahia presidio, with its adjacent mission, is well known. It was on what is now called Mission lake, on Espiritu Santo Bay, near the mouth of the Guadalupe river. Ramon, the commander of the New Spanish fort, was indolent and severe. The Indians soon rose on him and killed him, as Morfi relates. The mission was then moved up the San Antonio, to the present Bahia. The original position of this Bahia mission and its removal are mentioned by Yoakum, History of Texas, and others. Now Morfi identifies its original position with La Salle's fort. And this point tallies better with the account in Smith's Coleccion, than the La Vaca river does.

In the perplexity thus created in my mind, I learned accidentally that Mr. Hugh W. Hawes was thoroughly acquainted with that part of the Texan coast. With great kindness, that gentleman gave me information as to localities, and I admit that it does not satisfy me. He writes: "Tradition is unanimous in placing La Salle's camp 'or fortification on the east side of the Lavacca river, five miles from its present mouth, where 'there are four or five live oaks, affording ample shade for a large military company. In deepening the Lavacca bay to Indianola, a part of 'the frame of what is supposed to be one of La Salle's old ships was brought up by the excavator 'of the dredge boat, found at the depth of four or 'five feet from the earth surface of the lake, showing the rapid accretion of these bays."

The Spanish description is to him utterly unintelligible. Espiritu Santo Bay is about twelve miles long from east to west and six to ten from north to south. I also laid before him Joutel's description of the site of the fort and the view from it. He was perfectly familiar with the site of the old La Bahia Mission, but could not believe that Joutel could have described that site. He says:

"At the entrance of the San Antonio and Guadalupe rivers into San Antonio Bay, there is 'an island of upwards of five hundred acres, as 'surveyed for me, nearly oval in form. About 'two miles from the head of this island, the distance from the Guadalupe river to Mission Bay 'is about three hundred and fifty yards. At this 'place on Mission Bay are found the relics of an

"old Spanish Mission, and universally known as 'such by tradition. At this point I had a house 'and tenant and run a fence from the river to the 'bay at the old Mission. From thence to the 'junction of the San Antonio and Guadalupe 'rivers is about eight miles. Mission Bay does 'not exceed two miles in diameter and is connected with Green Lake, lying north of it, about 'three miles in diameter, by a bayou."

He adds in a subsequent note: "Parson Blaine, 'an old Texan of intelligence, informs me that 'he lived many years at and near Green Lake. 'That the Spanish mission, which I have described 'as near the mouth of the Guadalupe river, was 'called La Bahia or Bay Mission; that it was 'moved to Goliad and was still called by its original name (La Bahia), but corrupted by the vulgar to Labadie."

This locates pretty clearly the mission La Bahia, founded in 1722, the presidio or fort connected with which Morfi declares to have been on the site of La Salle's fort. In default of any other evidence against it, this would seem to be sufficiently clear as a chain of title. But then the question rises: How far does Joutel's description accord with this? Joutel's map does not aid us. If Bay de St. Louis is Matagorda bay, and he landed at Cedar Bayou, his description of it will not apply to it now. On his map it is marked A, and he says: "Mouth of a little river, situate 28°, 7' N. 'Long. 277° W. where the author first landed." If we assume the first fort to have been made on Matagorda island, near Saluria, the channel between the island and the mainland corresponds to his B. on Baye de St. Louis; but of this he says: "Mouth of an arm of said river which enters St. Louis Bay and forms an islet, at the point of 'which, towards the entrance of the bay, the first 'settlement was made." But his island is separated from the mainland merely by a bayou, San Antonio and Espiritu Santo Bays being ignored. He speaks of four rivers entering the bay, Rivière aux Bœufs being the smallest. C, would then be, I suppose, the Garcitas, his "Rivière incon nue;" D the Rivière aux Bœuf, now the Lavacca, with its branch, the Mustang; E. Rivière aux Cannes, the Carancahuas, and F. his Rivière de la Sablonnière, will be Selkirk's, unless this is the Rivière aux Cannes, and F. the Caney. This would be at the very end of the bay, and on his map the river marked F is just opposite the entrance. But whatever difficulty there may be in identifying these rivers, supposing the bay to be Matagorda, it is utterly out of the question to reconcile the map of St. Louis Bay in Joutel, with Espiritu Santo Bay.

Appealing again to Mr. Hawes, with Joutel's description, to see whether it can apply to the site of La Bahia, he replies: "The Mission La Bahia 'as known to Parson Blair and the native Mexi-

"cans around, is not on a hill or any rise of two feet above the surrounding land, and is not so elevated that you can see any plain. It is on Mission Bay, about two miles in direct line from the head of Hyne's Bay, a branch of San Antonio Bay, which lies South of it, where there is no grove of any kind, but the margin of the bay is clothed with tall sea grass, interspersed with small ash and willows of not exceeding ten years growth, and is invisible from the fort, the view being intercepted by a fringe of timber on each side of Guadalupe river, of fifty or a hundred yards on either side, so thick that you can scarcely see a horse at the distance of twenty yards; and no vessel drawing five feet water can approach within ten miles of it. It lies directly on Mission Bay, about a quarter of a mile from the Guadalupe river on the west. The land between it and the river is a low bottom, fringed, as above stated, with large live oaks and other trees, some of which are probably five hundred or a thousand years old, which with a matted undergrowth would have shut out any prairie view from the south or west. On the east, Mission Bay is about two miles wide, the easterly extremity being bounded by a prairie hill of about fifty feet high, extending about ten miles from south to north. From the low standpoint of the fort or mission, nothing can be seen of prairies, west, south or east, and only a prairie bottom on the north.

Mr. Hawes is a gentleman of advanced age, long familiar with Texas, and better acquainted with the coast than perhaps any other man living. His kindness in giving me the full benefit of his knowledge, deserves my hearty thanks, and I return them in public, as I have in private. From his intelligent description, it is evident that the Bahia mission or fort does not answer Joutel's description, although it is evidently the mission alluded to by Morfi and identified by him with La Salle's. If La Salle's party had a post here, it must have been after Joutel left them. If the original Bahia mission was on the hill east of Mission Bay, no tradition tells the fact.

Mr. Hawes remarks that the site on the Lavacca would far better correspond with Joutel's description: "This location is immediately on the eastern bank of the Lavacca river, which runs nearly due north to a hill from which you can see on all sides beautiful prairies." But still the site commonly assumed is not this hill, and the Lavacca seems accessible for vessels of the size of the Belle, and no Spanish mission was ever founded here, as Morfi says one was founded on the site of La Salle's fort.

The extracts given and a valuable pamphlet by Mr. Hawes on the Texan Coast, will enable the student to pursue this study. It certainly seems a point on which some effort could be made to attain

certain knowledge. Possibly some document or Spanish map may be in the hands of contributors to the Magazine, which will help to reduce this chaos into order.

Societies and their Proceedings.

VIRGINIA.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—A meeting of the Executive Committee was held in the City of Richmond, on Saturday the twenty-seventh day of June 1868.

On motion of Mr. Myers, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"William C. Rives, one of the brightest ornaments of this, his native State, closed his illustrious career on the 25th day of April 1868, dying as he had lived, the type of an accomplished Statesman, a patriot and a gentleman. His private life belongs to the biographer and historian, and his country may justly bemoan his loss; but it is as the President of this Society, and when in the active exercise of its functions, always taking a warm interest in its prosperity, that we are peculiarly called upon at this, the first meeting of the Executive Committee occurring since his death, to express our grief for the loss we have sustained, and to offer our sympathy with his bereaved family in their deep affliction.

Resolved, therefore, That in the death of the Hon. William C. Rives, late President of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society, we have lost a distinguished member, whose character and literary labors have shed a lustre upon the times in which he lived, and entitled him to the highest respect and esteem of his fellow members.

Resolved, That we tender our sincere sympathy to his family, in their mournful bereavement.

Resolved, That the chairman be requested to transmit to the family of Mr. Rives, a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions."

The chairman produced and laid before the Committee letters of November 1867 and February 1868, from Dr. Chandler Robbins, corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Chairman's replies of the twelfth and thirteenth of February, and also the books and manuscript mentioned in these letters: to wit, a pamphlet containing "the History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion in Virginia in 1675-76;" the manuscript thereof, and a Volume of the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1866-1867."

Whereupon Mr. Myers proposed and the committee unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Virginia Historical and

"Philosophical Society highly appreciate the handsome manner in which the Massachusetts Historical Society, through its corresponding Secretary, has placed in the collections of this Society the interesting and valuable manuscript history of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion in Virginia in 1675-76; and the cordial acknowledgments of this Society are hereby tendered for that and for the volume of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1866, 1867, mentioned in the preamble to this resolution.

"Resolved, That the chairman of the Executive Committee be requested to communicate a copy of the foregoing to the Massachusetts Historical Society."

G. A. M.

Richmond, Va.

Notes and Queries.

NOTES.

FRANKLIN'S LETTER TO THE ABBÉ DE LA ROCHE.—The following letter was written by Dr. Franklin to the Abbé de la Roche, Auteuil, and is preserved in the *Bibliothèque Impériale*, at Paris:

"M. Franklin n'oublie jamais aucune Partie où M. Helvétius doit être. Il croit même, que s'il étoit engagé d'aller à Paradis ce matin, il feroit [e] Supplication d'être permis de rester sur terre jusqu'à une heure & demi[e], pour recevoir l'Enbassade qu'elle a bien voulu lui promettre en le rencontrant chez M. Turgot."

[Superscribed] "M.

"M. l'abbé de la Roche

"Auteuil."

Mr. Sumner alludes to it in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, xii, 656, *note*, and says that it was addressed to Madame Helvétius; but this is a mistake. One would naturally infer this to be the address, from reading the note, lying as it does in a glass case, and without seeing the superscription.

S. A. G.

THE REV. HENRY JACKSON, D. D., OF NEWPORT, R. I.—This gentleman, who was one of the early correspondents of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, was the son of the Hon. Richard Jackson, of Providence, R. I., in which town he was born, June sixteenth 1798. After a successful course of study at Brown University, he was graduated in 1817. While at college in 1815, he became a member of the First Baptist Church at Providence, then under the faithful ministry of Rev. Stephen Gano, D. D., whose daughter, Miss Maria F. Gano, he subsequently married. After completing his theological studies, he commenced preaching, October sixth 1822, at Charlestown, Mass., and was ordained as pastor of the Baptist Church there, on the twenty-seventh of November following. His

labors there, which closed October nineteenth 1836, were crowned with success. During his pastorate, he was instrumental in founding the Charlestown Female Seminary there. In 1836, he was settled as pastor of the First Baptist Church of Hartford, Ct., succeeding in that office his intimate friend, Rev. Dr. Davis. From Hartford, he removed to New Bedford, Mass., where he was installed January first 1839. His ministry at the latter place lasted till October nineteenth 1845. On the seventh of January 1847, the Central Baptist Church of Newport, R. I., was organized, and on the seventeenth of that month, Rev Mr. Jackson, having measurably recovered from a sickness of more than a year's duration, preached to the society. On the twenty-fourth, he was unanimously invited to become its first pastor, which invitation he accepted. This office he held till his death, March second 1863. He died suddenly, in one of the cars of the Shore Line Railroad, while passing from Providence to Greenwich. He left his home in Newport early that morning in his accustomed health, and it was noticed in Providence by his friends, during his brief stay of two and a half hours, that he exhibited his usual cheerfulness and exuberance of spirit. "He died while on a journey of love—died with his harness on—laboring for the good of others, without a hope of worldly recompense." The evening before his death, which was the Sabbath, he handed his wife some verses which were prophetic of the close of his earthly pilgrimage. These verses were sung at his funeral.

At the time of his death, he was a trustee of Brown University, having held the office since 1828. From this institution, in 1854, he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

In 1854, he published *An Account of the Churches of Rhode Island*, 8vo. pp, 134; and an anniversary discourse before the Central Baptist Church of Newport, 8vo. pp, 72.

His widow is now living at Providence, R. I.

D.

ARIAENTJE CUVILJE.—In Hoffman's *Treatise on the Corporation of New York*, app. p. ex, it is stated that Jan Jansen Damen "left Ariantje Cuijlie (Cuvilje) his sole heiress. She married Gulyn Vinge. Their children were Jan Vinge," &c.

A cursory reader would infer from this either that Ariaentje Cuvilje was the daughter of Damen, or had Gulyn Vinge for her second husband.

In order to make the matter perfectly clear, it may not be out of place to state that Ariaentje Cuvilje married, first Gulyn Vinge, and had Maria, who m. Abraham Verplanck; Christina, the wife of Dirck Volckertsen; (Both these were married persons in 1632.) Rachel and Jan Vinge, minor in 1632. Ariaentje Cuvilje becoming a widow

married, *secondly*, Jan Jansen Damen in 1632, as appears by the prenuptial Deed of Settlement in *N. Y. Col. Mss.* I. 6, — O'C.

HEBREW LITERATURE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Americans are familiar with the modern labors of Gesenius, Ewald, Jahn, etc., in Hebrew letters. Less known perhaps, are the more recent and valuable contributions of Dr. Julius Fürst, the learned Hebrew Professor at Leipzig; who, for thirty years, has devoted himself, with unwearied industry (beyond mere official labor), to linguistic and historical research. As early as 1835 he published a work on Aramaic Idioms—(*Lehrgebäude der Aramäischen Idiome*); which was followed—1837-1840—by a Hebrew and Chaldaic Concordance of the O'd Testament, comparing the Hebrew with the Indo-germanic idioms. The latter work has been later revised and reprinted, in the form of a Hebrew and Chaldee Dictionary of the Old Testament, an English translation of which was published in 1866.

Dr. Fürst has added a signal service to Hebrew learning, also, as Editor of a periodical—“*Der Orient*”—1840-1851—for the diffusion of Biblical and Oriental learning.

To all interested in Bibliography, Dr. Fürst's rare and most indefatigable labor will be in high esteem—his “*Bibliotheca Judaica*,” published by Engelmann, in Leipzig, 1849-1851 in three volumes. This work catalogues not less than 18,000 books and monographs; not merely copied from other collectors, but often results of original and personal research—a labor not small, when it is remembered how impoverished are the great Libraries, even of Paris, Oxford, Vienna and Berlin, in this department of learning. His work fills many gaps in the “*Bibliotheca Hebraica*,” of Wolf.

Dr. Fürst is the author, also, of a history of Jewish Culture and Literature in Asia (1849) (*Cultur und Literaturgeschichte der Juden in Asien*), as of other works; and has published in 1867, a “history of Biblical Literature and “Judaic-hellenic works.”

A great merit in Dr. Fürst's labors is, that he has withdrawn the Hebrew and Biblical literature from the domain of Dogmatic Theology, into that of pure History, applying to it the same critical principles, as are recognized in the literature of all other nationalities.

Dresden, Saxony.

B.

T. HENRI LAUGIER DE TASSY.—Papers of much value relating to the family of the above person are in the possession of the “New England Historic Genealogical Society.” He resided at Boston from 1786-90; and was living in Philadelphia in 1794.

Boston.

J. C—n.

AGREEMENT WITH PETER DUNBAR TO RIDE POST ON LONG ISLAND, 1772.

“WHEREAS the usefulness and Convenience of a
“post Rider to & from the City of N York through
“the Different Towns on Long Island must be evident to every man of amusement and Lieasure
“and much more so to every person of Business
“or much engaged in active Life as by that means
“Gentlemen of the former Class may be supplied
“with the newspapers the Letters of their Friends
“and the new publications &c, and the man of
“Business weekly has the opportunity of Trans-
“mitting his Orders with punctuality or having
“his Business transacted by his Friends or his
“Agents without being liable to misfortunes by
“miscarriages & Delays. AND WHEREAS Peter
“Dunbar has now Continued to ride as post to &
“from the City of New York thro the Different
“Towns on the said Island near three years but
“has hitherto been so neglected and met with so
“inadequate a Reward for his Time & Services
“That (even with the Generosity of some worthy
“Gentlemen who supply him with free Entertain-
“ment both himself & his horses as he Travels),
“he has with Difficulty obtained very Scanty
“Maintenance And as it cannot be expected that
“the s^d. Peter Dunbar will continue in the s^d. Ser-
“vice unless some better Compensation for the
“same be furnished and allowed to him for the
“Future, WE THE SUBSCRIBERS to testify our ap-
“probation of the Conduct of the Said Peter
“Dunbar as a post Rider and to support a matter
“so useful to the public and to encourage him to
“continue in that Service Do hereby severally &
“respectively that is each one for himself promise
“and agree to & with the Said Peter Dunbar to
“pay to him the S^t Peter Dunbar yearly and every
“year for and during so long as he shall continue
“ride as a post Rider to & from the City of New
“York in Manner aforesaid the Sum Subscribed to
“each of our names respectively and in the like
“proportion for any part of a year or any longer
“or Shorter Time, IN WITNESS whereof we have
“hereunto respectively Subscribed our names &
“Sums in the month of September One Thousand
“Seven hundred & Seventy Two.”

The preceding document is in the New York Secretary of State's office at Albany, Miscellaneous Papers, 39; 399.

E. B O'C.

A CHARACTERISTIC OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.—The late Rev. Theodore Parker makes the following suggestive remarks: “In America, everything
“seems to be done democratically—by the com-
“bined force of many men of moderate abilities,
“and not by one man of Herculean powers. It
“was so in the early periods of the nation; so in
“the Revolution, and so now. It has always
“been so with the Teutonic tribes of men, much

"more than with the nations from the Semitic stock. With them there comes a Moses or a Mohammed, who overrides a nation for one or two thousand years, and its progress seems to be by a series of leaps: while the western nations, with less nationalism, and more individualism, accomplish less in that way, but slope upwards by a more gradual ascent."

This was written in 1850. Had the author lived till the late Civil War, he would have found in it, fresh confirmation of his views. The people, from beginning to end, were expecting and praying for a leader; but they never found one whom they were willing to trust entirely. The hero of that war was the American people. X. Y. Z.

POLCHPIETY.—Rev. Nathaniel Ward, in his *Simple Cobbler*, says: "Polypietiy is the greatest impiety in the world." His printers misread his manuscript, however, and printed the first word, *polchpiety* (See 1st. ed, p. 5), thus coining a new word. To a person familiar with modern chirography only, this mistake seems a singular one; but in the handwriting of Mr. Ward's time, *ch* and *y* frequently bear a strong resemblance to one another, and this is particularly the case in the chirography of Mr. Ward himself. J. W. D.

PATTEN.—Is defined by Webster as "a wooden shoe with an iron ring, worn to keep the shoes from the dirt or mud." This is not strictly correct. A wooden shoe is the French *Sabot*, still met with in many of the villages in Canada East. The Patten consisted of a sole of wood strapped over the instep, and elevated above the ground by an iron ring. It was in vogue in New York, as early as 1638 among the Dutch, by whom it was called a "Clicker," from the noise it made when the wearer of it walked. It was superseded by the clog, still worn in England, and finally by the Rubber overshoe. O'C.

UNANIMOUS NOMINATIONS.—The fact that a new way of making unanimous nominations has been introduced within a few years, is worth making a note of. A person obtains a majority of the votes at a caucus or convention, and is declared nominated. One of his friends then moves that the nomination be made unanimous, which motion is put to vote, and if a majority is in favor of it, the chairman declares the motion adopted. I have noticed several such cases this fall. A single vote in the negative was formerly considered sufficient to defeat such a motion, and should be now. ?

SYLVESTER GARDINER.—In the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" for November, 1784, is the following marriage: "At Pool, [England,] Dr. Sylves-

ter Gardner, formerly of America, aged 80, to "Miss Catharine Goldthwait, daughter of Thomas G. Esq., late of Penobscot, in New England, aged 28."

Dr. Gardiner left America with the British Army, in 1776; in 1785 he returned to the United States. He died at Newport, R. I. August eighth 1786, in his eightieth year. His first wife was Anne, Daughter of Dr. John Gibbons of Boston; his second Abigail Eppes, of Virginia; his third, Miss Goldthwait; when married to her he was in his seventy seventh year.

Boston,

J. C.—n.

EXTINCT POPULAR GAMES.—Among the favorite games brought to this country from Holland by the Dutch, was that called "Golf." It was played with a small ball and a bat or club crooked at the lower end. He who drove the ball into a series of small holes in the ground, with the fewest strokes, was the winner. In 1659, a law was enacted against playing at Golf in the streets of Fort Orange (Albany), on account of the damage done to the windows, and the danger of being wounded to which people were thereby exposed. "Hurling," in England and Ireland, is a game or exercise somewhat similar; but in the latter the ball is driven so as to run between two posts, set at each end of a field; each party contending to drive it between its opponent's posts.

E. B. O'C.

BOOKS ADVERTISED AT PHILADELPHIA IN 1776.—The following advertisements are copied from the Pennsylvania Evening Post for July 16, 1776:

"This day is published, price nine pence, Four Letters on interesting subjects, Containing among other things, Remarks on the CHARTER of CHARLES the Second to William Penn—On William Penn's will—On Forms of Government, Constitution, &c.

"Printed and sold by Styner and Cist, in second street, a few doors above Arch street, nearly opposite to Michael Hillegas, Esq."

"Just published, and may be had in Market street, two doors above Messrs. Hall and Seller's printing office, Price two shillings.

"The Fall of BRITISH TYRANNY, or American Liberty triumphant. The first campaign. A TRAGI-COMEDY of five acts, containing twenty six scenes, amongst which are the following, viz:

"A pleasing scene between Roger and Dick, two Shepherds, near Lexington. Clarissa &c.
"A very moving scene on the death of Doctor Warren &c., in a chamber near Boston, the morning after the Battle at Bunker's Hill."

* † *

QUERIES.

AN EARLY INSTANCE OF A PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOK IN AMERICA.—The following is a translation of a portion of the publisher's preface to the *Voyages de M. le Marquis de Chastellux dans L'Amérique Septentrionale*, Paris, 1786: "The public has been aware for a long time that the Marquis de Chastellux has written Journals of his different travels in North America, and a desire has been expressed that they should be published. The author, who has prepared them solely for himself and friends, until now has constantly refused to do so. In fact, the first and most considerable portion of them had been printed in America, of which only twenty-four impressions were struck off. * * * * There was a small printing press on board of the squadron at Rhode Island, which furnished him with facilities, of which he saw fit to avail himself. Of these twenty-four impressions, scarcely ten or twelve reached Europe, and he had sent them to responsible persons, whom he had requested not to allow any copies to be made."

Is not this one of the earliest instances in America of a privately printed book? Is the existence of any of these copies known at the present time?
Boston. S. A. G.

THE HUB OF THE UNIVERSE.—Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April 1855, puts the following words into the mouth of an eccentric character in the *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*:

"Boston State House is the hub of the solar system. You couldn't pry that out of a Boston man, if you had the tire of all creation straightened for a crowbar."

The Autocrat's reply is thus given by him: "Sir, said I, I am gratified with your remark. It expresses with pleasing vivacity that which I have sometimes heard uttered with malignant dulness. The satire of the remark is essentially true of Boston—and of all other considerable—and inconsiderable—places with which I have had the privilege of being acquainted." &c. &c.

The expression, "the hub of the solar system" was soon caught up, and, after being transformed into "the hub of the universe," was applied to Boston itself, instead of its State House. Can any reader of the Magazine inform me whether Dr. Holmes originated this expression, or merely gave currency to it, having found it elsewhere? I never saw it or heard it till it was used by him.

The prominence of the State House in views of Boston, particularly in that on the city seal, may have suggested the idea.
DELTA.

"A MAN OF THE BEATITUDES."—Can any one inform me by whom this expression was first used?
DELTA.

MATTHEW CARY.—Matthew Cary was sent from Boston to Quebec, by the authorities of the Massachusetts Government, in 1695, to effect an exchange of prisoners. The names of those ransomed by him are given in the *New England Historical & Genealogical Register*, Vol. vi. 87. Can any one inform me who he was? W. B. T.

QUOTATION WANTED.—"To raise up a view of past transactions and infuse into the dry bones of chartularies and the catalogue of defunct proceedings a true vitality; to animate with the powers of the poet and the dramatist the mere lifeless facts collected by what is termed history; to adhere, with a glowing fancy and inspired imagination, to the cold circumscription of the rigid fossils that remain to tell of the past; and to extract truth from ashes and pictures from relics, is a triumph of genius only hoped for in modern times."

By whom and when was the above quotation written?
X. Y. Z.

THE "COURIER DE BOSTON."—This was a French weekly newspaper, printed in Boston. It was first published April 23d, 1789, and was continued for six months. Is not this the earliest instance in the United States of a newspaper printed in the French language? A complete file of the paper is in the Boston Public Library.

Boston. S. A. G.

THE REMAINS OF POPHAM'S FORT.—In 1820, a brass ring having the letters I. H. S. rudely cut upon it, was presented to the American Antiquarian Society, accompanied by the following note:

"This Ring was discovered in the mound of the Fort supposed to have been erected by Popham, Gilbert, and their party, in 1607-8, at the mouth of the Kennebeck river—and, before its precious ærugo was taken off, was purchased by Mr. James Shaw, of Bath, Maine, for \$3, & by him presented to the Antiq. Society through"

Wm. Jenks."

Where was the mound, then supposed to be the remains of Popham's Fort?

Worcester, Mass. S. F. H.

THE TOLERATION OF INTOLERANCE.—Rev. George B. Cheever, D. D., in the appendix to his reprint of *Mourt's Relation*, page 306, quotes Coleridge as saying: "I will be tolerant of everything else but every other man's intolerance." I wish to know in what part of Coleridge's writings this quotation is to be found. The quotations nearest to it that I can find are these, in the thirteenth Essay of *The Friend*: "I fully coincide with Frederic H. Jacobi, that the only true spirit of Tolerance consists in our conscientious tolera-

"tion of each other's intolerance," 2, "I dare avow, with the German philosopher, that as far as opinions, and not motives; principles and not men are concerned; I neither am *tolerant*, nor wish to be regarded as such. According to my judgment, it is mere ostentation, or a poor trick that hypocrisy plays with the cards of nonsense, when a man makes protestation of being perfectly tolerant in respect of all principles, opinions and persuasions, those only excepted which render the holders intolerant."

DELTA.

DIARY OF CARTER BRAXTON JR.—Carter Braxton J^r, son of him of the same name who was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, kept a Diary while in England, some years subsequent to the Revolutionary War, and it was preserved in two manuscript volumes, at Hazel Hill, Fredericksburg, Virginia, the lady there being a descendant of the writer of the Diary. During the recent intersectional war, the two volumes were taken away, with many other books. The second volume fell into the hands of a clerk in the Washington Post Office, who gave it to a gentleman in that city, informing him that it had arrived with other spoils of war, in one of the first mails that reached that city, from Fredericksburg, during the war. There is a strong probability that *both* the volumes went there together. The gentleman who received the second volume as a present, being unable to ascertain the owner in Virginia, lent it to General Read of Albany, who says of it; "The book is filled with interesting information." After the war, the Washington gentleman, learning from Messrs. Conway Robinson & William F. Ritchie, of the lady in Fredericksburg, the owner of the manuscripts by hereditary right, promptly recalled it from General Read and restored it to her. Of the first volume, however, nothing has ever been heard. The lady is exceedingly desirous of recovering it, particularly with a view to its publication. A suitable reward would be paid by her for its return, and any information respecting it may be addressed to Colonel Carter M. Braxton, Fredericksburg, Va.

C. C.

REPLIES.

WASHINGTON'S INDIAN NAME.—(1st. series, vol. v. p. 374, vol. vi, p. 36.) Several years ago, a query was raised in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE as to the origin and meaning of Conotocarius, an Indian name which had been applied to Washington. This was followed by an answer from "F. A. W.," giving the date of its first application, and one from "J. G. S.," giving the etymology of the word. "F. A. W." says that it was first given to Washington, in June, 1754, during the encampment at Great Meadows, on the occasion of

delivering certain medals and other presents to the Indians. In a French book, of which the full title is here quoted:

Mémoire contenant le Précis des Faits, avec leurs Pièces Justificatives, pour servir de Réponse aux OBSERVATIONS envoyées par les Ministres d'Angleterre dans les Cours de l'Europe. Paris, 1756,—will be found, on page 91, a letter written in April, 1754, to the Half King, which is signed "Washington, or Conotocarius." From this, it appears that the name had been used by Washington two months earlier than the date assigned by "F. A. W." In an appended note, it is stated that it had probably been taken by him to please the Indians. This supposition is confirmed by a statement made in *Histoire de la Guerre contre les Anglois*, [par Poullin de Lumina.] Genève, 1759, on page 12, that "Major Washington had taken the singular name of Conotocarius to please his Indian allies."

Mr. Sparks says that the Indians were fond of giving names to the whites. "Washington they called Connotaucarius. The governor of Pennsylvania was called *Onas*, the governor of Maryland *Tocarryhogan*, and the governor of Virginia *Assaragoa*. The names pertained to the office, and not to the individual, each successive governor being designated by the same appellation. Giving a name was attended by much ceremony." Sparks's *Washington*, ii, 47—8, note. Boston, 1838.

Mr. Irving alludes to the same custom, and, in speaking of Connotaucarius, says "the meaning of which is not explained." *Life of Washington*, i, 128. New York, 1855.

Dr. Shea,—for we recognize his initials—gives the etymology of the word. (vol. vi, p. 37.) and according to him the meaning is *Devourer of Villages*. He adds "it is a curious circumstance that 'a name 'Town Destroyer,' applicable to a great conqueror, should have been given at so early a period of his life." Dr. Shea's opinion seems to be corroborated by the following extract from a speech made to Washington, in 1790, by the Indian chief Cornplanter, and found on page 93, in *A Star in the West*, by Elias Boudinot, LL. D. Trenton, 1816:

"Father, when your Army entered the country of the six nations, we called you *town destroyer*; and to this day, when your name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale."

My attention was called to this coincidence by the Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford.

It will be seen that the spelling of the word varies among the different writers; and I have followed, in the several references, the orthography respectively used by them.

S. A. G.

BUTLER POETRY (1st. S. vol. vii, p. 355).—General Butler quotes from a well known poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes.

DELTA.

THE ORIGIN OF *E PLURIBUS UNUM*. (1st series vol. iii. pp. 121, 255.)—Many attempts have been made at different times to trace the origin of our national motto. The only instance perhaps to be found in the classics where the idea is similar to that expressed in the motto, is in Virgil's *Moretum*, line 103,

"*Color est e pluribus unus.*"

The motto of *The Spectator*, for August twentieth, 1711, (No. 148) is

"*Exempta juvat spinis e pluribus una.*"

"Hor. 2, Ep. ii, 212,"

though I am unable to find this version. In every edition of Horace, to which I have access, it is *de pluribus una*; but whichever it is, it means one selected from many, and not one made up of many. One of the mottos, which were kept on the title-page of *The Gentleman's Magazine* for more than a hundred years, was *E Pluribus Unum*; and this motto was probably familiar to those who adopted it for the national seal. According to a paper in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1866-1867, page 351, it was first suggested by Mr. W. Barton, of Philadelphia, in 1782.

The legend of the New York "doubloon," as well as of one of the New York coppers, struck in 1787, is *unum e pluribus*, and of the "Immunis Columbia" copper, struck the same year, it is *e pluribus unum*. On the New Jersey copper of 1786, and the Kentucky copper of 1791, the legend is *e pluribus unum*, and on one of the varieties of the Washington cent of 1791, *unum e pluribus* is seen in the scroll on the reverse.

The motto appears for the first time on the national coinage in 1796, on the quarter-eagle, and in the following year on the eagle and the dime. In 1798, it is on the silver dollar.

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

Boston, Massachusetts.

MATTAPAN OR MATTAPAN-OCK, (1st. Series, vol. i, pp. 183, 249, 284, 349; vol. ii, p. 61.)—The Indian name of that part of Dorchester Neck (South Boston) where "the west country people" were set down," in 1630, means "the place of setting down," or as generally employed in local names, the "end of a portage," where the canoe which had been carried from one river, lake, or arm of the sea, to another, was launched again and the bearers re-embarked. In the Massachusetts language, *mattappu* means "he sits down"; its participle, *mattappun*, "set down." Rale translates the Abnaki equivalent, *matanbe*, "il va au bord de l'eau, - a la grève, pour s'embarquer;" and *metanben-iganuk*, "au bout de delà du portage." The Modern Chippewa has *namatabi*, "he sits," answering to Eliot's *nunmatappu*.

Whether the south part of Dorchester Neck was called *mattapan-ock* because it was the end of the

portage of canoes from South Bay to Dorchester Bay, across the narrowest part of the peninsula, or—as seems probable,—because it was the temporary "sitting down place" of the new comers, I will not decide.

We find this Indian name in other localities. On Smith's map of Virginia (1606), the name *Mattapanient* is given to the northern fork (now the *Mattaponi*) of the "Pamaunk flu;" or modern York River; there is another "*Mattapanient*" near the head waters of the "Pawtuxunt" (Patuxent), at its nearest approach to the waters of the Potomac; and a third place of the same name on the Chickahominy ("Chickahamania flu;") not far from its mouth on the "Powhatan (or James) River, where, probably, there was an "end of "portage" from the Pamaunk (York) river.

On the map of Lake Superior, made by the Jesuit missionaries (published in Paris in 1672), the stream which flows northerly into the Lake near Grand Island, marked on modern maps as *Rivière aux Traines, River La Traine*, and Train River, is named "*R Mataban*." The small lake from which this stream issues was the "end of "the portage" which connected the head waters of White River, flowing into Green Bay, with those of Lake Superior.

Hartford, Conn.

J. H. TRUMBELL.

Reviews and Book Notices.

John Rogers; The Compiler of the First Authorized English Bible; the Pioneer of the English Reformation; and its First Martyr. Embracing a Genealogical Account of His Family, Biographical Sketches of Some of his Principal Descendants, his own Writings, etc., etc. By JOSEPH LEMUEL CHESTER. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861. 8vo pp. 452

Though Mr. Chester had been favorably known as a writer, for some years before the appearance of this book, it was, we believe, his first venture as an antiquary. So thorough and exhaustive of the subject was it, that it placed him at once in the front rank of antiquarian authors. His subsequent publications, though none of them that we know have risen to the dignity of a volume, have sustained and added to the reputation he then acquired. In them, he has shown the same caution and keenness of perception, the same freedom from prejudice, the same ardor in collecting facts and the same patient industry in sifting them, that are so marked a feature of the book before us. These characteristics have enabled him to do good service in the cause of historical truth, and to clear away many of the *fungi* which have long disfigured it.

The history of this book is told in its preface. Traditionally a descendant of the Marian Proto-

Martyr, the author during a protracted visit to England devoted a considerable time to genealogical researches in order to determine whether these claims were founded in truth or not. His investigations convinced him that they were not; and, though it is a difficult thing, at least to most men, to give up flattering opinions that have wrought themselves into one's life, Mr. Chester did not hesitate to relinquish, at once, all claim to a distinction which he had long been taught to believe to be his—a claim which many of his countrymen still fondly cling to—a prouder boast to them than the most brilliant pedigree of the old-world nobility.

But though his researches dissipated this error, they did not lessen his interest in the man; for as the reverence which he had felt for an ancestor passed away, its place was supplied by a stronger feeling of respect for the high intellectual qualities and attainments and the sterling manly character which his investigations brought to light and showed in bold relief. He was convinced that justice had not been done to the proto-martyr. To repair the injustice and to portray the life and character of John Rogers in their true colors is the chief object of this book. It is here shown that to him "is the world indebted for the first authorized English version of the Sacred Scriptures—the basis of every subsequent one, even that now in use;" and that from his pen are both the first English Concordance and the first general commentary on the Bible in the English language. It is also here shown that during the Marian persecutions, the greatest responsibilities of the English Reformation "were cast upon him, repeatedly and almost invariably, and were sustained nobly and unflinchingly."

The work also embodies the result of the author's researches among manuscripts and printed books concerning the descendants of the martyr, whom he has succeeded in bringing down far enough to make it certain that Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich, Massachusetts, through whom Colonel Chester was supposed to be descended from the martyr, was not one of them, as his posterity have claimed for nearly or quite a century. The claim is here proved to be entirely groundless.

The martyr's pedigree is traced with certainty to his grandfather, who, there is good reason for believing, was a descendant in the fifth generation from John Fitz Roger, who married a daughter of Sir Simon Furneup, descended from the curls of Bush. The father of the martyr was John Rogers, and his mother Margery Wyatt. They resided at Deritend, a hamlet now forming part of the city of Birmingham, where their famous son is supposed to have been born about the year 1500.

The tradition that Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich was descended from the Proto-Martyr has for a long time been accepted as true. But care-

ful inquirers, even before the appearance of this book, had arrived at the conclusion that the tradition was improbable, to say the least. The story could not be found in print or manuscript before 1764, when Hutchinson promulgated it in the first volume of his *History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*. None of the earlier New England writers had intimated that there was a connection between the pastor of Ipswich church and the Marian martyr. This is the more remarkable as some of them had given the parentage and relatives of the former; among them Rev. William Hubbard, his own son-in-law, and Cotton Mather, whose passion for collecting "Remarkables" would have led him to seize on such a morsel as this with avidity. The tomb-stone of his son, John, the fifth president of Harvard College, contains no reference to the martyr, though it is particular to state the descent from the worthies of Dedham in England and Ipswich in New England. As we have before intimated, the tradition is utterly demolished by Colonel Chester.

Another family in New England by the name of Rogers, who have been traced far enough back to prove that they were not from Rev. Nathaniel of Ipswich, also set up a claim to descent from the martyr, and produce a bible which they assert was carried by him to the stake; and they show the marks of the flames as an evidence of the truth of their story. The bible, however, has been proved to have been printed twelve years after the martyrdom, and the remainder of the story is probably quite as fabulous as this, though such has not been demonstrated to be the fact.

Colonel Chester has enriched the *Historical and Genealogical Register* with many contributions, among which may be mentioned articles upon the Washington, Wentworth, Hutchinson, Rogers, Wheelright, Marbury and other families.

He is now engaged in editing the Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Registers of Westminster Abbey, which will be issued under the sanction of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. It should be a matter of pride to Americans that one of their countrymen has been selected for this honorable employment. He is proving himself worthy of the honor by bestowing an immense amount of labor in order to prepare himself for the work, by collecting materials from all available sources. Records that heretofore have been closed to historical and genealogical inquirers, except upon onerous conditions, have been freely thrown open to him by their custodians. His toil has been incessant in availing himself of these generous courtesies; and the result is commensurate with the labor. No other person probably has so large a collection of biographical items as he; and it is almost certain that no one else has so many drawn from original sources.

The *Registers of Westminster Abbey* edited by

him will be a vast magazine of biography. "As the great majority of the entries in the registers are of an historic character, its high value and importance will be readily appreciated by historians, genealogists, biographers and literary men generally. In his annotations the editor's object will be to identify, as far as possible, the persons mentioned, and to furnish references to other authorities and sources of information from which their individual or family history may be pursued, so as to render the work one of value for standard reference."

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register and Antiquarian Journal. Published Quarterly, under the Direction of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Vols. I to XXII, Boston, 1847-68. 8vo.

A generous rivalry in historical learning, literature and criticism, is a notable and encouraging feature of the period. Its spirit of organization or association, the better to combine and economize, is evidence of general interest and quickening enthusiasm. Among the foremost of these societies, in obvious results, is the New England Historic Genealogical Society, whose "Register," in twenty-two volumes of compact octavo pages, published quarterly from 1847 to 1868, demonstrates an unparalleled activity; and their contents show judgment with experience used to some purpose. No historical series surpasses this in value. With what fatherly delight would Morton, Hubbard, Gookin, Mather, Prince, Colden, Smith, and Trumbull, and the other early writers, have hailed these happy days in contrast with their isolated labors! Surely we should hold them in filial veneration.

The only indices to these volumes are of surnames, unless the alphabetical tables of contents may be mentioned; so that a thorough analytical index of things, persons and places, is a desideratum well worthy of earnest consideration, as greatly enhancing this invaluable miscellany of civil and ecclesiastical antiquities, biography, heraldry, genealogy, and whatever pertains to American life and manners, especially of New England, whose children are scattered every where. The completion of the twenty-fifth volume of the publication would be a fitting time for this.

The society, as its corporate name suggests, adds to its general historical jurisdiction and design, the specialty of genealogy, which it interprets in no narrow or limited sense; for to use the words of a writer quoted by Mr. Dean, in his history of the Register, originally published as the preface to the seventeenth volume of this work: "When genealogy assumes, as it will, the broad and comprehensive range of inquiry which belongs to, and ought to be embraced in the study, it will assume the rank and dignity of a science,

"showing the laws of physical development and its relation to mind and morals, thus exhibiting the causes and principles of progress and decay in the family and nation.

"In this view the transactions of this society, and the printed publications appearing under and attributable to its fostering influence, will present to the scientific genealogist a vast field of observation, from which he will systematize great facts and deduce general laws of the highest moment in the improvement and elevation of man, showing not only what his condition is—to which the present scope of statistical inquiry is limited—but its causes and remedies."

The society and the public are to be congratulated on the able editorial supervision that the Register from the beginning has received from the several editors of the work. The present editor is Colonel Albert H. Hoyt, who well maintains the high reputation which his predecessors have won for it. THETA.

Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex, from the Time of Wycliffe to the Restoration; With Memorials of the Essex Ministers who were Ejected or Silenced in 1660-1662, and Brief Notices of the Essex Churches which originated with their Labours. By T. W. DAVIES, Pastor of the Congregational Church, Lion Walk, Colchester. London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder, 1863. 8vo pp. xv and 641.

On the twenty-fourth of August 1662, two centuries were completed since the ejection of the nonconformist ministers under the Bartholomew Act, with which Charles the Second and his obsequious Parliament rewarded the Presbyterian clergy, who then filled the greater portion of the livings in England, for their constant prayers during his exile that he might be permitted to return to his native land and be restored to the throne of his ancestors. Nor did they rest satisfied with this. Besides praying for his restoration, they were active in placing him upon his throne; and, it is almost certain, that without their aid, or at least if they had been as persistent in opposing as they were in supporting him, he would never have been restored. The characteristic return which their profligate sovereign made to them for their loyalty, was the Act of Uniformity, which drove multitudes of their most conscientious ministers from their livings. This act is one that the friends of toleration must always condemn. But, though the individual suffering and the temporary check to religion and morality produced by this and the supplementary laws, are to be deplored, yet it may well be doubted whether liberty of conscience would have been advanced by allowing the ejected ministers, most of whom were the avowed enemies of toleration, to retain their livings. The English

Presbyterians afterwards became bold advocates for religious freedom.

Upwards of two thousand ministers resigned their livings rather than comply with the requirements of this act. Mr. Pierce, in his *Vindication of the Dissenters*, says: "I do not believe that 'anywhere in History an equal number of clergy 'men voluntarily leaving their all for a good conscience, can be produced.'" A number of these came to New England.

In the fall of 1862, the Bicentenary of this day of heroic self sacrifice by the Puritan clergy of England, was celebrated in that country. The present book seems to have sprung from the agitation of the subject, which preceded the celebration. It was undertaken at the request of the Committee of the Essex Congregational Union, and the result shows that it could not have been placed in better hands.

The work is divided into two parts. The first gives the history of Evangelical Nonconformity previous to the Bartholomew Act, and the second is devoted to memorial sketches of the Essex ministers who suffered under this act. In both parts considerable matter that illustrates American, and particularly New England history, will be found. Any one who will take the trouble to compare the first part with the accounts of Essex ministers and the details of Essex history in Neal's *History of the Puritans*; and the second part with the biographical sketches of Calamy and Palmer, will perceive that much new matter has been brought to light by the book before us. "The prominence 'of Essex in the annals of Evangelical Nonconformity,'" says Rev. Mr. Davids, "is second to 'that of no other county in the kingdom,'" and the candid reader of this book will acknowledge that he has made good his claim for his adopted county. These annals are carried back to the time of Wycliffe, whose followers were numerous in this county when that reformer was in the zenith of his influence; and our author considers it at least possible that "John Ball," the first known Wycliffist martyr, "was an Essex man." In the Protestant Reformation in the times of Henry VIII., Edward VI and Mary; in the contest against Episcopal power during the reign of Elizabeth, James I and Charles I; and in Bartholomew times, this prominence was maintained.

The present work is a very valuable addition to the history of the Puritans of England; and we wish that the Bicentenary had produced equally valuable fruits in other counties.

Miscellany.

Rev. A. B. Grosart, of St. George's, Blackburn, Lancashire, England, who is issuing a series of elegant reprints of old English authors, which he is carefully editing from the best text, and upon the

biography and elucidation of which he is bestowing the most thorough research, has dedicated one of his volumes,—the Poems of Sir. John Beaumont, who was buried in Westminster Abbey in 1627.—to our countryman, Colonel Chester, in the following words:—

"To Joseph Lemuel Chester, Esq.,

"My Dear Sir,

"Allow me the pleasure of associating your name with this Worthy and my 'labours on his too little known Poetry. I like 'you for your English Puritan name and for your 'English face—that of 'a brave gentleman' all 'of the olden time; I like you for your right and 'good service in writing for the first time adequately, the Life—a supremely noble and beautiful one—of 'John Rogers,' Proto martyr of 'England, under Mary; I like you as an American, can proud of your ancient lineage and unmixed 'English descent; and I like you for your catholic literary sympathies and brother-hood. Moreover, with 'Sunny Memories' of my pilgrim-visits to shrines of the New World—human and 'of Nature—from the graves of my fellow-Scots, 'Alexander Wilson, the Ornithologist and Poet, 'and leonine Dr. John Witherspoon, and the 'Homes and Haunts of David Brainerd and Jonathan Edwards, and Franklin and Washington, 'and of the illustrious Living, to the palace of 'Thunder of Niagara and scenes in fair Virginia 'all transfigured with the glory of RALEIGH and 'other of the Elizabethan heroes—I must ever 'have a warm hand clasp and heart-clasp for your 'mighty Country's masterful and most lavishly-kind countrymen. By-and-bye, these Worthies 'will find their widest realm over the Atlantic. 'You will agree with me that it is well to get 'away o'times from the inevitable strivings and 'vulgarisms of the Present into the calm of— 'thank God—the changeless Past.

"Yours very cordially

"ALEXANDER B. GROSART."

Several articles furnished for this number of the MAGAZINE, will appear in a subsequent number.

Since I agreed to edit the present number of the Magazine, the following contributors to the work while it was under my editorial charge, have died, namely:

Rev. Joseph B. Felt, LL. D., of Salem, Mass.

John G. Locke, Esquire, of Boston, Mass.

Winthrop Sargent, Esquire, Philadelphia, Pa.

William Gilmore Simms, LL. D., Charleston, S. C.

Rev. Pliny H. White of Coventry, Vt.

Hon. William Willis, LL. D., of Portland, Me.

These, added to the twenty-three named in the prefatory address to the reader, make twenty-nine who are known to have died, or over one fifth part of the whole number of contributors.

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TO OUR READERS.

The second of our back numbers is here presented to four Subscribers; the third, under the editorial supervision of WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, Esq., of Boston, is in the hands of our contributors, and will be pushed forward to completion, as fast as possible.

We hope to complete the series early in the Fall, so as to enable us to be "in line" with our contemporaries before the close of the year.

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TO OUR READERS.

We have pleasure in sending to our subscribers for 1863 another of the delinquent numbers of Volume IV., which, by reason of our sickness at that time, were not then printed; and we hope to add the other three before the end of the current volume—we certainly shall do so, if those who are indebted to us will pay what they owe.

The next number—that for October, 1863—which Mr. Bartlett was expected to carry through the press, in consequence of the demands of that gentleman's official engagements, at this time, will, be edited by Captain W. F. GOODWIN, U. S. A., of Concord, N. H.; and, from our knowledge of the papers which that diligent scholar proposes to use, we are safe in promising a number of unusual merit. It is now in the hands of the printers.

As Mr. Houghton has not found that ready response which he had hoped for from those on whom he relied for material, the number for November, 1863, which that gentlemen expected to edit, will probably be devoted to other than Vermont history, unless we shall undertake to add to our present engagements, the labor of conducting that number, also, through the press, in which case we shall attempt to make "a Vermont number" which will be acceptable, to our readers, from the scanty stock of Vermont material which is in our own collection or within our reach.

The number for December, 1863, to be edited by JOHN WARD DEAN, Esq., of Boston, we have reason to believe, will be unusually valuable, as all is that passes into circulation with his stamp on it. His "copy" is nearly complete; and he only awaits the order for it from the printers.]

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October 1868.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:
HENRY B. DAWSON.

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We have pleasure in forwarding to you the fourth of our delinquent numbers for 1868; and to inform you that the remaining two are in the printers' hands—that for November, under the editorial control of Colonel THEODORUS BAILEY MYERS, of New York, in the office of W. H. WINANS & Co., in the same city; and that for December, under the editorial control of JOHN WARD DEAN, Esq., of Boston—the first Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE—in the office of BUTTERFIELD & HILL, of Concord, N. H.

The number before you was edited by our excellent friend, Captain W. F. GOODWIN, U.S.A., and printed by Messrs. BUTTERFIELD & HILL; and, although the latter have not always followed the many peculiarities of our own intricate system, in their composition, they have done well, while Captain Goodwin's choice of material, in its historical importance, would have done honor to any of the Editorial fraternity, even to those of much greater experience and very much louder pretensions.

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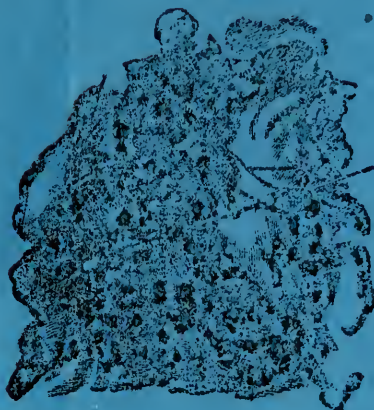
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TO OUR READERS.

We have the pleasure to send to you, the last of the delinquent numbers which have so sorely harassed us and so long kept your series incomplete; and so valuable and so varied are its contents, we are sure that no one will receive it with disappointment or displeasure. It has been edited by the first Editor of the work, JOHN WARD DEAN, Esq., of Boston, and it will be seen that he has rallied around him a strong force of the best writers in the country—all of them, we believe, having been contributors to the first volume of the work, fourteen years ago.

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the Southern District
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Hon. Judges NELSON and SHIPMAN, Presiding,

Reported by A. F. WARBURTON, Stenographer,

And corrected by the Counsel.

OCTAVO pp. xvi, 385. NEW YORK, 1862.

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